

45

1 Nov – 31 Dec 1958

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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1 November – 31 December 1958

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45

A large, stylized white signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, consisting of the letters 'Jh' followed by a long, sweeping diagonal stroke.A small, stylized white signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, consisting of the letters 'Jh' followed by a long, sweeping diagonal stroke.

The *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* has established its position as the single most important, authoritative, and reliable source on Nehru's life, work, and thought. It is indispensable to the scholar, fascinating to the layperson, and at times something of a primer in politics, democracy, and world affairs, as Nehru intended his periodic letters to his chief ministers to be. It provides a panorama of home and the world as seen from the centre of power in India by an acutely sensitive observer and skilful player. Given the literary talent, creative urge, and singular position of the author, it is a continuous source of pleasure, sometimes of amusement, and always of enlightenment.

The first series took the collection up to 1 September 1946 in 15 volumes; the second series starts with 2 September 1946 when Nehru assumed office in the Interim Government. This is the 45th volume of the second series and it deals with the events of November and December 1958. The extensive annotation to the documents makes them especially user-friendly.







**Selected  
works of  
Jawaharlal  
Nehru**



ON HIS BIRTHDAY, NEW DELHI, 14 NOVEMBER 1958



# **Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru**

**Second Series**

**Volume Forty Five**

**(1 November - 31 December 1958)**

A Project of the  
Jawaharlal Nehru  
Memorial Fund

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PUBLISHED BY

Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

Teen Murti House, New Delhi 110 011

ISBN : 81-924275-0-1

ISBN : 978-81-924275-0-8

DISTRIBUTED BY

Oxford University Press

YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110 001

Mumbai Kolkata Chennai

Oxford New York Toronto

Melbourne Tokyo Hong Kong

PRINTED AT

Rekha Printers Private Limited

A-102/1, Okhla Industrial Area, Phase II

New Delhi 110 020

Editor

Madhavan K. Palat

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PRINTED AT  
Rekha Printers Private Limited  
A-102/1, Okhla Industrial Area, Phase II  
New Delhi 110 020





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## FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

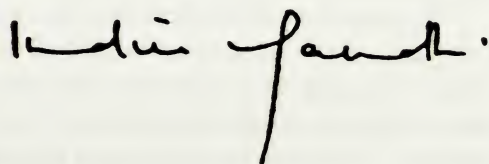
No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both



within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi  
18 January 1972

Chairman  
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

## EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume deals with the two months of November and December 1958 when Nehru grappled with all the problems, internal and external, of India, be it State Trading in foodgrains, the language question and Gurdwara administration in Punjab, different aspects of Jammu and Kashmir or of Bombay state, the perennial concerns with Pakistan and China, and growing trade relations with the USSR.

Many of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. The letters to the chief ministers are reprints of an earlier series, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, ed. G. Parthasarathi (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1985-1989), 5 vols. Emendations have been made where necessary, but the annotations differ in some respects. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from Delhi or New Delhi. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B.C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections.



As in Volume 44, Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for the convenience of those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives are housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and are known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, and the Press Information Bureau, have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, and *Shankar's Weekly* for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all Shantisri Banerji and Amrit Tandon, helped by Fareena Ikhlas Faridi and Mohammed Khalid Ansari. The translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari and finalized by the editorial team. I am most grateful to her for her generous contribution of time and effort. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

MADHAVAN K. PALAT

## I. GENERAL

### (a) Chief Ministers

#### 1. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

November 12, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

My fortnightly letters have tended to become monthly ones. This is for no lack of material or of thoughts in my mind which I should like to convey to you. But pressure of work grows and comes in the way of many things that I wish to do.

2. I want to write to you specially today about some recent decisions of the National Development Council at which you were present.<sup>2</sup> I attach a great deal of importance to this meeting of the N.D.C. The procedure we adopted was much more helpful than our previous practice. Instead of a rather rambling survey of the conditions in each State, which tended to become discursive, we had a real discussion about various matters and important decisions were arrived at.

3. The first issue placed before the Council related to our resources position. A careful calculation disclosed that we were likely to be short by over 200 crores of the revised figures we had fixed for the Second Five Year Plan, that is, Rs. 4,500 crores. We discussed this matter in its various aspects and it was pointed out that there was a good deal of room for economy in construction and in some other matters. Ultimately we decided that this figure of Rs. 4,500 crores should not be reduced any further. I think this decision was a right one. But it brings in its train certain duties and obligations. We have to work hard to reduce what might be considered unnecessary expenditure and we have to increase our revenues. This can only be by additional taxation or by loans. There is some room for additional taxation especially in the States and I think there is much room for loans.

1. File No. 25(30)/58-PMS. This letter has also been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 155-163.
2. Nehru was Chairman of the National Development Council and attended its eleventh meeting on 8 and 9 Nov. 1958 in New Delhi. The full text of the summary record is available in *Summary Record of Discussions of the National Development Council Meetings* (New Delhi: Planning Commission, Government of India, 2005). Also available on the Planning Commission website: [planningcommission.nic.in](http://planningcommission.nic.in).



4. We have decided to reduce our expenditure on construction works. Possibly forty per cent of our total Second Plan expenditure is spent on construction. Even a reduction of ten per cent, which should not be difficult, would save us a very considerable amount. This reduction can be brought about in at least two ways. The present P.W.D. specifications may be good for some purposes, such as, big and heavy public buildings. They are not suitable or necessary for innumerable smaller constructions. Also, the overall charges are, I think, too high. Then there are the contractors. If we could do away to some extent with these middlemen, there would be an immediate and marked saving. I hope you will consider this matter carefully. The more you save, the more you will have left over to spend on other projects.

5. People often complain about the high salaries we pay. Compared to the normal Indian standard, these salaries are high. On the whole, however, I do not think that, at the present rates of taxation, our salaries are too high except for a few top ones. Unfortunately, our whole structure is such that it is difficult to break through it. Most of our civil servants get much less than their counterparts in industry. In industry, the foreign firms pay fantastic salaries, apart from the other facilities they give to their senior officers. Our big Indian firms are trying to copy them in this scale of salaries. All this has a bad effect on our general standards, and there is far too much ostentatious living. It sometimes happens that our retired civil servants are immediately picked up by some big industrial firm, British or Indian, and paid much more than they ever got in the civil service. I do not like this at all for two reasons. One is the high salary, and the other is that they are sometimes engaged because it is supposed that their contacts with senior officers might be helpful to the firm. We should not encourage this kind of thing.

6. In all our development schemes, big or small, this high scale of expenditure pursues us, and it is very difficult to lower it, though I think there is room for this. Even in our Community Development work, although we do not give any high salaries, I think there is room for improvement in this respect. Everyone expects to be paid for what he does, even the villager, or they think that Government should do it. It is quite impossible for any Government, however rich it might be, to undertake the hundreds of thousands of small village schemes that could easily be undertaken by the villagers themselves. I have always spoken in high terms of praise of the Community Development movement, and I still adhere to that, but I fear it has not encouraged, as much as it should have done, the people to rely on themselves and work for the village community as well as for themselves. I am told that they do not even take the trouble to keep their village clean and that newly-made drains become blocked with refuse thrown into them. If people cannot do these simple things, how can we expect them to

undertake bigger works? I am inclined to think that we should make it a first condition for the spread of Community Blocks that the village must learn how to keep itself clean. Those that do so; will be helped. Nothing can be more fatal than this terrible reliance on official agency to do everything.

7. It is in this connection that the proposal to build up panchayats and village cooperatives everywhere and to give them powers is of the highest importance. I know, as all of us do, that the powers may not be wisely used. Nevertheless, it is essential to give them those powers, even if they make a mess of things. They must learn how to rely upon themselves and develop a community sense. The official element should remain very much in the background as technical or other advisers. The initiative must come from the villagers.

8. This reminds me also that in our attempt to centralise everything, we produce set patterns for community work all over India. I know that there is some variation, but I doubt if there is enough of it. It is clear that one pattern may be totally unsuited to another place, whether it is due to climate or other factors. Thus, to ask people to spin on the charkha in mountain areas is wholly unsuitable. If they have to spin, they should use wool. We should also concentrate on other activities and see which one fits in with the temperament of the people.

9. A good innovation in recent months has been the camp for Gram Sahayaks.<sup>3</sup> I think this is much appreciated, and this has done a great deal of good. But a three-day camp is hardly adequate. Probably, the first and the last day are spent in unpacking and packing and in speeches of welcome and valediction. I wonder if it could be increased to at least five days. The main thing is for us somehow to get to grips with the village mind and find special ways of making it interested by choosing suitable activities for it which fit the environment and the people concerned.<sup>4</sup> Once this awakening takes place, the rest will follow more easily. It is expected that semi-autonomous village panchayats and village cooperatives will ultimately lead to this awakening and growth of responsibility.

10. A major decision of the National Development Council was for the State to undertake wholesale trading in foodgrains.<sup>5</sup> I think that this should lead in many ways to very helpful results. It surprises me that we have taken such a long time to come to this decision and have had to submit to all the vagaries of traders at a time of food crises. This may be called a small step towards socialising the food trade, but as a matter of fact, even capitalist countries adopt it in times of emergency. If a war comes, there is every kind of control, and people put up with

3. Held at Mount Abu from 20 May 1958.

4. It was announced on 2 Oct. 1958 that over 4,38,000 Gram Sahayaks had been trained at 9,475 camps by June 1958 under the programme launched on 2 Oct. 1957.

5. Taken on 8 Nov. 1958.



it. We are not proposing such detailed controls. But it is not possible any longer to have to suffer the injuries done by prices being pushed up and down by the vagaries and cupidity of traders. Once we control the wholesale price situation, the rest will be relatively easy.

11. There would be no difficulty at all in controlling either the wholesale trade or even the retail trade if village cooperatives started functioning well. Till then, we shall have to face many novel problems. Immediately, in the present, it is inevitable for the States to appoint wholesale dealers as their licensed agents. There is no other way out. But it should be remembered that these wholesale dealers cannot welcome this change which is to their disadvantage. It is not very safe to appoint people to work a scheme when they are themselves opposed to it, and who might even work for its failure. There will have to be, therefore, very careful organisation and supervision.

12. When this State wholesale trade in foodgrains is fully working, we might well save anything from Rs. 50 to Rs. 70 crores a year and that will be a substantial gain to be used for other purposes. This is a first step in a right direction, and we may well go further in that direction later.

13. We must always remember that India is a rich country so far as resources are concerned, even though the people may be poor. Also, that we have a tremendous reservoir of manpower. Most of that, of course, is untrained, but a considerable portion has some training. Planning should consist of utilising as much as possible this manpower and yoking it to our resources. Merely to make lists of schemes and projects and making calculations on a business basis, leaves out this vast manpower and prevents us from exploiting those resources. We are constantly thinking of how things are done in industrially developed countries where the problems are different. Whenever we take up a big scheme, whether it is health or education or small or cottage industries, we make plans for all India on a vast scale, involving hundreds or thousands of crores, and then feel helpless about it. How much of this work could be done in a simple way, without these complicated and expensive projects? That is the essence of planning for us and not merely making a list of schemes and projects.

14. We have made marked progress in our big projects, which basically do not require public cooperation to any large extent. In small industries, we are also forging ahead, though I would wish that this pace was faster. Where we have not succeeded to any large extent is in mobilisation of our people. Even in the big schemes, it is essential that the worker should understand what he is doing and what the scheme is. He should be made to feel that he is a partner in a big undertaking for his own benefit as well as for the good of the community. Is any attempt made to put this across to him? I remember once visiting a big river valley scheme where hundreds of men and women were carrying basketfuls of



earth. Young and eager engineers explained the scheme to me, and I liked their enthusiasm. I then asked them: Have you explained this to those workers in the field who are carrying earth from one place to another? They said 'no'. I went to those workers then and collected them, and asked them a few questions as to what they were doing and why. They knew very little about it. Then I tried to explain to them the significance of that project and how it would benefit them. They were interested, and some understanding came into their eyes. The young engineers themselves realised this and promised me that in future, they would explain this to their workers. It is obvious that this kind of approach is not only right from the human point of view, but from the work point of view also.

15. To come back to agriculture, this must now at least be the high point of our endeavour. It must be realised that everything depends upon the success of our agricultural production, that our five year plans and industrial development are themselves dependent upon agriculture. If that is so, Agriculture must be the most vital and important Department in Government, and the people in charge of it, whether Ministers or officials, should not only have knowledge of it, but should also possess keenness and enthusiasm. In a recent report of a Committee appointed by our Food & Agricultural Ministry—The Nalagarh Report<sup>6</sup>—the facts elicited about Agriculture Departments are most depressing. Reading it, one realises why we have failed in making much progress in our agriculture. It is necessary for us, therefore, to reorganise Agriculture Departments from top to bottom and remove all the dead wood that has collected there. This is important, and I would beg of you to take immediate steps to this end. It is no good sitting down in offices and issuing routine circulars.

16. An adviser in our Planning Commission, Shri Sivaraman,<sup>7</sup> has laid great stress on the use of green manures, compost, etc. He speaks from personal experience because he succeeded greatly in his work in the old Madras State; he succeeded greatly in spreading the use of these manures. The result is that at present Madras and Andhra, I think, have the highest yield per acre. Today, it is the fashion to shout for chemical fertilisers. I agree that we should use them and produce them as much as possible. But it is the farmers themselves who must produce green manures, compost etc. In China, they are even producing some simple form of fertiliser on a village scale. This is not as good as the fertiliser produced in proper factories, but it is good enough for the farmer.

6. The Agricultural Administration Committee, headed by Raja Surendra Singh of Nalagarh, Adviser to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, submitted its report on 2 Nov. 1958.

7. M.S. Sivaraman (1907-1967); entered ICS, 1930, and served in Madras Presidency and later Tamil Nadu; Programme Adviser, Planning Commission, 1957-64.

17. We thus find that there is so much we can do without any additional expenditure of money. And yet, we are told that little can be done unless vast sums of money are poured out. There are no vast funds available. Are we then to stagnate or sink into oblivion?

18. I believe something is being done in this respect now. But it is not enough and we must treat this problem on an emergency footing and give it the topmost priority and devote to it our highest ability and energy. I would particularly invite your attention to the Nalagarh Report.

19. Steel and oil give us promise of large earnings both in foreign exchange and in regard to our domestic resources. In oil we have had a further stroke of good fortune. What is required now is to proceed with this drilling etc. at high speed. So also in regard to steel. As soon as steel begins to come out or oil to flow, we make or save several lakhs of rupees a day. Someone calculated that everyday's delay in steel production means a loss of a million rupees. Probably the same might be said of oil.

20. I am not writing to you about other subjects in this letter. But I shall make a brief mention of the new and rather extraordinary developments in Pakistan.<sup>8</sup> One coup d'état has followed another and no one quite knows what might happen some weeks or months later. There is no reason for us to be agitated over this, but obviously we have to be alert. It is rather sad how our neighbour country has deteriorated so much both politically and economically. Martial law may stop the rot for a little while superficially. Obviously it neither solves the political problem nor the economic and the time will come soon when discontent will grow. The reaction in some Western countries to developments in Pakistan has been significant. The first coup d'état was on the whole approved, with some crocodile tears for the temporary lapse of democracy. But it was added that perhaps this was the best way of saving democracy in the end. General Iskander Mirza was boosted up as the man of destiny who had pulled Pakistan out of the morass in which it was sinking. Not long afterwards this man of destiny, to quote a famous phrase, went into the dustbin of history, leaving very few persons to mourn his departure. Nothing abashed, some Western newspapers started praising General Ayub Khan as the new man of destiny, the saviour of freedom and the

8. On 7 Oct. 1958, President Iskander Mirza of Pakistan imposed martial law and appointed General Ayub Khan the Chief Martial Law Administrator; on 28 Oct. Ayub Khan made himself President.



free world.<sup>9</sup> It is difficult for words to have any meaning left to them when they are used in this fashion. SEATO and the Baghdad Pact countries, the great defenders of freedom, are now partly represented by Martial Law or autocratic regimes.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To Chief Ministers<sup>10</sup>

December 20, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I feel very guilty in writing to you, or rather not writing regularly as I should. No excuses are adequate but it is true that I have been rather overwhelmed with work and engagements. It did not seem to me worthwhile to make my letter a chronicle of events, about most of which you have probably read in the newspapers. To exchange my thoughts with you about important developments and possibilities is certainly desirable. But, apart from lack of time, my mind has been in a state of some ferment during the past many weeks. This is not due to any particular recent happening, but rather to an accumulation of events which force us to think and to get out of our old grooves. I have sent you brief letters recently, drawing your attention to some of these developments in India which I considered important.

9. On 18 Oct. 1958, *The New York Times* in its editorial commented that "as a matter of principle we deplore the suspension of constitutional government and substitution of its rule by martial law. For that reason we watch with some anxiety the present crisis in Pakistan wherein the Cabinet and Parliament have been dismissed and the army under orders from the President has taken over. At the same time it is necessary to recognise the purposes for which such drastic action has been taken. In Pakistan both President Iskander Mirza and army's head General Ayub Khan have stated clearly that what they propose and wish to do is to establish in due course a free, honest and democratic government. There is no reason to doubt their sincerity." On the same day *The Times* (London) wrote: "The country (Pakistan) has to be brought back to the state of convalescence, if not complete health. In addition, certain major reforms have to be introduced. All these things will need the cover of martial law. In any case, there is no intention to allow things to revert to the bad old ways: so do not let anyone have doubts and fears on this score."
10. File No. 25(30)/58-PMS. This letter has also been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 172-182.

2. But I feel I must write to you, even though I send you a relatively brief letter today, before the year runs out and a new year comes in. I am leaving tomorrow for Allahabad<sup>11</sup> and Santiniketan.<sup>12</sup> On my return I shall be busy with the visit of Dr. Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana,<sup>13</sup> and then there are many other engagements. January is always a heavy month for us, even though Parliament is not sitting. There is the Congress session which lasts about a week<sup>14</sup> and the Science Congress<sup>15</sup> which always attracts me and which is going to be held in Delhi this year. Many eminent scientists come to it from foreign countries and it is an exhilarating experience to meet them and talk to them. On this occasion, the British delegation of scientists will be headed by Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh.<sup>16</sup> He is not an eminent scientist, but he has taken great interest in science and has been the President of the British Association of Science and as such has encouraged science. I have met him several times in London and found him to be, almost if I may say so, in spite of his Royal connections, a very intelligent, sensitive and charming young man with a mind that is groping forward.

3. Since I wrote to you, we have had three interesting visitors—Mr. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada,<sup>17</sup> Mr. Einar Gerhardsen, Prime Minister of Norway,<sup>18</sup> and M. André Malraux, Minister in General de Gaulle's Government in France.<sup>19</sup> Soon we shall be receiving other eminent dignitaries from abroad. There is the Prime Minister of Ghana, fresh from the recent conference at Accra,<sup>20</sup> President Tito of Yugoslavia<sup>21</sup> and the Prime Minister of East Germany,

11. Nehru had gone to the University of Allahabad to deliver the convocation address on 21 Dec. 1958. See item 11.
12. Nehru had gone to Santiniketan to deliver the convocation address at Visva-Bharati University on 24 Dec. 1958. See item 12.
13. Kwame Nkrumah visited India, 22 Dec. 1958-11 Jan. 1959.
14. The 64th session of the Indian National Congress was held at Nagpur, 9-11 Jan. 1959.
15. Held at New Delhi, 21-28 Jan. 1959.
16. In India, 21 Jan.-4 Feb. 1959.
17. John George Diefenbaker arrived in New Delhi on 18 Nov. on a six day visit.
18. Einar Henry Gerhardsen arrived in New Delhi on 27 Nov. for a fortnight's visit.
19. In India for a week from 28 Nov. 1958.
20. The All-African People's Conference of 200 representatives of 50 African political parties, trade unions, student movements and others met at Accra from 9 to 14 Dec. 1958. The Conference called upon the United Nations to ask all colonial powers to withdraw from Africa, resolved to support the non-violent struggle against colonialism and violent struggle in cases of "retaliatory violence" by colonial governments, and called for the formation of a Commonwealth of free African States and regional grouping of African countries in five federations.
21. Visited India 13-19 Jan. 1959.



Dr. Grotewohl.<sup>22</sup> As you know, we have no diplomatic relations with East Germany, although we have trade relations and there is a Trade Representative of East Germany in Delhi.<sup>23</sup> Because of lack of diplomatic relations, we cannot treat him as we would any other Prime Minister. But, short of that, we shall extend to him every courtesy and he and his party will be our guests.

4. In February, we hope to have visits from Marshal Voroshilov of the Soviet Union<sup>24</sup> and the Prime Minister of Afghanistan.

5. The General Assembly of the United Nations has ended its session.<sup>25</sup> This has not been a very exciting one and attention was more directed to the two conferences that were taking place in Geneva. One of these is concerned with the stoppage of nuclear tests<sup>26</sup> and the other with the prevention of surprise attacks.<sup>27</sup> The one dealing with surprise attacks has been in a state of complete deadlock for some time past and there is no immediate prospect of this deadlock being broken. This conference has adjourned sine die. The other conference, dealing with nuclear tests, has met with some preliminary success for which we should be grateful, but the big hurdles remain.

6. The world prospect is a depressing one. While in the Far East there has been some toning down,<sup>28</sup> the position still remains one of continuing crises. Meanwhile attention is diverted to Berlin and all kinds of moves and countermoves are being made in regard to it.<sup>29</sup> Behind all this is the 'Cold War' with its background of fear and hatred, and every question is judged from that viewpoint.

22. Visited India 12 to 16 Jan. 1959.

23. E. Renneisen, Trade Representative and Commercial Counsellor of the German Democratic Republic.

24. Marshal Voroshilov's visit was cancelled owing to his ill health.

25. On 14 Dec. 1958.

26. The British, American and Soviet delegates held 20 sessions in Geneva from 31 Oct. to 6 Dec. 1958.

27. The conference started on 10 Nov. 1958 and ended in a deadlock on 2 Dec. 1958.

28. On 30 Sept. 1958 John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, USA, said that the United States Government would favour the evacuation of the offshore islands by the Kuomintang if a workable ceasefire was brought about. The bombardment of the islands, resumed on 20 Oct. after being suspended for a fortnight, was not of the same intensity as before.

29. The Western Powers reacted strongly on 14 Dec. 1958 to Nikita Khrushchev's (Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR) proposal of 27 Nov. to declare Berlin a free city with all foreign occupation forces withdrawing. Khrushchev had also announced that in the event of no agreement being reached by 27 May 1959, Soviet troops would be recalled, leaving the East German Government to discharge all functions. The Western Powers contended that, by the Potsdam Agreement, the Soviet Union could not act unilaterally, and they reiterated their right to free access to Berlin and to station troops there.



One curious feature, worth noting, has been the reaction of some countries to the remarkable developments in Pakistan leading to military dictatorship and Martial Law.<sup>30</sup> Merely because Pakistan is an ally in the Baghdad Pact and SEATO, every effort is made to show that these changes there are not really bad and in fact might have something good in them. Some people have even gone so far as to suggest that this is some kind of a preliminary to democracy.<sup>31</sup> It is amazing how our thinking is affected and becomes perverted by the Cold War.

7. The basic fact of the world situation is the tremendous development of weapons of mass destruction and at the same time fear of a major war. Because of this fear of a war which may well bring almost total destruction of the world, no country is prepared to start it. And yet the Great Powers go on arming themselves more and more and creating situations which increase tension and might lead to that very war which has to be avoided at all costs. There is no reason or logic in this.

8. We in India cannot cut ourselves off from this world situation and have to play our part in it wherever occasion demands this. But we try not to get entangled in the quarrels and affairs of foreign countries. Our first consideration must necessarily be how to solve our domestic problems and carry our people forward in the march to well-being. Indeed, even from an international point of view, the only way that we can play any effective part is by developing India.

9. And so, my mind comes back to India and her problems. I wrote to you a few days ago about the remaining years of the Second Five Year Plan and the approach to the Third Plan. These are major problems which can only be dealt with satisfactorily with the largest measure of understanding and cooperation. That is why I seek your cooperation in this matter. We have arranged to send you our Planning Commission's papers. In a sense we are at the crossroads and have to make our choice which way we shall go. That choice in effect was made when we started planning and more especially when we started the Second Five Year Plan. It may be worthwhile to see what was written in the report for the Second

30. For example, while *The New York Times* of 22 Nov. 1958 wrote appreciatively of the progress made under the new regime in Pakistan, *The Baltimore Sun* on 7 Dec. 1958 commented that although Ayub's Government was described as a "semblance of dictatorship", he "is not running the country as a military camp." *The Times* (London), in an appraisal of the two months' work of the new regime, wrote on 8 Dec. 1958 that democracy in Pakistan could "wait, while the atmosphere is so favourable and the army which has played its part with excellent discipline with no more than necessary firmness, is still so popular."

31. On 20 Nov. the *Wall Street Journal* stated that the West should not support countries with democracies "not suited to them" and a democratic government could soon be set up in Pakistan after she has been "prepared for it".

Plan and the projections for the future indicated there. Those projections were then considered the minimum taking into account the requirements of the situation.

10. And yet a situation arose when some people started talking about slowing down or even to give rest to planning or new schemes. We were asked to consolidate ourselves before venturing forth into new advances. Such advice, though no doubt well-meant, ignored not only the basic features of planning, but also the vital needs of the situation we have to face. We may divide up planning into periods, but essentially it is one continuous process, just as life is, just as a country's growth ought to be. It is not possible to stop it without peril. Apart from other aspects, our population grows at a rapid pace. Merely to keep pace with this growth, we have to keep moving fast; to go ahead of this population growth means much faster progress. Perhaps a well-developed country might be able to afford some slowing down, though even that is rather doubtful. But it is certain that an under-developed country has, by the compulsion of events, to try its utmost to break the cage of a static economy and reach a stage when there is almost automatic growth.

11. How are we to do this? It is this question that has been troubling us and which we are discussing from almost day to day. It is not a matter of wishful thinking or just hoping that everything will be all right in this best of all possible worlds. It is a question of organising well-thought-out programmes on all fronts, lest bottlenecks somewhere might impede the growth of the rest; that means, above all, perspective planning, that is looking ahead and forming a picture of where we are to go to and what our objectives are. Short-term planning is only profitable when seen in that long perspective.

12. We have had a number of bad shocks during the last year or two. We had bad harvests and a measure of failure on the food front and we were not successful often in our appraisal of the situation. Thus, while we appeared to go ahead, and indeed we did so in many ways, the burden of foreign exchange suddenly fell heavily upon us. For the moment, with the help of friendly countries, we have eased the situation, but that is not enough, for the same situation may well arise again unless we are careful and, in any event, we cannot permit our economy to slow down when rapid advance is essential.

13. We have to choose therefore carefully, and with a full realisation of the consequences, the path we are to follow. The real choice was made many years ago when we talked about a socialist pattern of society.<sup>32</sup> We did not accept this for sentimental reasons, though some people may have thought so. We did so

32. Nehru moved the resolution on "Socialistic Pattern of Society" at the 60th session of the Indian National Congress at Avadi, Madras State, on 21 Jan. 1955. See SWJN/SS/27/pp. 279-283.



because we were convinced that, situated as we were, there was no other effective course to follow. While we accepted that broad objective, we tried to avoid a dogmatic approach and, in particular, we wanted to continue the march of economic progress with democratic forms. Many of us, influenced powerfully by the Gandhi approach to life and its problems, attached importance to a peaceful and cooperative method and an avoidance of coercion. It is true that life as it is constituted today, is rather a complicated affair and, in practice, it is not easy to adhere to one's ideals. Certainly for politicians this becomes difficult, for in any society and more particularly in a democratic society, these ideals are conditioned by the capacity of the people to absorb them and act up to them. But it is untrue, I think, to say that the choice lies between rapid progress with authoritarian methods and a slow advance under democracy. Ultimately this will depend on the quality of the people and their capacity to work. We seek economic advance and that economic advance is vital even from the point of view of cultural or spiritual growth. But material advance by itself may well lead, as it has led elsewhere, to the negation of some of the values that appear to us to be important. Why should it be necessary to divorce these values from material advance?

14. Recently a number of decisions have been taken of some importance and I have drawn your attention to them. It is curious and significant that these decisions have roused the wrath of some of our friends, more especially in the newspaper world. There have been many and repeated attacks on them, sometimes not even in the best of taste. We see here the anger of vested interests which fear that their position might be endangered. One might almost say that the criticisms and denunciations are organised.

15. There have been attacks on the public sector and strong resentment at Government taking up the manufacture in some lines which were wrongly supposed to be reserved for the private sector. Lately there have been these attacks made at our Defence Ministry for some contracts.<sup>33</sup> The Defence Ministry deals with vast sums of money and they have sometimes made mistakes. It is right that every mistake should be pointed out and we should welcome criticism. But when that criticism is not based on facts but on bias, there it ceases to be profitable and merely indicates that the person indulging in them is angry. So far as these Defence contracts are concerned, I think that they were fully justified.

33. There was criticism in Lok Sabha on 28 Nov. 1958 of the contracts signed with firms in West Germany, Japan, Britain and Canada for the manufacture of tractors, trucks, earth-moving equipment and auto-parts in the Ordnance Factories. On 5 Dec. 1958, J.R.D. Tata said that his company's tender for the supply of trucks through competition was not accepted, and the Government decided instead to import trucks.

16. All this indicates that we have to do clear thinking and this should not be limited to a few persons. We should explain all this to the widest circle, for success can only come with this wide understanding and cooperation.

17. The N.D.C. decided that the State should organise wholesale trade in foodgrains. Private interests have attacked this decision also.<sup>34</sup> And yet it seems to me an obvious and inevitable decision for us to take, quite apart from the socialistic aspect of it. We cannot allow the community to be held up to ransom by some private traders playing about with foodgrains and their prices. Having so decided, we have to give effect to it fully. I should like to lay stress on this because I notice some attempts to bypass the decision even though lip-service is paid to it. This kind of double and contradictory approach will be most unfortunate and can only lead to failure. It is true that we cannot suddenly produce a full-fledged wholesale distributing service and therefore we have to rely on licensed private wholesale traders. But the objective and methods must be kept in view all the time and there should be no relaxation in that respect. Wherever there are cooperatives, these should be used for this purpose.

18. Indeed, real success in this as in many other matters can only come with a widespread net-work of cooperatives undertaking various aspects of trade in addition to other matters. That is why the N.D.C. laid stress on village cooperatives which will form the base of the larger cooperative structure of the country. I would beg of you to give effect to these decisions of the N.D.C.

19. A Sub-Committee of the A.I.C.C. on Agriculture and Land Reform has recently produced a report<sup>35</sup> which will go to the full session at Nagpur. This report deals with many important matters. It has laid stress that the various processes of land reform which are indicated must be completed by the end of 1959. That is, legislation must be completed by then. Some people say that the time allowed is too short. If we cannot be through with these remaining stages of land reform within a year, then it only means that we are not keen enough on them or that certain interests are too powerful for us. Delay in land reforms is really a delay in the whole scheme of planning and progress.

34. On 5 Dec. 1958, the Uttar Pradesh Foodgrains Traders' Association called for a three-day strike against the Government's decision, and on 6 Dec., the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and Bharat Chamber of Commerce urged the Government to take the public into confidence before introducing state trading.

35. Set up under U.N. Dhebar at Hyderabad in Oct. 1958, it recommended: 1) speeding up land reforms and enacting legislation by the end of 1959 and its implementation within three years; 2) raising agricultural produce; 3) expanding cooperatives in agriculture; 4) state trading in wholesale trade in food and assuring fair prices to the cultivator; and 5) the state and the community's commitment to helping the farmer to achieve these targets, with panchayats and village cooperatives taking the lead.



20. Fortunately we are having a good harvest this year and that gives us an opportunity to build on it. The information I get from various sources indicates that there is a new awareness in the country-side about the production of foodgrains, and newer methods are gradually seeping down to the farmers. This process has to be expedited and the obvious agency for this is the Community Development Block, closely allied to the village panchayat and the village cooperative.

21. All this will constitute the foundation; but the real effort in thinking is required for the manner of doing this and especially for the methods and policies to be adopted in the future. The Third Five Year Plan may well be the turning point in our future. I hope to write to you about this from time to time and I shall not therefore pursue this subject further here.

22. One thing more, however, I should like to mention here. That is education. It is only on the basis of widespread and sound education that we can build anything. There is far too much a tendency to starve the social services because of the demands of what appear to be more profitable projects. Without education we shall not have that trained personnel and that reservoir of intelligent workers in field or factory which are so necessary for industrialisation or indeed any other kind of growth.

23. Recently, the Madras Government has made an innovation which I find most interesting. I believe they have transferred all their land revenue to the panchayats.<sup>36</sup> They have also transferred to them the primary schools or the basic schools. It seems to me this is an essentially sound move which will bring good results both in education and in the general growth of the rural India.

All good wishes to you for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

36. The Madras Government had transferred Government land to the panchayats under Section 86 of the Madras Panchayat Act, 1958.

### 3. To Chief Ministers<sup>37</sup>

December 31, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I write to you on the last day of the year that is passing. It has been a hard year with many ups and downs, both in the international sphere and in our own country. I suppose there is no escape for us anywhere in the world, for some considerable time to come, from the stresses and strains of a world that is changing rapidly. We have therefore to accustom ourselves to this state of affairs and not expect ease and comfort or a freedom from these strains.

2. I would not like to prophesy, but it is safe to assume that the year 1959 will not see any marked improvement in the international horizon. For the present the biggest question is that of Berlin<sup>38</sup> and Germany which will probably lead to a deeper crisis early in the next year. There is no easy way out visible and both of the mighty contestants have dug in their toes and declare loudly and with emphasis that they will not budge an inch. The situation is undoubtedly grave, but I have a feeling that it will not lead to that major conflict which all of us dread so much.

3. In Western Asia or the Middle-Eastern regions, the position is one of some confusion.<sup>39</sup> Both in Iraq and Lebanon,<sup>40</sup> the relations of Egypt and Iraq

37. File No. 25(30)/58-PMS. This letter has also been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 183-194.

38. On 29 Dec. 1958, NATO rejected Khrushchev's plan for demilitarising West Berlin and making it a "free city" unless it was part of the general solution to the problem of Germany within the framework of the plan for German unification.

39. Khrushchev urged Arab Communist Parties to compete with the nationalists; this led sharp divisions within the Iraqi regime, one section supporting the union between Iraq and the UAR, another opposing it, and a third favouring support to the Communists and closer relations with the USSR. The success, however temporary, of the pro-Communist sections in Iraq, caused much concern in the UAR.

40. On 23 Sept. 1958, Fouad Chehab became President of Lebanon and Rashid Karami, the leader of insurgents in Tripoli in the north of the country, became the premier. The United States withdrew her forces by 25 Oct., and the UN Observation Group left following the Lebanese withdrawal of their complaint in the United Nations against UAR intervention. Relations with the UAR improved with the opening of the border with Syria and following the Lebanese Premier's visit to Cairo on 20 Dec. 1958 to strengthen economic and social ties.



have undergone some strain<sup>41</sup> and there have been internal tensions in Iraq.<sup>42</sup> All kinds of vague apprehensions have been expressed about the future of Iraq as well as that of Lebanon. One hopeful feature is that President Nasser of the U.A.R. appears to be acting with wisdom and restraint.

4. As you know, we have had a visit from Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana. He is still in India. His visit has been good for many reasons and the personal contacts established or renewed are beneficial, I think, to both India and Ghana. Circumstances have thrown Ghana into the forefront of the African struggle for freedom and the recent conference at Accra<sup>43</sup> was undoubtedly an event of importance and significance. The whole of Africa appears to be astir. Naturally our sympathies go out to these people of Africa and we earnestly hope that their progress towards freedom will continue with some rapidity.

5. In India, I have a feeling that we have turned a rather bad corner and the next year, though a hard and difficult one will not be depressing. It might well bring a sense of exhilaration. This is not merely due to the bumper crop of rice that we have got, although that is very helpful, but some other evidences, more especially in the rural areas, which I sense, but which I cannot specify in detail. I think that our food production will progressively increase and the result of the last few years' work will begin to yield fruit. The Community Development movement also is trying hard to get out of a rut it had got into and I think it is succeeding. I do not wish to exaggerate all this, but I have a definite feeling of encouragement and I do not see why I should not share this with you.

6. I have written to you previously about our discussions in regard to the approach to the Third Five Year Plan. I hope you are receiving papers regularly from the Planning Commission on this subject. I am anxious that you should keep in touch with our thinking and, what is more important, help us with your own ideas on this subject. It is clear that we shall have to take some vital decisions, and we can only do so effectively if we all cooperate in evolving these decisions and, later, in implementing them. A strange idea had been spread

41. Though outwardly after the Iraqi revolution the relations between Iraq and UAR had improved, a virulent campaign against Iraq was launched by Cairo Radio following the trial in Nov. 1958 of Rashid Ali al-Gaylani and Col. Abdul Salam Aref. They had attempted a coup against Abd al-Karim Qasim, who had become Prime Minister after a coup on 14 July 1958 and had enjoyed Communist support. On 29 Dec., Cairo Radio denied that Nasser's speech of 23 Dec. against the Syrian Communists could mean an indirect attack on Iraqi Communists and Government policy and said that "what happens in Iraq concerns only the Iraqi-Arab people".

42. On 14 July 1958, the Republic of Iraq was proclaimed by a group of army officers. King Feisal II and Prime Minister Nuri el-Said were killed in the coup.

43. See fn 20 in this section.

that after our recent difficulties about foreign exchange and efforts to meet them, we should go slow in trying to consolidate our position. There is no such possibility as any person who has given thought to this matter or to planning must realise. To slow down is to invite trouble and to make future progress far more difficult.

7. I have written to you already that the Madras State had introduced a mid-day meal scheme in schools.<sup>44</sup> I am sending you separately a note<sup>45</sup> on this scheme as well as on a programme of school improvement in Madras State, which the Madras Government has been good enough to send me. This note, I think, is important, and the Madras Government is to be congratulated on the lead it has given in both these matters. I am sure that other States can profit by these examples. The enthusiasm with which the free mid-day meal scheme has been greeted there and the success it has achieved is heartening. I feel sure that this is a right course to adopt from almost every point of view. It may involve some greater expenditure but, as you will see, the public response and cooperation in any such move is considerable.

8. The second part of the Madras note dealing with the reform of local administration and the strengthening of Panchayat Unions and providing them with greater funds and authority, will also no doubt interest you.<sup>46</sup>

9. In the final analysis, the greatest and most revolutionary factor in bringing about political, economic and social change is education. I am not sure in my mind if everyone realises this, but I have come to this definite conclusion. That education must be based on primary and basic education but it has to include in its scope higher education. We cannot go far in industrialisation or better agriculture or indeed better anything except on the base of such wide-spread education. Of course, education by itself is not enough and we have to keep pace with our other schemes of development. But, without education, there is no real development.

10. We are often told that our present education is defective, and the criticism is justified. And yet, when I see thousands of boys and girls going through the process of schools and college, I can almost see the great changes that are coming about in India through them. Recently, I have attended three

44. Letter to Chief Ministers, 10 July 1958. See SWJN/SS/43/p. 112. K. Kamaraj, the Chief Minister of Madras State, implemented the midday meal scheme in July 1956.

45. As of 31 Oct. 1958, 10,730 elementary schools with 3,34,825 pupils were provided mid-day meals. See G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964* (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), Vol. 5, p. 186, fn 9.

46. The Madras Government recorded that the constitution for the panchayat unions had been drawn up to provide necessary jurisdiction, powers and funds in respect of primary education.



convocations of universities.<sup>47</sup> What struck me most was the number of girl graduates. In Delhi, there were nearly eight hundred girl graduates. In Allahabad, there were probably about one thousand and five hundred (though I am not sure of the number). In Calcutta, I am told that there were three thousand and two hundred. I think that probably it will be an under-estimate to say that this year there were ten thousand girl graduates in our various universities. And then there are the vast numbers of girls going to high schools and colleges. This fact alone seems to me as leading to great social changes in our society. It is through women that the major social changes come. For their influence on their homes and the children in early years is greater than that of the men. Yesterday, I was present at the National Schools Athletic Championships here in Delhi,<sup>48</sup> and I saw both boys and girls competing with vigour for these championships and doing well. Almost unconsciously, this great change is coming over our social life, partly by the growth of education generally, but more especially by the education of women. The older generation perhaps has not quite appreciated the change that is coming and might even have disapproved of some tendencies. But there it is, and we have to encourage it.

11. I sent you a few days ago a note on Mexico's medical revolution. This was taken from an article<sup>49</sup> in an American magazine by Michael Scully.<sup>50</sup> This again showed how a country can go ahead in health with small funds and relatively little resources. We have unfortunately got into the habit of thinking in expensive terms, whatever we might do. In education or health, this is so, as it is in other matters. We spend most of our money on heavy constructions, and not enough is left for the work to be done inside those buildings. A very large part of the outlay of our Second Five Year Plan has gone into construction—probably 40 per cent. If we could save on that, and simplify our constructions, or even do without them wherever possible, we would have far more money for more worthwhile work. I hope that your Medical Department will profit by the note on Mexico that I have sent.

12. There is one matter which has been troubling me very considerably. This is judicial delays. The figures that I have seen of arrears of work in some

47. At Delhi, Allahabad and Visva-Bharati on 6, 21 and 24 Dec. 1958 respectively. For Nehru's convocation addresses at these three places, see items 8, 11 and 12.

48. On 30 Dec. 1958, at the conclusion of the Fourth National Schools Sports in Delhi, Nehru said that he was glad to see the increase in the number of girl participants in sports as "this shows that the girls can match side by side with boys not only in light work but also on the sports grounds."

49. "Mexico on March", published in *Reader's Digest*, Vol. 42, No. 251, March 1943, pp. 53-56.

50. (1898-1958); American journalist.

High Courts are appalling. This matter is being considered by our Law Commission. That Commission consists of eminent men. But I suppose they think rather in a groove, accepting the expensive system that we have put up as a base. We have increased the number of High Court Judges, but this has made little difference to the piling up of arrears. Demands for more judges come. If necessary, we should have more judges. But how many more? Someone calculated that if we are to make any kind of real inroad on this load of arrears, we might require nearly a hundred more judges. I suppose that in this matter, as in others, Parkinson's Law will apply. More judges, more lawyers, more work, more delays—and more demand for judges.

13. Surely, this leads to the inevitable conclusion that procedures have to be simplified. I dare not suggest in what way this should be done, but the fact remains that the present system with its procedure delays justice so much that it sometimes ceases to be justice.

14. In judicial matters, as in so many others, we have often to think of institutional changes. What was good and suitable at another time when the State moved in a leisurely way or was more or less static, obviously does not fit in with the rapid changes that are coming and changing society rapidly. We cannot take things for granted simply because they have come down to us.

15. I have written to you previously laying great emphasis on the State undertaking wholesale trade in foodgrains.<sup>51</sup> The more I have thought about this, the more I am convinced that this has to be done as soon as possible. There can be, of course, no halfway house. We either do it or we don't. To do it half heartedly is to fall between two stools. Of course it may not be possible in the near future to build up an apparatus for doing it thoroughly and effectively. But the objective must always be there and it has to be realised rapidly. I have noticed with some concern that there is a tendency in some States to temporise, to postpone, to compromise. This tendency is no doubt due to the initial difficulties to be faced, but it will lead us nowhere.

16. Sometimes reference is made to procurement. In the State undertaking wholesale trade in foodgrains there should be no question of procurement as such because the State, through its licensed agents, gets all the produce or that part of it that normally went to the wholesalers. After that, the State, whether it is the Centre or the State Governments, can take that part which it wants to buy and keep in reserve or the Centre can direct a part of it to be sent to another State. The rest may be left with the wholesaler for the present to be dealt with through the normal channels. The point is that procurement as of old does not

51. See item 1, here pp. 3-4.



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

come into the picture at all and to think of procurement leads one away from the objective we are aiming at.

17. It is not necessary for the State at present or in the near future to take all the responsibility for meeting the requirements of the retail trade. This will be looked after by what is left with the licensed wholesalers after the Centre or the State Governments have taken what they want. I would earnestly request you to undertake this wholesale trade, through licensed agents, as effectively as possible and not to weaken it so much that it ceases to have any semblance to State wholesale trading.

18. We have had a number of complaints about smuggling from one State to another or one region to another. The whole purpose of the formation of these regions is to make that region self-sufficient and not to permit large-scale exports which would upset the whole scheme. If smuggling is permitted or connived at, then the scheme breaks down. The only real effective way of stopping smuggling from where it takes place is for a no-movement-belt on the border—say for five miles. I think this belt should be created in some places. If strong steps are taken right at the beginning, then matters will settle down. But if the administrative apparatus is loose, then whatever schemes we make will fail.

19. In the past year or two, there has been some deficit in food. It is however well recognised now that the deficit was really not very great. The chief fault lay in our administrative apparatus and in our lack of control of the market. We have introduced wholesale State trade to control the market and if we control movements also effectively then we are bound to succeed.

20. There has recently been much agitation in Uttar Pradesh to raise the price of sugarcane and even strikes have been threatened by the sugarcane cooperatives.<sup>52</sup> We have given a good deal of thought to this matter and we are quite convinced that it will be a wrong and harmful step to raise the price. I do not think the price is at all low from the producers' point of view. In fact even now the cane producers get much more from the Mills than they do when they sell it for Khandsari sugar. If we raise the price, we shall have to give up the idea of exporting sugar and even the price of sugar will go up internally affecting other prices. Even now our costs of production of sugar are greater than in other countries. We cannot easily compete with them.

21. There has been some trouble about jute prices also which have fallen partly because of the increase in jute cultivation. This increase is good in the

52. The UP Cooperative Cane Unions Federation threatened a strike by cane growers if their demands of minimum cane price, payment of arrears of their share of the excess profits made by the mills, and the establishment of a board headed by a Judge of the High Court for fixation of sugar cane prices were not met by 14 Jan. 1959.



long run. Various steps have been taken by our Food Ministry to ease this jute situation. Exports have also been permitted.

22. While we want an adequate supply of sugar and jute, we must remember that we must not encourage too much the transfer of lands from foodgrains to sugarcane or jute.

23. There has been a consistent propaganda, chiefly in the foreign press, about the rivalry of India and China and some kind of apprehension growing in India because China is supposed to be going ahead fast in industrial production and in other matters. Apparently people used to the cold war cannot think except in terms of rivalry. There is no rivalry between India and China. There may be a healthy spirit of emulation and of learning, from each other which we certainly propose to do. Then there are stories about increasing tension between India and the U.S.S.R. and China. I have failed to notice any marked tension. There are of course some things happening in the U.S.S.R. or China, which we may not approve. Indeed there are many things happening in India which we do not approve. It is well known that we follow certain basically different policies in India from those prevalent in China and the U.S.S.R. That does not mean that there should be tension or unhealthy rivalry. We continue to have friendly relations both with the Soviet Union and China and I hope you will not be misled by reports to the contrary.

24. Even if something is said or done in China or the U.S.S.R., which is not to our liking, we shall continue to pursue our own policy of friendship and cooperation wherever this is possible.

25. In a recent number of the "Foreign Report" published by the *Economist* of London, there was a strange story of what was said to be an incident that occurred four years ago. I was astonished to read it because I knew nothing about it and I ought to have known because I was supposed to be intimately concerned with it. I would not even refer to this here but for the fact that some people imagine that what this "Foreign Report" contains is based on reliable information. When we read about something in a far-off country, naturally we tend to believe it. But when it concerns India, we can check it. I have often found that the stories or comments on India in this "Foreign Report" are far from the truth. In the present instance, they were wholly devoid of any foundation. The story in the last number of the "Foreign Report" was that some four years ago, General Thimayya, who had recently come back from his successful work in Korea, was approached by some businessmen, mostly Indian but some foreigners too, with the proposal that he might bring about some kind of a military coup and push aside the "socialist-minded Prime Minister". Further that learning of this, I had taken certain firm, though quiet, measures to put an end to this kind of thing. The whole story is fantastic and amused me much. There was no need for me to

enquire about it. Nevertheless I thought I should bring this to the notice of General Thimayya who was equally surprised and denied knowledge of anything connected with it.

26. I have referred to this remarkable story for two reasons. One is that we should not easily be taken in by these stories that appear in the foreign press about India. The second is to point out how attempts are made in the press often to create difficulties for us in people's minds and to attempt to spoil our relations with other countries.

27. Recently, the Madhya Pradesh Government celebrated the Kalidasa Jayanti at Ujjain.<sup>53</sup> This was celebrated also in many other parts of the country with some enthusiasm. Our President himself went to Ujjain to inaugurate this celebration personally. And in Madhya Pradesh, all the towns and the districts took part in these celebrations, I think that it was an excellent idea for these Jayanti celebrations to be organised. Kalidasa is the greatest of our poets, and it is well that we remember him and do honour to his memory. It is proposed to erect a proper memorial to him at Ujjain. This memorial should be something more than a provincial memorial; it should be national in every respect. I hope, therefore, that your State Government will also take interest in it.

28. I am leaving today for Orissa on a brief visit. Soon after my return, I shall have to go to Nagpur for the Congress session. Some clear indications have already been given about the main work of this session. This will deal with land reform, agricultural production and planning. My next letter, therefore, to you will have to be some time after the Nagpur Congress.

29. May I send you again all my good wishes for the New Year? May we, in this year that is coming, overcome our petty quarrels and disputes and learn to cooperate with each other more in the mighty tasks that confront us.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

53. Inaugurated by President Rajendra Prasad on 21 Nov. 1958.



## (b) Speeches

4. Need for a Democratic Approach<sup>54</sup>

बहिनो और भाइयो,

एक बरस हुआ जब मैं आपके सुंदर नगर में आया था और इसी मैदान में एक सभा हुई थी।<sup>55</sup> आज फिर आया हूँ और आपने प्रेम से, दिल से मेरा स्वागत किया उसके लिए धन्यवाद।

अभी हमारे भाई आपसे कुछ दुनिया में शान्ति का कह रहे थे और मैं सोचता था कि हम चर्चा शान्ति का बहुत करते हैं, दुनिया में औरों को सलाह देते हैं, और कुछ और देशों में इसकी ख़बर भी पहुँची है कि हमारा देश शान्तिप्रिय है। लेकिन कहाँ तक हमारे दिलों में शान्ति है? सच बात तो यह है कि असली शान्ति मनुष्य के दिल में होती है, हृदय में होती है। उसके बाद बाहर की शान्ति हो जाती है। अगर हम और आप अपने दिल में तो एक तलवार छिपाके रखें, तो कहाँ तक उसको छिपायेंगे? वो निकल जाती है। अगर किसी देश के दिल में अंदर से द्वेष हो, क्रोध हो, हिंसा हो, तो निकल ही आती है कभी न कभी। फिर ऊपर से जो कहे या करे उसका असर अधिक नहीं होता, जितना कि उसके दिल में क्या भावना है?

तो हमारे देश में क्या विचार हैं, क्या भावनायें हैं? अब इसका उत्तर देना तो कठिन है। क्योंकि हमारा देश तो कोई एक व्यक्ति तो है नहीं, करोड़ों लोग हैं देश में, हर तरह के लोग हैं, पुरुष और स्त्री। और कुछ शान्तिप्रिय हैं, कुछ इसकी तरफ विचार नहीं करते, कुछ अशान्ति पैदा करते हैं, झगड़े पैदा करते हैं। यह बात विचार करने की हमें है, क्योंकि अंत में जो बात हम निश्चय करें सच्चे तौर से अपने दिल में, उस बात को हम करेंगे। ऊपर से धोखा हम नहीं दे सकते। ऊपर की बातों से हम लोगों को विश्वास नहीं दिलायेंगे, जब हमारे दिल में विश्वास नहीं है। मैं इसलिए आपसे यह कहता हूँ कि आजकल के भारत को देखकर, बहुत सारी बातें दीखती हैं, जिससे खुशी होती है, जिससे हमें मालूम होता है कि हमारा देश मज़बूत होता जाता है, बढ़ता जाता है, दृढ़ होता जाता है। दूसरे तरफ से देखें तो ऐसी बातें भी हैं जिससे दुर्बलता दीखती है, जिससे आपस में फूट पैदा होती है, जिससे अशान्ति होती है, झगड़ा-फसाद होता है। तो ये तो मैंने आपसे कहा कि बहुत कठिन है कि सारे भारत के लोग, सैंतीस करोड़, एक विचार के हो जाएँ इस बात में, लेकिन जो बात होनी

54. Speech at a public meeting, Polo Pavilion Grounds, Baroda, 2 November 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

*The Hindu* on 3 Nov. reported that about 200,000 attended. Nehru had gone to Baroda to inaugurate the third All-India Convention of the Youth Congress. For his inaugural speech on 2 Nov. 1958, see item 19.

55. On 26 Oct. 1957. See SWJN/SS/39/pp. 44-46.



चाहिए वो यह कि एक वायुमंडल हो। अब एक-दो आदमी उसमें गड़बड़ा जाएँ तो खैर कुछ हर्ज नहीं।

मुझे याद है तीस चालीस वर्ष हुए, जब गांधीजी आये थे और उन्होंने सारे हिन्दुस्तान का नेतृत्व किया था और किस तरह से उन्होंने पहले ही यह सबक हमको सिखाया था, क्योंकि उन्होंने साफ कहा था कि मैं एक ही तरह से काम कर सकता हूँ, एक ही रास्ता मैं जानता हूँ, और अगर तुम लोग चाहते हो कि मेरे रास्ते पर चलो, तो यह बात मन में साफ हो जानी चाहिए कि कोई आपस में, ऊपर से हम कहें कि हम शान्तिप्रिय हैं और दूसरी तरफ से दिल में हम छिपाके क्रोध और द्वेष और झगड़ा रखें? मुझे याद है हम लोग तो खैर उस समय नौजवान थे, उत्साह था, जोश था। तो हमें तो कोई कठिनाई नहीं थी इन सब बातों को मान लेने में, लेकिन और लोग थे, उनके बात यह समझ में नहीं आती थी। हल्के-हल्के ऐसी-ऐसी बातें हमारे देश में हुई कि ये सबक देश समझने लगा, सीखने लगा। क्योंकि जब कोई बड़ी बात होती थी झगड़े की, तो हमारे जो नेता थे, गांधीजी, वो हम सबको सजा देते थे। सजा कैसी दें? कोई बड़े अफसर नहीं थे कि हमें सजा दें, लेकिन उनके शब्द सजा के होते थे, उनकी आँख सजा की हो जाती थी, हालाँकि उनकी आँखों में प्रेम हमेशा रहता था, फिर भी प्रेम भरी आँखों में जब सजा होती है तो उससे बड़ी चोट लगती है।

आप भूल गये हों शायद, एक बात हुई थी तब, शायद सन् 1921 में, 37 बरस हुए, '21 कि '22 मुझे याद नहीं, जब बड़े जोर से पहला असहयोग आंदोलन चल रहा था देशभर में, और हम में बहुत लोग जेल में थे। गांधीजी उस समय नहीं जेल में थे। जब मेरे प्रांत के, उत्तर प्रदेश के, एक गाँव में, छोटे गाँव में, जिसका कि नाम चोरी-चौरा था, गोरखपुर जिले में, किसान कुछ बेचारे सताये हुए थे, या जो कुछ कहो। किसान आये और उन्होंने पुलिस के थाने को घेर लिया, और उसमें आग लगा दी और थाना जल गया और उसी के साथ दो-चार पाँच-छः पुलिस वाले भी जल गये, निकलने नहीं पाये।<sup>56</sup> बुरी बात थी। यों भी बुरी बात थी, और जो हमारे यहाँ हमने कहा था दुनिया से, गांधीजी ने कहा, कांग्रेस ने कहा, कि हम शान्तिमय आंदोलन कर रहे हैं, वो बात झूठी साबित हो गयी लगभग। खैर, अब सारे भारत में, एक गाँव में हो जाए, तो कोई बड़ी बात नहीं थी हमारी राय में। लेकिन हमने एक दिन ख़बर सुनी, मैं लखनऊ जेल में था,<sup>57</sup> कि गांधीजी ने सारे असहयोग आंदोलन को रोक दिया एकदम से, एक बढ़ती हुई फौज थी उसकी, सब रोक दिया एकदम से।<sup>58</sup> हमारे यह बात समझ में नहीं आयी, और बहुत बुरी लगी, क्योंकि हमारे में एक बहुत उत्साह था, जोश था, भरे हुए थे हम, कि अच्छा तमाशा है यह, कि सारे देश में बड़ा काम हो रहा है, फौज बढ़ रही है स्वराज की तरफ, एक गाँव में बेचारे कुछ किसानों से धोखा हो गया, तो सारी फौज रोक दी जाए। क्या माने? बहुत हम गुस्से हुए अपने दिल में।

56. On 5 Feb. 1922; in fact 23 policemen were killed.

57. Nehru was in Lucknow District Jail from 6 Dec. 1921 to 3 Mar. 1922.

58. On 11 Feb. 1922.

खैर, फिर हम जब बाहर निकले और गांधीजी से मिले, तो उनसे पूछा कि साहब यह तो बड़ी ज़बरदस्ती है कि आप सारे देश की एक तहरीक को, आंदोलन को, रोक दें इसलिए कि दस-बीस-पचास आदमियों से कोई गलती हो जाए। तो आप जब तक सारे भारत के 37 करोड़ आदमी एक बात को स्वीकार न करलें, तब तक हम कुछ नहीं कर सकते। या ये भी देखो, न भी स्वीकार करें, अरे साहब हमारी दुश्मन जो है, अंग्रेजी सरकार थी उस समय, वो जब हमारे आंदोलन को चाहे रोकने को कोई ऐसी बात करवा दे। तो हम तो अपने दुश्मन के हाथ में हो जाते हैं। हमारे हाथ में तो फिर घोड़े की लगाम रहती नहीं। हमने उनसे बहुत बहस की। उन्होंने कहा कि एक तो यह कि ख़ाली वह एक जो चौरी-चौरा में हुआ, वह तो एक बुरी बात तो थी, लेकिन मैं देख रहा था कि ऐसी हिंसा की हवा देश में फैल रही है और अगर मैं उसको रोकता नहीं, तो फिर बेकाबू हो जाएगी और जो आंदोलन मैंने चलाया, गांधीजी ने यानी, वो आंदोलन इस वायुमंडल में नहीं चल सकता। हो सकता है, अगर देश यह निश्चय करे कि हमें तलवार से स्वराज लेना है, ठीक है उसने किया। मैं उसको ठीक नहीं समझता। लेकिन एक देश का एक निश्चय होगा तो देश चले उस पर। लेकिन जब देश निश्चय करता है जोरों से कि हम अहिंसा से, शान्ति से स्वराज लेंगे, तब उसी के साथ-साथ यह दूसरी बात नहीं हो सकती। क्योंकि एक बात दूसरे को काट देती है, न उधर आप चल सकते हैं, न इधर चल सकते हैं। और दूसरी बात यह कि जब हमने दुनिया के सामने एक बात निश्चित की और फिर हम यह करें, तो फिर हम दुनिया की आँखों के सामने झूठे साबित होते हैं। हमारा आदर नहीं रहेगा। हमारी बात की कदर नहीं रहेगी। तो उन्होंने समझाया और कुछ हमारी समझ में भी आया।

मैंने आपको यह बात बताई, किस तरह से एक-एक कदम पर गांधीजी ने हमें disciplined किया, हमें कुछ सिपाहीपना सिखाया। कुछ जो हम कहें, जो हमारे मुख से शब्द निकलें, जो हमारे प्रस्ताव हों, उस पर अमल करें, उसी रास्ते पे चलें। ये नहीं कि एक बात कहें, दूसरी बात करें। और जैसे मैंने आपको एक बात बताई ऐसे ही दस-बीस बरस में उसके बाद कई दफे यह बात हुई। कोई गलत बात हुई, कोई हिंसा की हुई, कुछ और हुई, गांधीजी ने फौरन अपनी आवाज़ उठाई। या तो रोक दिया उन्होंने हमारे आंदोलन को, या उन्होंने उपवास किया इक्कीस दिन का, जिससे देश पर असर हुआ। गरजू की उन्होंने उसको बिल्कुल स्वीकार नहीं किया, जो होता है। और इस तरह से दिन गुज़रे, महीने गये, साल गये, दस बरस गये, उन्होंने भारत की जनता को सिखाने की कोशिश की, discipline करने की कोशिश की। थोड़े से लोगों को नहीं, अपने आश्रम वालों को। उनका, महात्माजी का, स्कूल तो सारा भारत था, 36-37 करोड़ लोगों का उनका स्कूल था, सब भारत के पुरुष, स्त्री, बच्चे, क्योंकि उनकी आँखों में तो हमेशा ये सारे 36-37 करोड़ लोग थे। शहर के तो थे ही, लेकिन विशेषकर बेचारे हमारे ग्रामों के रहने वाले, उनको सिखाना था। और सिखाना था, किताब से नहीं, व्याख्यान से भी नहीं, लेकिन अभ्यास से, experience से, कि उनकी भावनाएँ किधर जाएँ।



और आश्चर्य की बात तो यह है कि कितना उन्होंने सिखाया। यह बात तो मानी कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोग रहने वाले, सब एकदम से तो उनका परिवर्तन तो बिल्कुल नहीं हो गया। जैसे थे, अच्छे-बुरे, वैसे ही थे, लेकिन फिर भी उन्होंने उनको काफी बदला। और इतिहास में आपको ऐसी कोई बात दूसरी नहीं मिलेगी। आपको इतिहास में मिलेगा, जब किसी बड़ी लड़ाई के समय, दो देशों में लड़ाई है, फौजी लड़ाई, जब सारा देश खड़ा हो गया अपने को बचाने को। आपको इतिहास में मिलेगा कि कोई बड़ा dictator, फौजी या कोई और जो देश की हुकूमत पे बैठा अकेला आदमी, और उसने डराकर तलवार के जोर से लोगों को discipline किया: यह करो, यह नहीं करो। लेकिन ऐसी मिसाल आपको कोई नहीं मिलेगी इतिहास में किसी देश के भी, भारत में भी, कि जब करोड़ों आदमियों को एक आदमी ने, एक नेता ने, औरों के द्वारा, और बहुत से उनके काम करने वाले, लेकिन एक नेता ने तलवार से नहीं, ज़बरदस्ती से नहीं, धमकी से नहीं, लेकिन प्रेम से discipline किया उन सिपाहियों को।

तो जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा, यह बात यह तो कोई जँचती नहीं कि हम सब लोग एकदम से कोई फरिश्ते हो गये। जो हममें दुर्बलता थी वो रही। लेकिन फिर भी हममें परिवर्तन हुआ, सारे भारत की जनता में। पहली बात तो यह आई कि हमारे दिल में जो डर था, वो बहुत कम हो गया, हम निडर हो गये, और जब कोई व्यक्ति, या कोई जाति या कौम निडर हो जाती है, तो उसकी पहली बड़ी जीत होती है अपने ऊपर, अपनी दुर्बलता पर, और और बातों पर। क्योंकि सबमें बुरी बात मेरी राय में किसी देश का या किसी व्यक्ति का डर से चिपक जाना है। डर से, भय से, कभी मित्रता नहीं करनी चाहिए, दोस्ती। गलत चीज है। और अगर मुझसे पूछा जाए कि गांधीजी ने क्या सबमें बड़ा सबक सिखाया भारत को, भारत की जनता को, तो अभय होने का। मुझे याद पड़ता है कि एक पुरानी हमारी पुस्तक में कहीं लिखा है, पुरानी, प्राचीन समय की, कि एक राजा थे। सबमें बड़ी बात अपनी प्रजा के साथ क्या करता था? उसमें लिखा है उनको अभयदान देता था। ये तो हमारी प्राचीन संस्कृति है। यह दान गांधीजी ने हमारी जनता को बहुत कुछ दिया, और एक गिरे हुए लोगों को बेचारे, जो हमारे दरिद्र लोग थे, विशेषकर ग्रामों में, गिरे हुए, जिनको सब लोग ठुकरायें, कौन पूछे उनको? उनकी कमर सीधी कर दी, उनका सिर ऊँचा हो गया, उनकी आँखों में, मुरझाई हुई आँखों में, कुछ चमक आ गयी, और मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि मेरी एक काफी लम्बी अवस्था, उग्र हो गयी है, मैं कभी उस बात को नहीं, और बहुत सारी बातें मैंने देखीं, अच्छी और बुरी, बहुत सारी शानदार बातें देखी हैं देश में, इस ज़माने में, लेकिन जिस बात ने मेरे ऊपर असर किया सबमें बड़ा, मैं उसे भूल नहीं सकता। किस तरह से यह भारत के गाँवों में जादू फैला, और मुड़ी हुई कमर सीधी हो गयी हमारे किसानों की, सिर ऊँचा हो गया और कुछ आँखों में आशा की झलक आने लगी। अजीब जादू था। लोग miracle की बातें करते हैं। मैं नहीं जानता कि जादू दुनिया में, मैं जानता नहीं कैसा होता है miracle, लेकिन इस जादू को मैंने देखा।



ख़ैर, अब जादू करने वाले कोई हमारे पास हैं नहीं, हम मामूली हैं, आप और हम। लेकिन पुराने जादू का कभी-कभी असर हो जाता है, पुरानी याद आती है। फिर मैं सोचता हूँ कि हमें याद आये, हमने देखा, महसूस किया, हमारे शरीर में एक ज़बरदस्त और दिलपे असर पैदा हुआ। लेकिन जो लोग आजकल के हमारे नौजवान हैं, नवयुवक हैं, उनके लिए पुरानी कहानी है यह। जैसे और कहानियाँ पढ़ते हैं, वो हमारे देश की लम्बी कहानी में, यह भी एक कहानी हो गयी कि गांधी आये थे और गांधी ने यह किया और स्वराज की लड़ाई हुई और सब कुछ हुआ और स्वराज मिला। तो जो लोग इसकी कहानी सी सुनते हैं, उन पर कुछ असर तो नहीं हो सकता जो खुद देखने का और अनुभव करने का हो सकता है, होता है। यह बात है। लेकिन फिर मैं सोचता हूँ कि अगर आजकल की दुनिया की हालत देखकर, और आजकल के भारत की हालत देखकर, जो हमारे नौजवान हैं उस हालत को समझें, देखें, तो क्यों नहीं उनके दिलों में भी एक जोश आये, एक ज़रा उनकी रगों में खून तेजी से क्यों न चले, क्योंकि आजकल के भारत में हजार प्रश्न हैं, सवाल हैं, कठिनाइयाँ हैं, लेकिन सैकड़ों बरस बाद भारत आगे बढ़ रहा है, आगे चल रहा है, कदम-ब-कदम बढ़ना जारी है। कभी-कभी कोई ठोकर खाकर गिर जाए इधर-उधर, लेकिन भारत की जनता सब बढ़ रही है, भारत बढ़ रहा है। बीच में उसके बढ़ने में खाई-खंदक आये, गड्ढे आये, उसमें हमें हानि हुई, लेकिन उनको भी हमने पार किया इस ग्यारह वर्ष में जबसे स्वराज आया।

और अब आप इधर-उधर जायें भारत में, चाहे ग्राम में, चाहे नगर में, देखें क्या हो रहा है। आपकी आँखों में वो बात तो नहीं आयेगी कि पहले क्या था। आप तो इस बदलते हुए भारत को देखते हैं। जब भारत जमा हुआ था, चलता नहीं था, जकड़ा हुआ था, एक तरह से एक बड़े पिंजरे में, वो तो आँखें सामने आपके आती नहीं। क्योंकि आप खुशनसीब हैं, अच्छे भाग्य आपके हैं कि आप आज़ाद हिन्दुस्तान में बढ़ रहे हैं, पढ़ रहे हैं, बढ़ रहे हैं। तो फर्क आप नहीं देखते। तो शायद आप समझें कि यह तो एक मामूली चीज है, भारत का आज़ाद होना। किसी देश का आज़ाद होना मामूली चीज नहीं होती। कोई जादू से नहीं होता, कोई कानून से नहीं होता। आदमियों के परिश्रम और त्याग से आज़ादी आती है, और आज़ादी रहती है, और जहाँ उसमें ढील होती है, तब आज़ादी के काबिल वो नहीं रह सकती। सारा हमारा इतिहास हमें सिखाता है क्या? वो ज़माने आते हैं जब भारत ऊँचा था, चमकता था, भारत के विचार, भारत की कलायें, दूर-दूर दुनिया में फैली थीं। और वो ज़माने आते हैं, जब भारत गिरा हुआ था, दबा हुआ था और विचार करने की शक्ति भी निकल गयी थी। दोनों ज़माने हैं। तो अब जो नया ज़माना हमारे पास आया, हम आज़ाद हुए, और हमने निश्चय किया कि अब हम आज़ादी की देखभाल करेंगे, रक्षा करेंगे, चाहे जो कुछ हो। और हमने निश्चय किया, इस आज़ादी से लाभ उठाके हम आगे बढ़ेंगे, हम एक, दो, तीन, चार, दस हजार आदमी नहीं, लेकिन सारे भारतवासी, चाहे उनका धर्म, मज़हब कुछ हो, चाहे जाति कुछ हो, चाहे प्रांत और भाषा कुछ हो, हम बढ़ेंगे आगे एक होकर। तो यह एक बड़ी बात

थी। अब हम बढ़ रहे हैं। बात सही है कि लोग हमें पीछे घसीटते हैं, लोग हमें छोटे झगड़ों में डाल देते हैं। और लोग भूल जाते हैं कि हमारी बड़ी प्रतिज्ञा क्या है, और आजकल के समय का तकाज़ा क्या है? तो ये मैं सोचता था, और अक्सर मैं सोचता हूँ, तो दिल खुश होता है कि जो स्वप्न हमने अपनी जवानी में देखे थे, उनमें से बहुत कुछ स्वप्न पूरे हुए, और भारत एक शानदार स्वतंत्र देश हुआ, जिसका आदर दुनिया करती है।

देशों का आदर क्यों होता है? देशों में बाज़ लोग कहलाते हैं बड़ी शक्तियाँ, great powers, क्यों उनका आदर होता है? उनका आदर होता है इसलिए कि उनके पास बड़ी फौजें हैं, फौज है, हवाई जहाज हैं, समुद्री जहाज हैं, बड़ी शक्ति है। इसलिए आदर होता है। उनका आदर होता है इसलिए कि उनके पास धन-दौलत बहुत है, इसलिए। तो भारत के पास तो ऐसी बड़ी शक्ति है नहीं फौजी, न धन-दौलत है। हम तो एक गरीब मुल्क हैं। लेकिन बावजूद इन बातों के भारत का आदर दुनिया में होता है, कोई इसमें संदेह नहीं है। कोई भी जाये, आपमें से कोई गये हों, तो आप आजमा सकते हैं। और लोग गये, तरह-तरह के दल के लोग गये, एक दल के नहीं, ये नहीं कि कांग्रेस के लोग जाके वहाँ आपसे कह दें। और और दलों के नेता गये, साम्यवादी, समाजवादी दल के, साम्यवादी दल के और दलों के जो वहाँ जिसमें, हम में बहुत कुछ भेद हों, अंतर हो, लेकिन जो बाहर गया उसने यह तस्वीर देखी, भारत के आदर की। भारत की तरफ लोग देखते हैं, चाहे यूरोप में, चाहे अमेरिका में, चाहे एशिया के बहुत मुल्कों में, भारत की तरफ देखते हैं और भारतवासी कोई आता है तो उससे प्रेम से बातचीत करते हैं। उनके सामने वो एक नमूना हो जाता है, एक दूत हो जाता है बढ़ते हुए भारत का, चाहे उसने कुछ भी नहीं किया हो। यह बात हुई।

इसे मैं कोई अपने भारत की कठिनाई को छिपाने के लिए नहीं कहता, या हमारी दुर्बलता को, लेकिन फिर भी एक बात याद रखनी है और अगर यह प्रतिष्ठा, यह नाम भारत का और देशों में हुआ तो उसके पीछे कोई वजह होगी। क्या बात है कि हम आज हमारे देश में रहके उस बात को नहीं देखते, हमारी आँखें बंद हैं और हम सिर्फ शिकायत करते हैं? सिर्फ टीका-टिप्पणी करते हैं, और कभी-कभी यह भी कहते हैं कि भारत गिरा, ख़त्म होता जाता है। बात यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। दोनों बातों को हमें देखना है, दोनों तराजू के पल्लों की तरफ ध्यान देना है। क्योंकि हमारा यह दस्तूर है, और गांधीजी ने ख़ास सिखाया था कि हममें जो दुर्बलता है, जो कमजोरी है, उसको छिपायें नहीं। छिपायेंगे किससे और कहाँ? छिपाके धोखा खायेंगे। हमें तो उसको देखकर, उसको निकालके, उखाड़के फेंक देना है, उससे लड़ना है, अपनी दुर्बलता से, अपनी कमजोरी से, उसको देखना है। उसी के साथ जो हमारा देश तरक्की करे, उन्नति करे, हम उससे आँखें बंद करें, यह कौन सी समझ की बात है? यह नहीं कि मैं अपनी तारीफ करूँ, जवाहरलाल या आप अपनी करें। जवाहरलाल ने कोई बड़ी बात नहीं की। जो कुछ हुआ भारत में, वो भारत के करोड़ों लोगों ने किया, परिश्रम से, मेहनत से, और जो कुछ होगा वो भारत के लोग करेंगे। तो अपने देश की बुराई करना, एक तो अच्छी बात नहीं है, औरों के सामने या अपने सामने, या कोई



ऐसी बात करना जिससे अपना देश दुर्बल हो, कमजोर हो, निराश हो। एक वायुमंडल में हवा फैलाये कि हम गिरे जाते हैं, हम दुर्बल होते हैं, हम तबाह होते जाते हैं, यह बात कोई अच्छी है? अगर सच बात हो तो कहिए, लेकिन मैं आपसे दावे से कहता हूँ कि नहीं सच है यह। इसके माने ये नहीं कि खुराबियाँ नहीं हैं। हैं खुराबियाँ, इसमें कौन शक। उससे हमें लड़ना है। अव्वल, किस देश में खुराबी नहीं? तो किस-किस तरह से हम सैकड़ों बरस से अपनी कमजोरी, अपनी गरीबी, अपनी दुर्बलता को हटायें? कोई जादू से तो नहीं होता यह। हमारे परिश्रम से, मेहनत से होगा।

हमारा समाज है। समाज में अच्छी बातें हैं, और समाज में बुरी बातें हैं, और समाज की बुरी बातें देश को कमजोर करती हैं, उठने नहीं देती। बहुत हमारे रिवाज हैं समाज के, जिन्होंने देश को दुर्बल किया। हमारे समाज के रिवाज हैं जिसने हमारी स्त्री जाति को दुर्बल किया, बढ़ने नहीं दिया। हमने उनके बदलने का यत्न किया, कानून सब किया। कानून से तो नहीं होता यह, असल में तो समाज खुद बदलता है। लेकिन इनसे सहायता मिलती है। अब नये कानून बने, दो-तीन बरस हुए,<sup>59</sup> बहुत बातें हुई, वो बंधन स्त्रियों के उनको हटाया, क्योंकि हम इसको आवश्यक समझते थे कि इस देश में, देश के किसी हिस्से में, बंधन नहीं होने चाहिए। वो बंधन स्त्री जाति के थे अलग से। वो हमारे भाई जिनको हम हरिजन कहते हैं, वो बंधन हमारे समाज में सैकड़ों बरस से उन पर डाले थे। हमारा कसूर है, अंग्रेजों का नहीं। उनको हम हटा रहे हैं, कानून से हटा दिए हैं,<sup>60</sup> लेकिन समाज को भी हटाना है, रास्ता हरेक के लिए खोलना है। तो यह बड़े काम हमारे हैं।

एक काम यही दरिद्रता से लड़ाई है। क्योंकि हम देश की दरिद्रता और गरीबी से लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं। कैसे लड़ें उससे, किस ढंग से लड़ें? दरिद्रता होती है कि लोगों के पास सामान नहीं, खाना नहीं, कपड़ा नहीं, घर नहीं और जो कुछ काम नहीं, कैसे करें? इसी के लिए महज प्रस्ताव से तो हो नहीं जाती यह बात, न कोई Parliament में कानून बनाने से हो जाए। कानून बनाने से हो तो बड़ी सरल बात है कानून बना दें, लेकिन आप जानते हैं उससे तो नहीं होता। दरिद्रता तो बड़ी चीज है सारे देश की, कैसे एकदम से हटे। लेकिन छोटी बात भी कानून से नहीं होगी, आदमियों को करनी पड़ती है अपने परिश्रम से। कानून रास्ता साफ करता है, सरल करता है। तो हमने ये बड़ी लड़ाई शुरू की। और बड़ी लड़ाई कैसे हुई? आखिर अगर लोगों के पास सामान नहीं है, खाना नहीं है, वस्त्र नहीं हैं, कपड़ा नहीं है, स्कूल नहीं है, अस्पताल नहीं है, काम नहीं है, तो इन सब बातों को हमें पैदा करना है। अमेरिका से तो नहीं आ जायेगा, जापान से तो नहीं आयेगा, रूस से तो नहीं आयेगा। हाँ, मैं मानता हूँ, और धन्यवाद सहित मानता हूँ, कि हमारी मौके पर सहायता और देशों ने की है, अमेरिका ने की है, रूस ने की है, अंग्रेजों के देश ने की है, और देशों ने की है। हम उन्हें

59. Referring to the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, and the Hindu Succession Act, 1956. See SJWN/SS/35/p. 173.

60. Referring to the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955.



धन्यवाद देते हैं। समय पर उन्होंने हमारी कुछ सहायता की, हमें कर्जा दिया या कुछ और दिया। लेकिन अगर आप देखें तो जो कुछ भी सहायता हो वो हमारे देश के काम के लिहाज से थोड़ी होती है। असल में तो हमें खुद उस काम को करना है और जहाँ हम सोचें कि और लोगों की सहायता से हम आगे बढ़ेंगे, तो फिर हम अपाहिज हो जाते हैं, दुर्बल हो जाते हैं। बहुत गलत बात है। तो अगर हमें यह लड़ाई लड़नी है अपनी गरीबी से, तो हमें अपने देश में वो सामान पैदा करना है जो जनता को चाहिए।

मैंने जान के सामान कहा। मैंने रुपया-पैसा नहीं कहा, चाँदी-सोना नहीं कहा, क्योंकि रुपया-पैसा, चाँदी-सोना एक माने में व्यापार की चीज है। आप रुपया-पैसा नहीं खाना करते, आप खाना खाते हैं, आप कपड़ा पहनते हैं। हाँ, आप रुपये से खाना खरीद लेते हैं, आप रुपये से कपड़ा खरीदते हैं दुकान में जाके, वो और बात है। तो हमें खाना अधिक पैदा करना है, हमें कपड़ा पैदा करना है, हमें हज़ार, लाख चीजें जो आपके लिए आवश्यक हैं, उनको पैदा करना है देश में। वो धन होगा देश का। उसको कौन पैदा करेगा इन सब बातों को? देश की जनता, आप लोग, देश के सब लोग, किसान, मजदूर, दुकानदार, इत्यादि, जो जो कुछ हैं, काम करने वाले हैं कारीगर, जो पैदा करते हैं। और तो कहीं से नहीं आ सकता। इसलिए ये बड़ी लड़ाई के माने हो जाते हैं कि देश में हम सामान पैदा करने का सिलसिला अधिक फैलायें, बड़े से बड़े पैमाने पर। और अगर आप देखें और देशों को जैसे अमेरिका है, जैसे और देश हैं, बड़े धनी देश हैं, कैसे? इसलिए कि वो अपने देश में अधिक से अधिक पैदा करते हैं, अपनी जमीन से बहुत पैदा करते हैं, खेतों से, और अपने कारखानों से बहुत पैदा करते हैं। तो हमें भी जमीन से पैदा करना है, हमें कारखाने से, हमें ग्रामोद्योग से, जैसे भी हो सके। यही हो जाता है न। और कोई उपाय नहीं, कोई रास्ता नहीं। और चाहे आप समाजवादी हों, चाहे साम्यवादी हों, चाहे पूंजीवादी हों, चाहे कोई वाद आप लें, आखिर में घूम के यह आ जाता है कि देश में अधिक पैदा हो, जमीन से, कारखाने से, ग्रामोद्योग से, कारीगरी से, हर तरह से।

तो फिर हम जो इसपे अधिक विचार करें तो विचार यह हो जाता है, कैसे करें पैदा? इसमें कुछ अलग-अलग लोगों के विचार हो सकते हैं: समाजवादी कहें, भाई इस ढंग से चलो। साम्यवादी कहें, इस ढंग से। लेकिन यह निश्चय है कि सब कहेंगे कि देश में अधिक पैदा करना है हमें, जमीन से, कारखाने से। और ये पैदा परिश्रम से होता है, नारे से नहीं होगा। तो परिश्रम करना पड़ेगा जोरों से। और कोई देश हो फिर मैं आपसे कहता हूँ, चाहे अमेरिका हो, चाहे रूस हो, साम्यवादी देश हो—दोनों बड़े हैं हालाँकि उनकी नीति अलग-अलग है—लेकिन परिश्रम से बड़े हैं, अपनी जनता की मेहनत से, सहयोग से और परिश्रम से, और आपस में नियम से, discipline से। यह बातें हरेक में हैं, चाहे कोई आपकी नीति हो, बुनियादी बातें।

अच्छा, यह बातें निश्चय हो गयीं। अगर ये बातें निश्चय हो गयीं, तब कोई बात हमें ऐसी नहीं करनी चाहिए जिससे यह देश में पैदा करने के सिलसिले में रुकावट लाये, मोटी

बात है। अगर हम चाहते हैं कि देश में अधिक से अधिक पैदा हो, चाहे जमीन से, चाहे कारखाने से, तो जो उसमें रुकावट आये उसको हमें हटाना है। रुकावट कई तरह से आती है, एक तो रुकावट आती है समाज का संगठन ऐसा हो, आर्थिक संगठन ऐसा हो, जैसे जमीन को आप लें, बड़े-बड़े जागीरदार, जागीरदार और ताल्लुकदार और ज़मींदार, इत्यादि। यह ज़मींदारी की प्रथा और जागीरदारी की प्रथा ऐसी है, ऐसी थी और है, जिससे जो जमीन पर काम करता है, वो ठीक काम नहीं कर सकता। जो उससे लाभ उठाये, वो चला जाता है दूसरे की जेब में। तो वो दिल लगाके काम नहीं कर सकता, और इसलिए अगर हम चाहते हैं कि जमीन से अधिक पैदा हो, तो पहला प्रश्न हमारे सामने आया था कि हम ये जागीरदारी और ज़मींदारी प्रथा का अंत करें<sup>61</sup> पहली बात। और उसको किया, करीब-करीब हो गया, उसके बाद और भी कदम हैं जमीन के बारे में, जो हमने उठाये हैं और उठायेंगे। तो एक तो यह है, मैं अभी आपसे कह दूँ, कि हमारे यहाँ हमने ज़मींदार को और जागीरदार को हटाया।

फिर हमारे यहाँ जमीन एक-एक किसान कृषक के पास थोड़ी होती है, एक एकड़, दो एकड़, चार एकड़, पाँच एकड़ है और आमतौर से दो-तीन एकड़ से अधिक नहीं है। अब ये थोड़ी सी जमीन का प्रबंध करें अधिक पैदा करने का, तो बहुत दूर तक नहीं जाता, क्योंकि जिसके पास दो-तीन एकड़ जमीन है उसके पास शक्ति नहीं करने की, उसने सीखा नहीं, ताकत नहीं कि आजकल की दुनिया में जो बातें करनी होती हैं वो नहीं कर सकता, उतनी शक्ति नहीं। इसलिए यह आवश्यक हो जाता है और यही एक तरीका है, दूसरा है नहीं कोई, मैं आपसे कहता हूँ बहुत दावे से, कि वो छोटे-छोटे किसान मिलकर सहकारी संघ बनायें, cooperative बनायें, मिलकर काम करने के लिए, अपना-अपना हिस्सा लें, मिलकर काम करें, मिलकर ख़रीदें, मिलकर बेचें और न बनिये के हाथ में पड़ें, न किसी और के, बीच वालों के, जो उनसे लाभ उठा लेते हैं और वो बेचारे वैसे के वैसे फाकेमस्त रह जाते हैं। तो यह है। तो इस तरह से हमें अपना जमीन का संगठन बदलना है। इसे कानून से बदलना है। और समाज बदले इसलिए कि हम अधिक पैदा करें, और उनका लाभ हो, उन लोगों का और देश का लाभ हो। एक तो मिसाल आपको मैंने यह दी जिसमें कानून आता है। लेकिन कानून ख़ाली नहीं आता, इसमें वो जनता आती है, वो किसान आता है, उसको समझना है, और वो यह समझे। डर जाए उसके करने से, सहकारी संघ, cooperative बनाने से, तो उसको समझाना है। क्योंकि हम लाठी के जोर से तो नहीं कर सकते इन बातों को, न ही करना चाहते। समझाना है, उसका भला है। किसी और को लाभ नहीं होगा, उसको लाभ होगा। तो यह बात आयी, इसलिए मैंने कहा उसमें समाज का संगठन बदलना पड़ता है।

61. Abolished by various State Governments, starting with the UP Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act of 1950 in 1951.



इसी तरह से और कामों में आप आइये। ये बड़े कारखाने हैं, आपके यहाँ गुजरात में बड़े-बड़े कारखाने हैं, अहमदाबाद में और जगह बम्बई में, ये बड़े कारखाने हैं। हम चाहते हैं बड़े कारखाने। इस आपके अहमदाबाद के मिल से बहुत बड़े कारखाने हम चाहते हैं, खाली कपड़े बनाने के नहीं, लेकिन जो मशीनें बनती हैं, जिन मशीनों से कारखाने बनते हैं, क्योंकि अगर हम चाहते हैं देश में बहुत सारे कारखाने बनाना, तब यह आवश्यक है कि हम कारखाने बनाने का सामान यहाँ लायें। हम जाके जर्मनी से या विलायत से मशीन नहीं लायें। यह आवश्यक है कि हम अपने घर में लोहा काफी पैदा करें। यह आवश्यक है कि हम अपने घर में शक्ति पैदा करें, power, electric power, या और जो कुछ, thermal power, या atomic power, यह पैदा करें, तब हम बढ़ते हैं। ये बातें आ जाती हैं।

अच्छा, जब इतने बढ़ें हम कारखाने वगैरह में, तो फिर एक और सवाल उठता है कि अगर सारे कारखाने व्यक्तिगत रूप से चलाये जाएँ, private property हो, तो वो जाहिर है, चाहे उसके माने अच्छे हों या कैसे हों, वो चलायेंगे इस बात को ध्यान में रखके कि उनका लाभ कैसे होता है। ठीक मोटी बात है, तरीका ही ऐसा है, अपने लाभ के लिए चलायेंगे। ठीक है उनको लाभ हो। वो इस बात का विचार नहीं करेंगे कि इस समय देश की क्या आवश्यकता है। इसलिए यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि देश की आवश्यकताएँ देखकर हम अपनी योजनायें बनायें, कारखाने बनायें और जो बुनियादी कारखाने हैं, जो जड़ हैं, वो देश की जनता के हाथ में हो, न कि व्यक्तिगत रूप से लोगों की private property हो। यह आ जाता है। इसके माने यह नहीं कि सब चीजों, private property को हम खत्म कर दें। माने नहीं हैं इसके मेरी राय में। मैं समझता हूँ कि अच्छा है कुछ रहे ऐसी private property। आगे भविष्य में देखा जाएगा क्या हो।

लेकिन इसके माने यह अवश्य हैं कि जो जड़ की, जो बुनियादी बातें हैं, जिससे आप अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति को इधर-उधर झुका सकते हैं, जिससे आप अपनी planning कर सकते हैं, योजना बना सकते हैं, वो जनता के हाथ में हों। इसी को planning कहते हैं, इसी को कहते हैं समाजवाद की तरफ जाना। अब बाद में समाजवाद की क्या तस्वीर होगी, मैं नहीं कह सकता, न और कोई कह सकता है। अनुभव से हम उसको बदलते जाएँगे। उसको अभी से हम रस्सी से बांध दें तब वो एक चलती हुई चीज को आप बांध देते हैं। लेकिन बुनियादी बातें समाजवाद की क्या हैं? बुनियादी बातें एक तो यह है कि जनता का उद्धार हो, जनता में ऊँच-नीच कम हो, बराबरी अधिकतर आये, और तीसरी बात यह है कि जितने बड़े काम देश में हों वो इस बात को सामने रखके कि जनता का उद्धार होता है, न कि व्यक्तिगत रूप से लोगों का। और भी बातें हैं। अच्छा, मैंने आपसे कहा कि जिसमें जनता का उद्धार हो और जनता में ऊँच-नीच न हो। याद रखिए समाजवाद के माने नहीं है कि जनता में हम सारे में ऊँच-नीच मिटाने के लिए सभी को बराबर मिट्टी में फैला दें, सभी को फाकेमस्त कर दें। यानी आप समाजवाद उसी समय ला सकते हैं देश में जब आपके



हाथ में कुछ सामान है, आप दरिद्रता को नहीं फैला सकते। वो समाजवाद नहीं है, दरिद्रता का समाजवाद। वो क्या है, उससे तो देश कभी बड़े ही नहीं आगे। तो इसलिए दोनों बातें साथ-साथ होनी हैं कि देश में धन-दौलत, सामान को अधिक पैदा करना और उसका ठीक बंटवारा करना, फैलाना। अगर आप अधिक पैदा नहीं करते, एक दरिद्र देश में असल में समाजवाद आ ही नहीं सकता। दरिद्रता का समाजवाद क्या? ये भी कोई चीज है?

ये मैंने आपके सामने कुछ बुनियादी बातें रखीं कि आप इसपे विचार करें। इसलिए कि गोल बातें कितनी होती हैं! आजकल नारों का ज़माना है: क्यों नहीं समाजवाद आता? क्यों नहीं तुम सारे ये कारख़ानों को पकड़ के क्यों नहीं सरकार ले लेती? तो लेके क्या करें उनको? मैंने आपसे कहा जो कारख़ाना हम समझते हैं कि सरकार के लेने से समाज को फ़ायदा होगा, हम उसको लेंगे और लेते हैं। जो कारख़ाने हम नये बनाते हैं, जितने बने हैं, वो सरकारी बन रहे हैं, जनता के। लेकिन हम औरों को भी बनाने की इजाजत देते हैं, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं कि अधिक से अधिक सामान इस देश में पैदा हो हर तरह से। Public sector, private sector क्या है? क्योंकि पहला काम यह है कि यहाँ कुछ धन-दौलत पैदा हो, सामान पैदा हो। अगर हम ऐसे कायदे बनायें जिससे फिर रुकावट पड़ जाए इसमें पैदा होने में चीज़ों के, तो बहुत दूर हो जाता है वो दिन जब हमारे पास काफी सामान हो जनता को देने के लिए। लेकिन यह कहके, उसी के साथ यह भी आवश्यक है, अगर हम समाजवाद चाहते हैं, कि हम उसकी जड़ मजबूत बनायें, और हम कोई ऐसी बात न होने दें जो उसके रास्ते में आ जाए और जिसको अंग्रेज़ी में कहेंगे strategic points, ख़ास जगह, जहाँ से आप अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति को काबू में रखें। वो जनता के हाथ में हो, वो व्यक्तिगत रूप से लोगों के हाथ में न जाए।

लेकिन आप देखें इन सब बातों में घूमघाम के हम आ जाते हैं, अधिक पैदा करने में, और इस तरह से पैदा करना, ऐसी योजना बनायें, ऐसा plan करें जिससे एक कदम के बाद दूसरा कदम आसान हो जाए। यह तो नहीं हैं कि हरेक आदमी जो चाहे पैदा करे, एक चीज़ की कमी हो जाए, दूसरी चीज़ अधिक हो जाए। वो योजना नहीं रही। अब एक चीज़ की, दो चीज़ों की तो हरेक को आवश्यकता है सारे कामों में। एक तो लोहे के बड़े कारख़ाने बनाओ, छोटे कारख़ाने बनाओ—चाहे ग्रामों में जाओ, लोहे की आवश्यकता है। दूसरी चीज़ की आवश्यकता है power की, शक्ति की, electric power, thermal power, atomic power, जो power हो। एक power, एक शक्ति, तो हमारे पास है manpower, लोगों की शक्ति, लोगों की, आदमी के काम करने की, और वो महान् शक्ति है, अगर हम उसका ठीक प्रयोग करें। लेकिन ये भी उसी के साथ जाहिर है कि ख़ाली manpower की शक्ति से, बग़ैर और शक्तियों का प्रयोग किये, हम बहुत दूर नहीं जा सकते। इसके माने ये नहीं हैं कि हम manpower की शक्ति का प्रयोग न करें। यह आवश्यक है, क्योंकि हम प्रयोग न करें अपने करोड़ों आदमियों का, तो वो बोझा हो जाता है, देश को गिरा देता है, और कितने ही हम कारख़ाना बग़ैर बनायें, कारख़ानों में हमारे छत्तीस करोड़ आदमी नहीं

खपते, बड़े कारखानों में। छोटे कारखाने बनाने पड़ते हैं, बनें, ग्रामोद्योग होता है तो हो, सब बातें हों, और खेती तो खैर होवे ही। तो इसलिए मैंने आपसे कहा कि दो चीजें—लोहा और ये power, ये बुनियादी चीजें हैं। और अगर आप चाहें किसी देश को देखना कि इस देश ने कहाँ तक आजकल की दुनिया में तरक्की की है, तो आप कुछ न देखें। आप दो प्रश्न कर लें—ये देश कितना लोहा, steel, पैदा करता है, और कितना इसने power पैदा किया है, generate किया है। अधिकतर बिजली का होता है, अब atomic आने वाला है। दो शब्दों से, दो सवालों से आपको उस देश का हाल मालूम हो जाएगा करीब-करीब कि कितनी उसने तरक्की की।

दो सौ बरस हुए, समझिए आप, डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए, दुनिया में ये नये बड़े-बड़े कारखाने नहीं चले थे बहुत, और जो पश्चिमी देश हैं, वो भी ऐसे ही थे, वो भी गरीब देश थे। फिर इस दो सौ बरस में एकदम से वो बढ़ गये आगे, कहीं के कहीं पहुँच गये, हम रह गये। क्या माने हैं इसके? इन दो सौ बरस में क्या हुआ? इस दो सौ बरस में science, विज्ञान ने तरक्की की और science, विज्ञान से बहुत चीजें निकलीं, technology निकली, नये-नये औज़ार, नये-नये tools निकले, जिन्होंने नयी-नयी शक्तियों का प्रयोग किया, नये power का, उससे बढ़े वो। अगर भारत बढ़ना चाहता है तो, जाहिर है, भारत को भी वो ही बातें करनी हैं अपने ढंग से, भारत को अपनी industry बढ़ाना है, भारत को power बढ़ाना है, भारत को steel बढ़ाना है, और उसको मिलाके कारखाने बड़े-छोटे सब फैलाने हैं। यानी बग़ैर science के और technology के प्रयोग से आप कभी इस देश को खुशहाल नहीं कर सकते। इसलिए वो आवश्यक हो गया, और यही सब planning वगैरह हमारी हो रही है। पहले बुनियादी चीजें फिर और, लेकिन फिर घूमके आप आइये, वो तो आपने किया, लेकिन वो कैसे करें?

उसके भी पहले आ जाता है कि हमारे खेतों में उन्नति हो, पैदा ज्यादा हो। अगर खाने को काफी नहीं मिलता तो हम कारखाने क्या बनायेंगे? और अगर हमें खाना अमेरिका से मंगाना पड़ता है, तो सारा पैसा तो हमारा अमेरिका चला जाता है। और क्या करें? इसलिए आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हम खेती से अधिक पैदा करें और आजकल जो पैदा होता है खेती से, वो और देशों के मुकाबले में बहुत कम होता है, आधा चौथाई होता है, शर्म की बात है। हमें बढ़ाना है और हम बढ़ा सकते हैं, क्योंकि जहाँ-जहाँ हमने यत्न किया बढ़ाने का, वहाँ दुगुना-चौगुना हो गया है, हम सब जगह बढ़ा रहे हैं। और उसमें यह न समझो कि मैं कह रहा हूँ बड़े-बड़े tractor आयेंगे। tractor मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ, बड़ी मशीन। हाँ आपका हल ज़रा अच्छा हो जाए, आपके ज़रा पानी देने के तरीके ठीक हों, जमीन ठीक खोदी जाए, बीज अच्छे हों और खाद हो, तीन-चार बातें हैं जिसको समझके किया, जाए दुगुना-चौगुना हो जाता है। तो पहले बात यह हो जाती है।

अब इन सब बातों के सिलसिले में दो बातें आपको और बताऊँ। कुछ तो मैं कह चुका हूँ कि जब तक हिन्दुस्तान का किसान नहीं उठता, भारत बहुत दूर नहीं जा सकता। क्योंकि



हमारे यहाँ तीस करोड़ आदमी तो किसान हैं, देहात में रहते हैं। उनका उठना आवश्यक है और उनका उठना ख़ाली यह नहीं है कि ज़रा वो खेती ज़्यादा अच्छी करता है उसको। अपने जो फंस गया है एक गड्ढे में, उस गड्ढे से उसको निकालना है, जान उसमें डालनी है। और यह जो आपने सुना होगा विकास योजना, community development schemes, उसके माने यही हैं बुनियादी कि हम किसान को जगायें, उठायें, उसकी पैदावार अधिक बढ़े, और उसके यहाँ पढ़ाई-लिखाई, अस्पताल, सड़क, ये सब बातें हों। वो बहुत आवश्यक है। तो ये सब बातें आप देखेंगे एक न एक तरीक़े से सब आवश्यक हैं planning में। इन सभी को हमें करना है। लेकिन एक माने में कहा जा सकता है कि इस समय विशेषकर खेती का बढ़ना सबसे ज़रूरी है।

उसी के साथ जाहिर है बड़े कारख़ानों की बुनियाद डालना, और उसी के साथ यह आवश्यक है कि हम कारख़ाने और खेती कैसे करेंगे अगर हम लोगों को सिखायें नहीं काम करना ठीक-ठीक। नये कारख़ाने बनेंगे तो हमें लाखों engineers की आवश्यकता है। अब उसके सिखाने में देर लगती है। हम लोहे का कारख़ाना वहाँ बना रहे हैं राउरकेला और भिलाई और कहाँ-कहाँ। वो कारख़ाने बहुत बड़े हैं, उनको बनाने में पाँच बरस लगते हैं, लेकिन जो आदमी उन कारख़ानों को चलाएगा उसके सिखाने में पंद्रह बरस लगते हैं। तो कारख़ाना बनाके हम क्या करेंगे, उनको चलाने वाला भी चाहिए। तो अभी से उपाय ढूँढ़ने हैं सिखाने को लोगों को, एक, दो, तीन, चार, दस को नहीं, लाखों को। इसीलिए बड़े-बड़े institute बन रहे हैं engineering सिखाने को, overseer सिखाने को, कितने लाखों लोगों को। एक तरफ़ से वो सिखाना है।

दूसरी तरफ़ से आम जनता की शिक्षा—यह आवश्यक है। क्योंकि आम जनता की शिक्षा के माने हैं एक-एक बच्चा, लड़का और लड़की, गाँवों और शहरों में सभी को शिक्षा मिले, compulsory free education, वो आवश्यक है। क्योंकि उसी की बुनियाद पर वो आदमी बढ़ता है, अशिक्षित लोगों से नहीं आजकल देश बढ़ते हैं। अब आप देखें कितने बड़े काम हो गये हैं। हमारे यहाँ हिसाब लगाया गया है कि अगर सब लोगों को शिक्षा मिले, जिनको मिलनी चाहिए, बच्चों से लेके university तक, तो दस करोड़ आदमी शिक्षा पायेंगे और शिक्षा देंगे। विचार कीजिए आप, hundred million, दस करोड़। सिखाने वाले भी करोड़ों हो जाते हैं। सिखाने वाले भी करोड़, नीचे से ऊपर तक, ऊपर बड़े ऊँचे professor से लेके, primary school के शिक्षक से लेके। अब इसके माने हुए, चलो भई, लाखों आदमियों को सिखाओ कि वो शिक्षा दें।

कितने बड़े सवाल हो जाते हैं? लोग आके नारे उठा देते हैं, ये नहीं हुआ वो नहीं हुआ, बग़ैर सोचे समझे। मैं नहीं कहता कि जो बातें हम करते हैं वो सब सही हैं, हमसे गलती होती है, धोखा होता है। हम सलाह-मशवरा करते हैं हरेक से, और एक रास्ते पे चलते हैं। अगर रास्ते में कुछ ख़राबी हुई तो हम उसको छोड़ के दूसरे रास्ते पर चलते हैं, बदलते हैं। हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजनायें कई तरह बदली गयीं क्योंकि आख़िर में हम हवा में योजना नहीं



बनाते। हमें ऐसी योजना बनानी है, जो कि जनता कर सके, क्योंकि जनता के परिश्रम पर है, कितने परिश्रम करें? तो यह बात है। मैं तस्वीर आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। आखिर में जनता की शक्ति, जनता के परिश्रम पे सारा दारोमदार है। छोटे से लेके बड़े तक, पुरुष-स्त्री, हरेक अपना-अपना भाग अदा करें, और एक वायुमंडल पैदा करें जो आशाजनक हो, आशायें बढ़ें, ये नहीं कि निराश हो जाएँ, और न ये करें कि छोटी-मोटी बातों में, झगड़ों में, अपनी शक्ति का नाश करें।

अब दो, ढाई वर्ष हो गये हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना में, द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के। अब हम बैठ रहे हैं अभी से तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना पर विचार करने। बड़ी कठिन बात है। कठिन बात यह है इसलिए कि हमारी आशायें तो बहुत हैं, ये भी करें और वो भी करें और पढ़ाई को फैलायें और कारखाने बढ़ायें और सब कुछ करें। खेती में हम चाहते हैं कि fertiliser के बड़े-बड़े कारखाने बनें, उससे पैदावार ज्यादा होगी, खाद पैदा होगी। लेकिन आखिर इन सब बातों में पैसा लगता है। पैसा जितना है उतना है। थोड़ा अगर जंग अधिक लगे तो उसमें फिर लोगों को बहुत अच्छा नहीं लगता, न लगे तो पैसा नहीं होता उस काम को करने के लिए जो जनता चाहती है। यह बड़े पेंच होते हैं। खैर, उसपे विचार होता है, और उसमें सलाह होती है चारों तरफ से। हम सलाह करना चाहते हैं, ऊपर से नहीं, नीचे पंचायत से लेके ऊपर तक सलाह करें।

मैंने आपसे कहा कि भारत के बढ़ने के माने हैं भारत के ग्रामों का बढ़ना। और लोग तो बढ़ रहे हैं, वह बढ़ जाँएँगे। लेकिन ग्राम को हिलाना, मैं समझता हूँ कुछ वो हिल गया है। कैसे बढ़ते हैं लोग? ऊपर से हुकुम चलाके नहीं, ऊपर से बहुत शिक्षा देके नहीं, वो बढ़ते हैं जब उनमें शक्ति आती है अपने टांगों पर खड़े होने की, विचार करने की। महात्माजी ने जो बड़ी बात की, जो मैंने आपको बताया, वो उनमें शक्ति दी कि उनकी कमर सीधी हो गयी। कोई आदमी ने पकड़ के उनकी कमर सीधी थोड़े ही की थी। एक वायुमंडल हुआ, उनका सिर ऊँचा हुआ, शक्ति हुई, काम करने की शक्ति आयी, यह करना है। इसलिए मैं नहीं चाहता कि सारे हमारे देहात के काम में बहुत सारे अफसर, छोटे-बड़े, हर जगह बैठे हुए हैं अपने चपड़ासियों को लेके। हाँ, हमारे अफसर इस काम को करते हैं, करें। काम वो ठीक है। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ इस काम का बोझ अधिकतर गाँव वालों पर पड़े। नेक सलाह हम दें, ऊपर से सहायता करें, लेकिन बोझ गाँव वालों पर पड़े।

कैसे पड़े? दो बातें हैं, एक तो पंचायत और दूसरे जो मैंने आपसे कहा वो cooperative, सहकारी संघ, दो बातें आवश्यक हैं। तो पंचायतें बहुत कुछ हो गयी हैं, सहकारी संघ भी आपके यहाँ किस कदर फैल रहे हैं। इस बारे में मैं आप से कह दूँ कि मेरी राय में सहकारी संघ को ऐसा होना चाहिए, बहुत बड़ा नहीं होना चाहिए, ऐसा जिसमें किसान लोग एक-दूसरे को जानते हों। अगर आप बहुत बड़ा कर दें, वो पहचाने नहीं एक-दूसरे को, तो वो घबरा जाएगा वो। जैसे पंचायत को ऐसा होना चाहिए, एक-दूसरे को जानते हैं, गाँव वालों को जानते हैं, वैसे ही सहकारी संघ। हाँ, आप छोटे-छोटे सहकारी संघ को मिलाके कोई बड़ा भी कर

सकते हैं, लेकिन असली सहकारी संघ छोटा, गाँव का, या दो तीन गाँव के हों, पहचानते हैं। जो पंचायत हो उसके हाथों में अधिकतर इंतज़ामी बातें हों, administrative। सहकारी संघ में अधिकतर आर्थिक बातें हों गाँवों की, वो आयें।

और मैं जानता हूँ इसमें बड़ी कठिनाई है। आपस में गाँव वाले लड़ते हैं, दलबंदी करते हैं, एक-दूसरे की टांग खींचते हैं, एक-दूसरे की शिकायत करते हैं, मैं सब जानता हूँ। लेकिन फिर भी आपको उनके ऊपर भरोसा करना है। अगर गलती करें, उनको समझायें, सजा दीजिए, लेकिन भरोसा कीजिए। दूसरे आदमियों पर करेंगे जाकर सरकारी अफसर, उनकी तरफ से, तो कभी सीखेंगे नहीं करना। यह तो वही हो जाती है कि अंग्रेज़ हमसे कहते हम, उनको भारतवासियों को, हम स्वराज कैसे दें? इनको अभ्यास नहीं है, तजुर्बा नहीं है, कैसे दें, ये कहा करते थे वो। वही बहस हम अपने किसानों के बारे में कहें साहब उनको, वो जानते नहीं कि कैसे ठीक-ठीक पंचायत चलायें और कैसे सहकारी संघ चलायें, इसलिए हम अपने अफसर रखेंगे वहाँ, यह बहस गलत है। हाँ, हमें आँख खोलकर देखना है कि गलत रास्ते पर तो नहीं चलते, उनकी गलती को संभालना है, और जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा कोई बड़ी बुरी बात करें, सजा दीजिए, लेकिन उनपर भरोसा करना है, और उनको अधिकार देने हैं। ये जड़ है पंचायती और सहकारी संघ हमारे काम के, देहातों में। और तीसरा यह स्कूल है जो होना चाहिए। और स्कूलों में बहुत पैसा, मकान-दुकान खड़े करने की जरूरत नहीं है। हर जगह स्कूल हों, अच्छा अध्यापक हो, चाहे खुले दरख्त के नीचे पढ़ायें। ये बातें हैं।

अब कुछ मैंने आपसे कहा, इधर-उधर की बातें। मैं चाहता हूँ थोड़ा सा आपका ध्यान दिलाऊँ कि दुनिया में क्या हो रहा है। बरसों से दुनिया एक तलवार की धार पर रहती है, ज़रा उधर हो जाए, लड़ाई हो जाए, तबाही आये, ये तो हालत है बड़े-बड़े देशों की। और बड़े-बड़े देश कोई मूर्ख नहीं हैं, बेवकूफ नहीं हैं, अक्लमंद हैं, लेकिन ऐसे जाल में फंस गये हैं एक-दूसरे के डर से कि उससे निकलते नहीं। ऐसी हालत में जो कुछ हम सेवा कर सकते हैं और जगह, वो करते हैं। लेकिन सबमें बड़ी सेवा यह है कि हम अपने देश को ठीक-ठीक चलायें। अगर अपने देश को ठीक नहीं चलाते तो औरों को क्या मुँह दिखायेंगे और क्या सलाह देंगे? अपने देश को एकता से, शान्ति से, सहयोग से, परिश्रम से बढ़ायें, तब हमारी आवाज़ की कीमत होगी, असर होगा और हम और जगह की और अपनी, दोनों की सेवा कर सकते हैं ज़्यादा। तो घूमघाम कर बात यही आ जाती है कि हम अपने देश में क्या करते हैं, हम अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजना में क्या करते हैं, कैसे उसको सफल बनाते हैं, बड़ी बात हो जाती है।

अभी आपने देखा इन दो-तीन सप्ताह में पाकिस्तान में क्या हुआ?<sup>62</sup> अब मुझे अधिकार नहीं है, न आपको है कि बैठके टीका-टिप्पणी करें पाकिस्तान की बातों में, उनका देश है

62. See fn 8 in this section.



जो वो समझें, करें। लेकिन यह आपने देखा ग्यारह बरस बाद भी पाकिस्तान जमा नहीं है। कुछ न कुछ उखड़ता जाता है वो। हमारे यहाँ चुनाव हुआ, एक हुआ, दो हुआ, पंचवर्षीय योजना पहली हुई, दूसरी चल रही है। हज़ार बातें हैं, हज़ार तरफ से हम बढ़ रहे हैं, खेती में, कारख़ानों में, हज़ार तरफ से बढ़ रहे हैं। आप देश में फिरिये आप देखिए। अब तक आपकी तरफ से, बम्बई स्टेट की तरफ से, आजकल भारत दर्शन के दौर की रेलें आती हैं। बहुत अच्छा है। ज़रा जाके देखते हैं भारत में क्या हो रहा है? वो तो ठीक है, यह किया, और इसका मुकाबला आप करें पाकिस्तान में ग्यारह बरस बाद, कोई चुनाव नहीं हुआ, एक पुराना झगड़ा चलता आया, पुराने लोग पेश होते गये, और आख़िर में सब झाड़ से अलग कर दिये गये, और एक बड़े फौजी अफसर वहाँ के मालिक हो गये। यह कोई अच्छा दस्तूर नहीं है किसी देश के लिए। मैं नहीं पसंद करता।

अब वो वहाँ पसंद करें पाकिस्तान में, तो उनको मुबारिक हो। लेकिन जो बात मैं आपसे कहता हूँ वो यह कि हमें सबक सीखना है उनसे कि हम बहके-बहके इधर-उधर न फिरे। मैं नहीं समझता कि हमारे देश में ऐसी बात हो सकती है। क्योंकि हमारे देश में जो काम हमने किया इन वर्षों में और पहले, इसके आगे पहले, जो कांग्रेस ने काम किया स्वराज आने के पहले, उसमें एक मज़बूत नींव जमाई, जो गांधीजी ने किया मज़बूती से किया, और उसी रास्ते पर हम कोशिश करते हैं फिर भी चलना बाद में, और चलें। असंभव है जो पाकिस्तान में हुआ यहाँ हो, काफी हमारी मज़बूती है। लेकिन वो तो न हो, लेकिन पचासों बातें हो सकती हैं जो हमारे काम को ख़राब करें, रुकावट डालें और हमारी पुरानी बीमारी आप जानते हैं, मैंने आपसे कहा फूट की, जातिभेद की। कभी-कभी आप प्रांतों के झगड़े, कभी-कभी भाषा के झगड़े, उठाते हैं। ये सब प्रश्न हैं जिन पर हमें विचार करके, सलाह-मशवरा करके, कुछ न कुछ निश्चय करना है। करते हैं निश्चय, उसपे अमल करना है। जब कोई निश्चय को हम बदलना चाहते हैं, हमें अधिकार है, कायदे से उसे बदलें, लेकिन हम उसको एक बनालें हमेशा का झगड़ा, तो मुझे उचित नहीं मालूम होता। एक तो यही कि मैं नहीं कहता कि अधिकार नहीं है ये विचार करने का लोगों को। वो रखें और उसको अधिकार है उस विचार को रखने का और उसके लिए कोशिश करने का, और औरों को समझाने का। अगर मैं गलती पे हूँ मुझे समझायें, मैं उनको समझाऊँ, यह तरीके होते हैं प्रजातंत्र में, democratic state में। कोई उखाड़-पछाड़ हो तो उससे जो असली काम है वह रह जाता है।

और उखाड़-पछाड़ को छोड़िये आप। जो आप जानते हैं, आपके यहाँ आसपास काफी झगड़े हुए, हिंसा हुई, जलाना हुआ, मैं तो हैरान हो गया कि कैसी बातें होती हैं।<sup>63</sup> समझ लो कि मुझसे या मेरी government से गलती हुई। तो मुझे गलती समझाने के लिए आप

63. Referring to the violent conflicts between the Police and the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad agitating for a separate Gujarati State, in 1958. For more details about the agitation, see SWJN/SS/43/pp. 53, 301, 307 and SWJN/SS/44/pp. 253-255.



डाकखाने जलायेंगे, आप स्कूल जलायेंगे, आप खादी भंडार जलायेंगे? ये तो क्या तमाशा है? यह तो अनजानपना है, यह तो बिल्कुल (तालियाँ), और जिन लोगों ने किया यह, थोड़े से लोग कारखाने वाले हों, और लोग बेचारे धोखे में, एक जोश में आके गलत बात कर देते हैं। लेकिन यह आप याद रखें कि रास्ता बड़ा भयानक है, और भयानक है एक तो मेरी राय में जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा कि हिंसा को ले आना, भयानक है हमारे लिए। क्योंकि उसमें बड़े अंदरूनी झगड़े होंगे, हर तरह के झगड़े, एक प्रांत दूसरे प्रांत के विरोध में, जातिभेद, धर्म का, सब झगड़े उखड़ जाते हैं।

लेकिन दूसरे यह कि यह रास्ता, जिसको मैंने अभी एक और जगह कहा था कि ये fascist रास्ता है। कुछ लोग नाराज हुए कि मैंने fascist क्यों कहा? मैंने किसी की बुराई-भलाई के लिए नहीं कहा था fascist। मैं कोई गाली नहीं किसी को दे रहा। लेकिन मैं यह सफाई से कहना चाहता था कि यह रास्ता किस ढंग का है, और वो ढंग बिल्कुल fascist ढंग है जो कि ऐसी हिंसा की बातों पर चलता था। और अगर ऐसी बातें फैलें, तो आप देखेंगे कि हर शहर में दो-तीन दल लड़ने वाले हैं, एक-दूसरे से लड़ रहे हैं। और देशों में एशिया के आप देखें, हो रहा है, और हुआ है। और कोई बात यह निश्चय हो, जाब्ते से तो होती नहीं है। फिर तो हुल्लड़बाजी है, जिसकी लाठी उसकी भैंस, यह हो जाता है। ऐसा देश आप चाहते हैं? तो इस बात को छोड़कर कि कोई-कोई दल एक निश्चय को स्वीकार नहीं करता, उसको बदलना चाहता है, मान लिया मैंने बदलना चाहता है। उसको अधिकार है बदलने की पूरी कोशिश करे। और यहाँ पर ये प्रांतों का मामला है, ये कौन से एक कोई एक ऊँचे सिद्धांत हैं कि इधर हो फैसला या उधर। मैं नहीं इसको सिद्धांत मानता। कोई चीज है जिससे देश का लाभ हो, जनता का लाभ हो, जनता की स्वीकृति हो, उसे करना है। लेकिन इसको मैं एक सिद्धांत मानता हूँ, किस ढंग से कोई काम किया जाए, किस ढंग से कोई फैसला बदला जाए? और उसमें मैं नहीं चाहता कि आप या मैं कोई ज़रा ढील दें। यह हिंसा के ढंग ये इसमें आप जानते हैं कि कुछ लोग गलतफहमी से, कुछ लोग जोश में आके गलत बात करें, उनकी नीयत बुरी न हो। लेकिन जहाँ बुरी बात शुरू होती है, जितने शहर के anti-social elements हैं, जितने लोग हैं जो कि फायदा उठाना चाहते हैं लूटमार से, उनको मौका मिलता है और जहाँ ऐसी बात हुई, चीज हुई, जिससे उनको मौका मिलता है, वो हानिकारक है।

हानिकारक तो इसमें है ही कि उसमें हानि होती है लेकिन इससे बड़ी बात है, हानिकारक है कि वायुमंडल गलत पैदा होता है, लोगों के दिमाग गलत तरफ जाते हैं, उखड़ जाते हैं काम के तरफ से, और विशेषकर हमारे नौजवानों को इसको समझना है। क्योंकि आजकल जो नौजवान हैं हमारे school में, college में, university में पढ़ते हैं, दो-चार दिन में, दो-चार महीने में, दो-चार वर्ष में, उनके हाथ में हमारे देश की बागडोर होगी। जाहिर है और किसके हाथ में होगी? वो ही लोग हैं न जो आजकल college, university में पढ़ रहे हैं। और जिस समय उनके हाथ में बागडोर हो, और देश बिगड़ा हुआ

हो, और देश में लड़ाई-झगड़े हों, फूट हो, तब वो समझेंगे कितनी गलत बातें हुईं। क्योंकि बिगाड़ना आसान होता है, बनाना कठिन होता है। आप एक मकान को जला सकते हैं आध घंटे में, लेकिन बनाने में बरसों लगते हैं। तो इसलिए यह सोचना है और खाली सोच के, मैंने आपसे कहा, मैं जानता हूँ कि एक कभी-कभी एक पागलपना सा आ जाता है अच्छे आदमियों को भी जोश में, क्रोध में, लेकिन उस क्रोध और पागलपन को गलत हमें समझना चाहिए। मैं उसको माफ कर दूँ, क्योंकि एक गलती हो जाती है किसी से भी। लेकिन अगर हम उसको एक नीति बना लें, तब हम तबाही के रास्ते पे जाते हैं, हम गलत फिज़ा पैदा करते हैं, और हम, जो हमारे आने वाले लोग हैं, आजकल के नौजवान हैं, जिनके हाथ में बागडोर आएगी, उनके लिए हम बड़ी कठिन समस्या पैदा करते हैं। उनको संभालना होगा। हमसे जहाँ तक संभलेंगे हम संभालेंगे। वो क्या करेंगे उस समय? सारे भारत का आगे बढ़ना रुक जाए, सारे भारत की सब यह पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ कहाँ रहेंगी? वो तो और विचार में पड़ गये। याद रखिए आप, एक इम्तहान, एक पुरुष का, एक देश का होता है इस बात से कि वो देश क्या कह रहा है, क्या सोचता है? अगर आप अपने मोहल्ले के झगड़ों में पड़े हुए हैं, कुछ और नहीं सोचते, तो आप एक छोटे दिमाग के आदमी हैं, तंगख़्याल हैं, कुछ आपको देश की फिक्र नहीं। आप अगर देश की बातों को सोचते हैं, तो आप ज़रा ऊँचे दर्जे के हुए, जाहिर है, और आप और सारे संसार का सोचिए तो और भी ऊँचे दर्जे के हुए। तो अगर आपके मन में हर समय छोटी बातें हैं, छोटी बातें भी बड़ी होती हैं कभी-कभी मैंने माना, लेकिन फिर भी छोटी हैं इस माने में कि देश के सामने छोटी हैं। तब आप एक वायुमंडल छोटे आदमियों का पैदा करते हैं। यह बात ठीक नहीं है। यह सब प्रश्न हैं।

जब मैं यहाँ आज आ रहा था हवाई जहाज के अड्डे से, तो आप लोग, अहमदाबाद के लोग लाखों की तादाद में मेरा स्वागत करने जमा हुए थे। प्रेम से उन्होंने किया, बिल्कुल प्रेम से। मेरे हृदय पर असर हुआ। क्योंकि आप तो प्रेम करते हैं। मैं नहीं जानता कि मैं उसका जवाब क्या दे सकता हूँ? कुछ थोड़े हमारे भाई खड़े थे तख़्तियाँ लेकर और कुछ नारे भी वो उठाये, कुछ महाराष्ट्र के,<sup>64</sup> कुछ ने उठाया कि गल्ले के दाम ज़्यादा हैं, कुछ लोगों ने और उठाया कि नेहरू-नून अभी एक समझौता हुआ है,<sup>65</sup> उसका हम विरोध करते हैं और तरह-तरह की बातें मिलाई। अब नेहरू-नून समझौते से क्या संबंध है इन बातों का, मैं समझा नहीं। और कौन लोग वो कह रहे थे, वो शायद मैं समझता हूँ, शायद हमारे भाई जनसंघ वाले या राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ के लोग हों शायद। क्योंकि उन्हीं में माहा है कि हर बात जो करें वो गलत होती है। कभी सही बात वो करते ही नहीं। क्यों? क्योंकि, क्योंकि

64. The Mahagujarat Janata Parishad, the Jana Sangh, and local trade unions organised protests against the bilingual State of Bombay on 2 November 1958 during Nehru's drive from the airport to the city. They held placards and black banners along the entire route.

65. The Nehru-Noon agreement signed at New Delhi on 11 September 1958 provided for exchanges of territory and alterations of boundary between India and East Pakistan.



वो उनमें अच्छे आदमी हैं, मैं व्यक्तिगत रूप से नहीं किसी को कहता, लेकिन सांप्रदायिकता जिस संस्था में है, चाहे वो मुस्लिम हो, चाहे हिंदू हो, चाहे सिख हो, चाहे कोई हो, सांप्रदायिकता हमेशा हर सवाल को गलत कर देती है, हर बात को गलत कर देती है। क्योंकि वो तो एक तंगख्याली की जड़ है। सांप्रदायिकता पर आप चलें, तो हिन्दुस्तान लड़ाई झगड़े के, एक मिट्टी के ढेर हो जाए। धार्मिक लड़ाई हो, जातिभेद हो जिससे चारों तरफ से यह हो और वो तो एक मालूम नहीं किस ज़माने की, एक पुराने ज़माने की एक झलक आ जाती है, जो आजकल के ज़माने से कोई संबंध नहीं रखती। तो ये बातें, मैं समझता हूँ कि कोई जानता भी होगा कि नेहरू-नून में क्या बातें हुई? तख्ती लेके फिरते हैं।

खैर, दूसरी तख्तीयाँ थीं, कुछ गल्ले के दाम में, गल्ले के दाम के बारे में लोग परेशान हैं और इसीलिए मैंने सारा आपसे बोल दिया कि इसी बात पर कि हमें पैदावार बढ़ानी है। तो आखिर में ये ही इनका उपाय है न, और तो कुछ नहीं है न? काफी आपके यहाँ इस बड़ौदा शहर में और बम्बई स्टेट में, जो कहलाती है, वो fair-price shops हैं काफी। अब कुछ ज्यादा ऊँचे दर्जे का चावल, ऊँचे दर्जे के गेहूँ के दाम बढ़े हैं और मैं मानता हूँ अब कोशिश करनी चाहिए, हटायें जाएँ, विशेषकर कोशिश करनी चाहिए। बड़ी गलत बात है अगर आजकल के व्यापारी अनुचित लाभ उठाना चाहें ऐसी हालत में। यह है। मैं इसपे तो इस वक्त नहीं कर सकता बहस। इसमें Government की भी वही राय है जो आपकी है, कम होने चाहिए। कोशिश करनी है। और मैं समझता हूँ हल्के-हल्के हम कामयाब होंगे। और प्रांतों में तो कुछ घट भी गये। लेकिन आप जानते हैं, पिछले तीन वर्ष से हमारी फसलें ख़राब हुई हैं देश में। तीन बरस काफी बोझ पड़ा है और इससे बहुत कुछ हमारी योजनाओं में गड़बड़ हो गया है, खैर।

तीसरी तख्तीयाँ थी, महागुजरात की। अब मुझे कोई इसमें एतराज़ नहीं है कि तख्ती निकालें। तख्ती नहीं वो आर्यें, कहें, वो सभा करें, वो मुझसे मिलें, किसी से मिलें, बात करें। मुझे कोई इसमें नहीं है। लेकिन एक बात चाहते हैं, मिलके बात करने की है। मेरी जो राय है मैं उनको बताऊँ, वो अपनी बतायें, और आखिर में फैसला तो एक ही कर सकता है न, वो Parliament कर सकती है और कोई भी नहीं कर सकता। तो मेरी राय में सबमें बड़ी बात भारत में इस वक्त है कि ये प्रांतीयता और भाषा के झगड़े कम हों, निकलें दिमाग़ से। और नहीं तो भारत बढ़ नहीं सकता, मुझे बड़ा डर है—किसी चीज़ का डर नहीं, किसी बाहर के देश का, बाहर की शक्ति का—अपने-अपने में जो फूटपन की आदत है वो मुझे कभी-कभी भय पैदा करती है। इसलिए उसको मैं हमेशा, यही अब्वल बात है और मेरे जो कुछ जीवन का ध्येय है वो किसी तरह से मेरे दो-चार बरस मेरे और हों, उसमें इस बात को मैं और पक्का करूँ। मुझसे बात करें, समझें, हर तरह से निश्चय करें। लेकिन यह तो मैं अपनी जगह के काबिल नहीं हूँ, प्रधानमंत्री आपने बनाया, मैं उस जगह के काबिल न हूँ, अगर इस किस्म के झगड़े-फसाद से बड़े-बड़े फैसले बदलने की कोशिश करें, वो कौन सी बात है?

तो मैं अपील करूंगा नौजवानों से, औरों से, कि वो जो कुछ उनकी राय हो, राय रखें। अगर मैं बदल सकता हूँ तो बदलने की कोशिश करूंगा। वो कोशिश करें। लेकिन ऐसे रास्ते पे नहीं चलें, जिस रास्ते पे कोई, इसमें संदेह नहीं, भारत का नुकसान होता है, आपके बम्बई स्टेट का, गुजरात का, जो कुछ है, महाराष्ट्र का, हरेक को हानि होती है, और एक तंगख्याली पैदा होती है। आप देखें, इस वक्त लोग मिल जाएँ, इस वक्त लोग मिल जाते हैं, जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा मालूम नहीं कौन-कौन मिले थे, जनसंघ मिले थे, जनसंघ और महागुजरात वाले और कौन-कौन मिल गये, इनमें कोई मेल नहीं है। लेकिन मेल क्या, एक government का विरोध करना और government के विरोध का मेल अधिकार है लोगों को करने का। लेकिन जहाँ वो बात हट गयी, तो आपस में उधर फूट पैदा हो गयी, होती है। वो कोई असली मेल नहीं है, दिखावटी है। गर्ज कि ये खतरनाक रास्ते हैं, ये फूट के रास्ते हैं, दुर्बलता के।

आपके गुजरात का हिस्सा, बम्बई स्टेट का, एक शानदार हिस्सा है, तरक्की कर रहा है। सारा बम्बई स्टेट ने मेरी राय में, काफी तरक्की की है, कर रहा है, पिछले दो बरस में। और जैसे मैंने पहले कहा, मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं मुकाबले तो नहीं किया चाहता, जो अनुचित होगा, और लोगों में। लेकिन आपके मुख्यमंत्री जो हैं, चव्हाण साहब,<sup>66</sup> उनका काम बहुत शानदार हुआ है। (तालियाँ) तो आपके गुजरात में, गुजरात के हिस्से में, बम्बई स्टेट के और गुजरात के हिस्से में, अभी आपने सुना होगा तेल निकला है।<sup>67</sup> अब यह एक बड़ी ऐतिहासिक बात है भारत के लिए। अब और हम समझते हैं, मैं पक्के तौर से तो नहीं कह सकता, हम समझते हैं इससे बहुत लाभ होगा देश को और आपको, सभी को। अब देखिए, यह हमारा सारा ध्यान किधर जाए, तरक्की करने का, बनाने का, कि हर वक्त तोड़ने, बिगाड़ने, जलाने का। आप ही विचार करें क्या हमारी क़दर दुनिया में होगी, और क्या हम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं?

ख़ैर, आज आप जानते हैं, मैं आया था जहाँ विशेषकर एक Youth Congress युवक कांग्रेस जो रही थी उसमें<sup>68</sup> और मुझे खुशी हुई उसको देखकर और उसमें करीब चार हजार delegates आये थे। एक हजार तो यहीं के थे, आसपास के, गुजरात के। और तीन हजार बाहर के थे, दूर-दूर से आये थे। तो मुझे बहुत खुशी हुई इन नौजवानों को देखकर और उनका उत्साह देखकर। क्योंकि आखिर में वही नौजवान ऐसे जो देश में हैं, वही हमारे देश की किस्मत का फैसला करेंगे और आज यहाँ बड़ौदा आकर और फिर आप लोगों से मिलकर खुशी हुई और आपके प्रेम और स्वागत के लिए फिर से धन्यवाद।

जयहिन्द।

66. Y.B. Chavan was the Chief Minister of Bombay State.

67. Oil was struck near Lunej Pin Point in the Gulf of Cambay in September 1958.

68. See item 19.



[Translation begins]

Sisters and brothers,

I had come to this beautiful city of yours a year ago and a meeting was held in these very grounds.<sup>69</sup> Now I am here once again and thank you for the affectionate, hearty welcome that you have given me.

Just now our colleague said something about world peace and I was wondering how much peace there is in our hearts even though we talk a great deal about peace and advise the rest of the world and, in fact, we are known in some countries as a peace-loving nation. The fact is that if there is real peace in the heart of man, automatically there will be peace outside. If we harbour a sword in our hearts, how long shall we hide it? It is bound to peep out some time. When there is hatred and anger and violence in the heart of a nation, it is bound to come out some time or the other. What it professes cannot have much impact; it is its emotions that matter.

What are the thoughts and emotions in our country? It is difficult to answer this because after all India is not one individual but millions of people, all kinds of men and women: some are peace-loving; some are not concerned about these matters; while some others foster violence and quarrels. We must think seriously about this because ultimately whatever we decide honestly in our hearts will be reflected in our actions. We cannot deceive others by our professions unless we are ourselves convinced of them. Therefore, I would like to tell you that there are many things in India today which make me happy; many things are happening that show that our country is growing strong and stable and progressing fast. On the other hand, there are things which show our weaknesses, disunity, violence and feuds. Now, it is very difficult for all the thirty-seven crores of people in India to be of one mind in this matter. But what can be done is to create an atmosphere so that even if a few go astray, it does not matter.

I remember how, when Gandhiji came on the scene thirty to forty years ago and assumed the leadership of India, the very first lesson that he taught us was of peace. He made it quite clear that he could follow only one path and if we wanted to follow him, we must understand that we could not make peaceful declarations while harbouring hatred and anger and violence in our hearts. We were young and full of enthusiasm and passion and so we had no difficulty in accepting all this. But there were others, I remember, who could not understand it. But gradually things changed and the country began to understand his lessons. Whenever there was violence Gandhiji would punish all of us. How? He was not an official holding high position who would mete out punishment. But his

69. See fn 55 in this section.

very words and his looks were punishment enough and as his eyes were normally full of love, the occasional reproach in his eyes would hurt a great deal.

You may not remember an incident which occurred thirth-seven years ago in 1921, in '21 or '22, I do not remember exactly, when the non-cooperation movement was in full swing all over the country and many of us were in jail. Gandhiji was not in jail. Now, in my province of Uttar Pradesh, in a little village called Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur District, some harassed peasants surrounded the police station and burnt it and as a result five to six policemen were burnt to death.<sup>70</sup> This was very bad because we had been telling the world that the Congress was conducting a non-violent, peaceful agitation. This incident almost belied it though we felt that one isolated incident in a village did not matter a great deal. But we heard one day—I was in the Lucknow Jail then<sup>71</sup>—that Gandhiji had called off the movement.<sup>72</sup> He had put a sudden brake on an army on the march. We could not understand this and felt very bad because, in our enthusiasm and passion, we felt it was a strange thing to call off an entire movement because of one little incident which had occurred due to the ignorance of a few peasants. We were filled with anger.

Anyhow, when we came out of jail and met Gandhiji we asked him why he had taken such an extreme step just because of the fault of a handful of people. Would we not be able to do anything till all the thirty-seven crores of people in India had accepted something? Even otherwise, the British government against whom we were fighting at that time could deliberately spark off an incident like this to stop our movement. So we are playing into the hands of our enemy and losing control of the situation. We argued with him endlessly. His reply was that the Chauri Chaura incident, bad enough by itself, showed the atmosphere of violence which was spreading in the country and if he had not put a stop to it then, the situation would have gone out of control and the movement could not have succeeded in such circumstances. If the country had decided to fight with the sword, even though I may not have agreed with it, it could have been done. But when a country takes a decision, it should stick to it. When a country decides to fight for freedom by peaceful, non-violent methods, the other method cannot be followed side by side because one thing nullifies the other and we would be neither here nor there. Secondly, when we had openly taken a particular decision before the whole world, such incidents belie our professions. There will be no respect for us. When he put it like this, we understood a little.

70. See fn 56 in this section.

71. See fn 57 in this section.

72. See fn 58 in this section.



I am telling you all this to show how Gandhiji disciplined us at every step and made us the soldiers of freedom. He insisted that whatever we said, in our resolutions and elsewhere, we should also practice it. We could not profess one thing and do just the opposite. I narrated one incident to you. In the next fifteen to twenty years similar things happened many times and whenever a mistake was made or there was an act of violence, Gandhiji immediately raised his voice in protest. Either he stopped our movement or undertook a fast which would have an immediate effect. In fact, he never accepted anything wrong. In this way, days and months and years passed and he tried to teach and discipline the people of India, and not just a handful of people who lived in his ashram because the whole of India was his school. All the thirty-six to thirty-seven crores of people in India, men, women and children, were in his school, and he was concerned about all of them, including those living in cities and towns, but he was especially concerned about the village people. So all of them had to be taught, and not by lectures or books but through practical experience, how they should manage their emotions.

The surprising thing is how much Gandhiji trained the people of India. They were not transformed completely; they remained as they were, good or bad. But even then they were considerably transformed under his guidance. You will rarely find another example of such a thing anywhere in history. You will find instances of a country becoming united and organised to face an external aggression. You may also find instances of a military dictator disciplining a country at the point of a sword. But you will not find another example of what happened in India, of a leader disciplining millions of people, not at the point of a sword or through fear but with love.

As I said, we did not become angels overnight, for our weaknesses remained. But a great change came over the people of India. First of all, the fear in our hearts became less and we became fearless, and when an individual or a people or a nation becomes fearless, its first big victory is over itself, its own weaknesses. I think for a nation or an individual to cower in fright is extremely bad. One should never befriend fear. If anybody asks me what Gandhiji taught India and her people, I would say it is the lesson of fearlessness. I remember that in one of our ancient texts, there is a mention about a ruler. It is stated that the greatest feature in his relationship with his people was that he made them fearless. Gandhiji gave this gift to the people of India in good measure. He gave to the poor, downtrodden people of India, especially in the rural areas, the strength to stand erect once again and hold their heads high. Once again there was a sparkle in their dispirited eyes, and let me tell you that though I have seen many big events during my lifetime, nothing has made a more profound impact on me than this phenomenon. I can never forget the way the bent backs of our peasants

straightened, their heads were held high and there was a gleam of hope in their eyes. It was extraordinary magic. People talk about miracles. I do not know if miracles are possible or not. But I have seen this magic with my own eyes.

Anyhow, now, there is no one among us to perform miracles, for you and I are but ordinary people. But sometimes the old magic produces its effect again as old memories are revived. My thoughts go back to those years when there was a profound impact on our bodies and hearts. But, for the youth of today it is just an old story now. Like they read other stories in the long story of India, this is yet another story, that Gandhi came and Gandhi did this and there was a freedom struggle and all this happened and independence was achieved. Those who hear the story of the freedom struggle cannot be affected in the same way as those who experienced at first hand the events of those years. But I think that the youth of India should try to understand the conditions in the country and the world and this will surely create excitement in them. There are thousands of problems and difficulties in the India today. After centuries, India is progressing, moving forward step by step, and even if occasionally the people of India stumble, they are on the march. Great obstacles and pitfalls have come in the way and there was some damage but we have overcome all of them successfully in the eleven years since freedom came.

If you go anywhere in India today, whether it is in the villages or in the cities, you will find the picture of a changing India. You no longer find an India shackled, stagnant and unchanging. You are extremely fortunate that you are growing up in a free India. But you cannot realise the difference and perhaps you may not appreciate the meaning of independence. A country's awakening to freedom is not an ordinary event. It cannot be done by magic or by passing laws but requires hard work and the toil and sacrifice of human beings. Freedom survives only so long as there is constant vigil and the moment there is any slackening, it slips away. Our entire history shows that there were periods in which India was a bright star in the firmament and her culture, her arts and her ideas reached the far corners of the earth. Then there were periods when India fell and even lost her ability to think independently. We have gone through both phases. In the new era that is before us, we are free, and determined to guard our freedom. We are also determined to take advantage of this freedom and make progress, not a handful of us but all the people of India, irrespective of their caste, religion, state and language. So it was a great thing and now we are on the march. It is true that some people often drag us down and indulge in petty squabbles. They forget the main pledge that we have taken and what the demands of the times are. So I used to think about these matters and even now I often think and feel happy that we have been able to realise the dreams that we dreamt when we were young and India is now a free country whom the world respects.



Now, why are countries respected? Why are the great powers held in respect? It is because, as some people say, those countries have huge forces, army and navy and air force. They are also respected because they have enormous wealth. Now, India has neither great military power nor wealth. We are a poor country. But, in spite of all these things, there is no doubt about it that India is held in great respect in the world today. Any of you who goes out of the country can test this. Even people belonging to other parties like the Communist Party or the Socialist Party and others who have gone abroad have been struck by the great respect in which India is held in Europe, the United States and in Asian countries. Whenever they see an Indian, he is given a warm welcome because to them he becomes a kind of an ambassador of a growing India, even if he has not done anything personally.

I am not saying that we should hide our difficulties or our weaknesses. But we must remember that, after all, there must be some reason behind the great name India has made for herself in the world. Why is it that some of us who live in the country fail to see this and blindly indulge only in criticisms and complaints? Some people go to the extent of saying that India is going downhill. I just cannot understand this. We must see both sides of the picture and balance them evenly. This has been our tradition and Gandhiji had especially taught us that we must not try to hide our weaknesses. From whom and how are we going to hide them? We will only be fooling ourselves. We must pay attention to our weaknesses and fight them and try to root them out. At the same time, it is not a wise thing to shut our eyes to the progress that we are making. It is not appropriate that I should praise myself or that you should praise yourselves. Jawaharlal has not done anything. Whatever has happened in the country is due to the effort of India's millions and the future also lies in their hands. So it is not a good thing to criticise our country before outsiders or ourselves. Nor should we do anything by which the country becomes weaker or loses hope. Nor is it a good thing to create an atmosphere where people are led to believe that we are falling, that we are being weakened or are on the brink of ruin. If it is true, you can certainly say it. But I am convinced that it is not true. That does not mean that there are no weaknesses or shortcomings. There is no doubt about it that we must fight them. First of all, which country is free of them? Secondly, we cannot overcome our weaknesses and the poverty of hundreds of years by magic. It requires hard work and effort.

There are good as well as bad things in our society. The evils in our system often stand in the way of our progress. There are a number of traditions and customs which have weakened our country in the past. Our social customs have weakened the position of women and prevented them from growing. We have tried to change all that through new laws. But the society changes on its own. It cannot be done by laws alone though they do help. Two or three years ago, we

passed some new laws regarding the status of women<sup>73</sup> because we felt that no section of society should be suppressed in any way. Our Harijan brethren have been downtrodden for centuries and we ourselves are to blame for it, not the British. We have removed the restrictions upon them by law.<sup>74</sup> But it is the society itself which will have to open the doors of opportunity to everyone. So these are the big tasks before us.

The greatest task is the battle that has to be waged against poverty in the country. How are we to fight this battle? People do not have enough food to eat, clothes to wear, houses to live in and they don't have jobs which will give them money to get all these things. These things cannot be done by merely passing a resolution or the Parliament passing a law. If it could be done by passing a law, it would be the simplest thing to do. But you know very well that it cannot be done like that. Poverty is a great affliction in the country. How is it to be removed at once? Even the smallest thing requires hard work on the part of the people. Laws merely clear the path. So we have taken on this big challenge. After all, if people do not have enough food to eat, clothes, schools, hospitals, jobs, etc., we will have to produce them. They will not come from the United States or Japan or the Soviet Union. I agree that the USA, the Soviet Union, England and some other countries have given us timely help and we are grateful to them for it. They have helped us with loans and in other ways. But whatever help is forthcoming from other countries is too little for the enormous tasks before us. We will have to depend on ourselves because if we look to others for help, we will become weak and crippled, which is wrong. If we have to wage a war against poverty, we must produce the essential goods required by the people.

I am deliberately saying goods and not money or gold and silver because those are in a sense tools of trade; you cannot consume money though you can buy food and other necessary things with it, which is a different matter. We have to increase the production of food and cloth and a thousand other things which the people need. That is the real wealth of the nation. Who is to produce this wealth? It is the people themselves, the farmers and shopkeepers and workers, who will have to do it. It cannot come from anywhere else. So this battle means increasing the production of goods on a large scale all over the country. How have the other countries like the United States become so wealthy? It is because they produce enormous amounts of goods from their land and industries. We should also produce more from our land and industries and village industries or in any other way that is possible. There is no other way, whether you are a socialist or a communist, a capitalist or anything else. You come round ultimately

73. See fn 59 in this section.

74. See fn 60 in this section.



to the question of increasing production in the country—from land, industries, village industries and every possible way.

Then the question arises as to how production can be increased? There can be different points of views about this. But there is no doubt about the fact that production has to be increased and it can be done only by hard work and not by shouting slogans. Let me tell you that the United States and the Soviet Union have advanced only by hard work, though they follow different ideologies. Hard work and discipline are the basic things, no matter what ideology one follows.

Once this is decided, we must not do anything which creates an obstacle in the process of production. If we wish to produce the maximum from land and industries, we must remove any obstacle which comes in the way. Obstacles can be of many kinds. They can be in the form of social or economic organisation. For instance, the zamindari and jagirdari systems were obstacles to progress because these systems did not favour the peasants who filled the land. The profits of their labour went into the pockets of others and the peasants themselves had no incentive to produce more. Therefore, if we wished to increase production, it was essential to abolish the zamindari and jagirdari systems, which we did and have more or less put an end to it.<sup>75</sup> We have taken other steps in this connection and will continue to do so. But the first major step was to abolish the zamindari and jagirdari systems.

Now, our farmers generally do not own more than two or three acres of land which is not enough to increase production because the small farmer lacks the resources and the know-how to adopt modern and improved techniques of agriculture. So I can tell you quite confidently that there is no alternative to cooperative farming. If the small farmers form a cooperative society for purposes of farming and buying and selling, they will be safe from the middleman who takes advantage of their poverty to squeeze them. So we have had to change the land tenure laws and the social organisation so that the farmers as well as the country may benefit and production increases. This is one example of how laws can help to remove the obstacles from the path of progress. But it is not merely a question of law but the cooperation of the people and the farmers. The farmers must understand the advantages of a cooperative society and not get scared. We must explain these things to the farmers because they cannot be coerced to do anything against their wishes. The farmer must realise that it is he who will benefit. This is why I said that the social organisation has to be changed.

Now, let us come to industries. There are big mills and industries in Gujarat, Ahmedabad, Bombay. But we want to put up not merely textile mills but machine-

75. See fn 61 in this section.

making industries which are required to set up other industries. We cannot continue to put up industries here by importing machinery from Germany or England. We also need to produce enough steel and power, electricity or thermal power or atomic power in the country, if we wish to progress. •

The other question which arises is of ownership of industries. If all the industries are in private hands, they will naturally run it for their own profit. They will not consider what the country needs. So it becomes necessary to make plans looking at the needs of the country and set up basic industries. It should be ensured that they are not in the hands of private individuals but in the public sector. That does not mean that all private property should be put an end to. I think it is a good thing if there is some private property also. What will happen in the long run is a matter for the future.

But it certainly means that the basic, key industries which can tilt the economic situation this way or that should be in the hands of the people of the country. This is what is known as planning and moving towards socialism. I cannot say what shape it will take in the future because we shall be making changes as we gain more experience. If we try to tie it down in a rigid pattern, it will become stagnant. But basically what does socialism mean? One, the people should become better off; the disparity between the haves and the have-nots is reduced; and there is greater equality. Secondly, all the big projects that are taken up should be for the good of the people rather than for private profit. All right, I said that people must become better off and there should be no disparity. Please remember that socialism does not mean distributing poverty among the people. You can bring about socialism in the country only when you have enough to go round. You cannot distribute poverty. That is no socialism. No country can hope to progress in this way. So the two things—*increase in production and its equitable distribution*—must go together. If you cannot produce more there can be no socialism. Can there anything be like the socialism of poverty?

I have put before you some matters of fundamental importance because there is so much of empty talk. In this age of slogans, we are asked as to why we cannot bring about socialism faster and why the government does not nationalise all the industries. Tell me what we are to do with them? As I told you, we shall nationalise whatever we think will benefit the society. All the new industries that we are setting up are in the public sector. But we give permission to private individuals too because we want that a large amount of goods should be produced in the country by all possible means, in the public sector, as well as in the private sector. The most important task before us is to produce wealth in the country. If we bring in rules which obstruct the production of wealth, our goal of providing enough for the people's wants will recede further. At the same time, it is equally important to lay firm foundations of socialism and not allow any obstacle to



come in the way. The strategic points which control the economic situation must remain in the hands of the people and not go to private hands.

You will find that we come round again and again to the necessity for planning so that it becomes easy to take the next step after the first one. We cannot allow everyone to do as they like so that an imbalance is not created in the matter of production of goods. That is not planning. Two things are extremely essential for all industries: steel and power, whether it is electric power, thermal power, atomic power or whatever it is. We also have a tremendous amount of manpower which should be properly used. But it is obvious that we cannot go very far only with manpower, if we lack other sources of power. That does not mean that we should not utilise the manpower. It is extremely important to do so because if we fail to use the crores of people, they will become a burden upon the nation. No matter how many heavy industries we put up, our thirty-six crores of people cannot be accommodated in them. We must put up small industries and cottage industries; and agriculture is there in any case. Therefore, as I told you, steel and power are fundamental to progress. If you want to judge how far a country has advanced, it is very easy. You just find out how much steel and power are produced by it. The answer to these two questions will give you a fairly accurate picture of how advanced a country is.

About two hundred years ago, when the Industrial Revolution had not taken place, the countries of the West were also poor. But in the last two hundred years they have taken a sudden leap forward while we have remained backward. There has been tremendous advance in the field of science and technology, new sources of energy have been harnessed and new tools invented. This is how the West has progressed. If India wishes to progress, it is obvious that there should be industrialisation and production of power and steel. We can never make the country prosperous without science and technology. That is why they have become essential; so also planning. But how to implement all these things?

Before we do anything else, the most important thing is to improve agriculture and produce more food. What is the use of industries if there is not enough to eat in the country? If we have to import food from the United States or elsewhere, all our precious foreign exchange will be drained away. Therefore, it is extremely important to increase our agricultural production. Nowadays what we are producing is about one-fourth or half of what is being produced in other countries, which is shameful. We must and can increase production because wherever we have made an effort, production has been doubled and trebled. I am not saying that we should get big tractors and heavy machines. You can double your production by taking care of three or four things like having better ploughs, proper irrigation and good seeds and fertilisers.

Let me tell you a couple of things in this connection. As I have already told

you, India cannot go very far unless the condition of the Indian farmer improves because thirty crores of Indians work on land. It is essential to uplift them, to take them out of the rut that they have fallen into, and teach them new techniques of agriculture. You must have heard about the community development schemes and the national extension service, which are aimed basically at creating a new awareness among the villagers, teaching them to improve agricultural production, providing them with facilities for education, hospitals, roads, etc. That is extremely important. So, as you see, all these things are essential, one way or the other, in planning. But in one sense it can be said that the most important thing is to increase agricultural production.

At the same time, it is obvious that it is essential to lay the foundations of heavy industries. How can we do all this if we do not train people to do their jobs well? We need lakhs of engineers to put up new industries and it takes time to train them. We are putting up steel plants in Rourkela and Bhilai and elsewhere. They are huge plants and it will take at least five years to put them up. But it will take fifteen years to train the human beings who will run those plants. What is the use of putting up industries if we do not have people to run them? So we have to make arrangements from now onwards to train lakhs of people as engineers and overseers. Therefore, institutes are being set up for the teaching of engineering.

Secondly, education for the common people is also important. Which means that every single boy and girl in villages and cities must be provided with compulsory, free education because human beings can progress only upon that foundation. Illiterate people cannot take a country very far. You can imagine how complex these tasks are. It has been calculated that if education is to be provided to all the people requiring it, that is, from the primary to the university level, the figure of the teachers and the taught will be ten crores. Just imagine, ten crores, that is, a hundred million, and you will need lakhs of teachers, from primary school teachers to professors. It means training lakhs of human beings to become teachers.

It is an extremely complex task. People often shout slogans without having any understanding of the realities. I do not say that whatever we do is right. We often make mistakes but we try to consult others and then follow a particular path. If we find we have erred, we change the course. The five-year plans have been altered in many respects because, after all, we do not plan in the air. We must make plans which can be implemented by the people because everything depends on their hard work. I want to put this picture before you. Ultimately everything depends on the strength and labour of the people. Men, women and children must all play their role in all these tasks and create an atmosphere of hope and optimism and not get weighed down by pessimism. They must learn not to fritter away their energies in futile wranglings.



More than two years of the Second Five Year Plan have gone by. Now we are formulating the Third Five Year Plan. It is a difficult job because though our hopes and aspirations are high, our resources are limited. We want to industrialise the country, spread education, increase agricultural production, put up large fertiliser factories and what not. But, after all, you need money for all these things. We can increase our resources by a few additional taxes but people do not like that. If we do not levy taxes, there is no money for what the people want. These are the complications. Anyhow, we want to consult everyone from top to bottom, the panchayats and others.

I told you that India's progress means the progress of the villages in India. The other things will follow automatically. But it is very essential to shake up the villages. I think it has already been done to some extent. People progress not by orders from the top but by their ability to think for themselves and stand on their own feet. As I told you, Mahatmaji had imbued the people with the strength so that their backs were straightened. Nobody straightened their backs physically. A certain atmosphere was created in which they could hold their heads high and acquire the ability to work. This is what is to be done now. So I do not want that officers should have very much to do in the tasks of villages. The officers can help. But I want that the main burden must fall upon the villagers. We can help and advise from above. But the village panchayats and the cooperative societies should take on the responsibility.

How would it happen? Well, these two institutions are expanding rapidly. In this context, I would like to tell you that the cooperative societies should not be too large but small and compact ones in which all the farmers know one another. If they are too large, they become impersonal. The cooperative society should be small and compact like the village panchayat. Of course, some small cooperatives can join together and form a bigger one. But for all practical purposes, each cooperative society should consist of not more than two to three villages. The panchayat should deal with the administrative matters and the cooperative society should handle the economic matters in the villages.

I know that there are many difficulties in this. People in villages often fight among themselves, indulge in groupism, make complaints against one another and try to drag others down. I am aware of all these things. Yet we will have to rely on them. If they make mistakes, make them realise their mistakes, punish them; but do trust them. If we rely on government officers, the villagers will never learn to manage the affairs. It will be akin to the British saying they could not grant freedom to Indians because we did not have experience. Similarly if we say that the farmers cannot be entrusted with the task of running the panchayats and cooperative societies and so there should be officers, it will be a wrong argument. We must certainly keep an eye on them to see that they do not make

too many mistakes and try to rectify their mistakes. As I told you, you can even punish them for something which is terribly wrong. But we must have faith in them and entrust them with powers. These are the roots of the functioning of the panchayats and the cooperative societies. The third thing which is essential in a village is a school. It is not necessary to spend too much money in putting up a school building. There should be good teachers and classes can be held even under the trees.

I have talked to you of this and that. Now, I want to draw your attention to world affairs. For years, the world has been poised on a razor's edge, and if there is even a slight tilt one way or the other, war and ruin will be the result. This is the state of the big powers. But they are no fools; they are intelligent. However, they have got into such a web of mutual fear that they are unable to escape from it. In such circumstances we try to serve the world as best as we can. But the greatest service that we can do is to run our own country well for if we fail to do so, how can we presume to advise others? Only when we run our country peacefully, with cooperation and hard work, will our voice carry weight, it will have an impact, and we will be able to serve ourselves and others better. So we come round once again to what we do in India and how we implement the Five Year Plan and how we make it successful. This is the all-important thing.

Now, you have seen what has happened in Pakistan in the last two to three weeks.<sup>76</sup> Neither you nor I have any right to criticise Pakistan. It is a free country and must do as it thinks best. But it is quite clear that even after eleven years Pakistan is not at all stable. There is constant turmoil there. In this period we have had two general elections, the First Five Year Plan was completed, the Second is going on and we are advancing in a thousand different ways. If you go around in India, you will find thousands of things happening. You have trains coming from Bombay State for Bharat darshan, which is a very good thing. People must go around and see what is happening in India. Now, if you compare all this with what is happening in Pakistan after eleven years, you find that there have been no elections, the old disputes and the old politicians continued until, in one fell swoop, everyone was set aside and now there is military dictatorship there. This is not a good practice for any country. I do not like it. Pakistan is welcome to have it.

But what I am trying to tell you is that we must learn a lesson from them so that we are not led astray. I do not think such things are possible in our country because a strong foundation was laid through the work that the Congress did during the long years of the freedom struggle. Whatever Gandhiji

76. See fn 62 in this section.



did he did it with great thoroughness. Since then we have tried to follow the path shown by him. So it is impossible that such things should happen in our country because we are pretty stable. But many other things could happen which might create obstacles in our path. Moreover, you know of our ancient malaise of disunity and casteism. There are disputes on grounds of provinces and languages and what not. We must find some solution to all these problems after mutual consultations. If we wish to change any decisions we have the right to do so, but we should do so methodically. And it does not seem proper to me to convert a dispute into an interminable one. I do not say that there should be no difference of opinion; people have every right to hold different opinions and to try to convince others. If I am wrong, let them try to explain to me and I shall do the same. These are the methods appropriate for a democratic state. If there is any turmoil and tension, the real task remains undone.

There has been enough violence and loot and arson in these parts.<sup>77</sup> I am amazed at the things that people do. If my government or I make a mistake, why should you burn a post office or a school or a khadi bhandar? It is absolute childishness and the people by and large are misled by a handful of trouble-makers into doing wrong things. But please remember that this is a very dangerous path. Violence itself, as I told you, is extremely dangerous in my opinion because every kind of factionalism, provincialism, casteism, communalism, flare up.

Secondly, this is a fascist path. Some people were annoyed with me for my using the word fascist. I did not say it as a criticism of anyone or as an abuse. But I wish to make it quite clear that anything which leads to violence is a fascist way. If these things spread, you will find that there will be two or three groups in every city at loggerheads with one another. You can see this happening in some other countries of Asia. It is not possible there to decide anything in a proper way, for might becomes right. Do you wish that India should become like this? A party may not accept some decision and want that it should be changed. I agree that it has every right to make all efforts to get it changed. Take the matter of the provinces. I do not think that it makes a big difference whether a decision goes this way or that way. Anything that benefits the country and the people and has their acceptance should be done. But there should be a manner of doing things; there should be a manner of changing a decision. I do not want you to slacken even a little in this approach. Those who indulge in violence may often do it in a fit of passion though their intentions may not be bad. But the moment such things happen, the anti-social elements try to take advantage of it. So the things that provide such an opportunity are harmful.

77. See fn 63 in this section.

Such things are harmful not only because they cause great damage but, more importantly, a wrong atmosphere is created and the people are incited towards violence and wrongful activities. Our youth especially must understand this because in a few years' time the reins of power will be in their hands. It is obvious that the boys and girls who are now in colleges and universities will have to shoulder the responsibility of running the country. And when the responsibility is in their hands, if there is disunity in the country, if there are fights and quarrels in the country, then they will realise how wrong the things have gone. It is easy to spoil something but difficult to build it. You can burn down a house within half an hour but it takes years to build one. Therefore, we must realise fully how harmful and wrong the madness of violence is, even if the reasons are justified. I am willing to forgive anyone for one mistake. But if we make it a policy, we will bring ruin upon ourselves. Once the atmosphere is vitiated, a difficult situation will be created for the youth of today for they are going to shoulder the responsibility in the future. We will do what we can to control the situation. But what will they do if things get beyond control? The progress of the country will come to a standstill and all the five-year plans and what not will come to nought.

Please remember that the test of a man or a nation is what their thinking is. If your mind is constantly preoccupied with petty issues and you do not bother about the rest of the country, you will obviously be narrow-minded. If you are in the habit of putting the national interests before everything, you will be a high-class individual and if you think of the whole world, you will be an even better human being. If you are constantly preoccupied with petty issues, you create an atmosphere in which only petty, narrow-minded individuals can flourish, which is not right. So, all these questions are there.

When I was coming here today from the airport, the people of Ahmedabad had come out in lakhs to greet me which made a profound impression upon me. I do not know how to repay your love. Some people were standing with placards demanding Mahagujarat<sup>78</sup> and slogans opposing the Nehru-Noon Agreement<sup>79</sup> and all sorts of things. Now, I cannot understand what the connection of the Nehru-Noon Agreement is with these various issues. I could not make out who those people were. They probably belonged to the Jana Sangh or the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh, because they are the only people who do everything wrong. They never do anything right. There may be good individuals in these organisations—I am not talking personally—but if any organisation, whether

78. See fn 64 in this section.

79. See fn 65 in this section.



Muslim, Hindu or Sikh, is communalist in nature, that always distorts everything because its roots are in narrow-mindedness. If you follow the path of communalism India will soon become a mass of rubble. There will be religious disputes and casteism and we will be transported into the past when such things were a normal feature. They have no relevance to the present times. I am sure that none of these people would even be aware of what the talks between Nehru and Noon were all about. Yet they go around carrying placards!

Anyhow, there were also placards about the prices of foodgrains. The people are facing difficulties because of this. That is why I have told you how important it is to increase production from land, for after all there is no alternative. There are a number of what are called fair-price shops in Baroda and the whole of Bombay State. The prices of some high quality rice have gone up and I agree that an effort must be made to curb them. It is extremely improper that traders should try to take unfair advantage of a crisis. I cannot go into all the arguments. But the government holds the same view as all of you that efforts should be made to bring down prices and I think that gradually we shall succeed. Already the prices have come down in some of the States. But, as you know, the crops have failed all over the country for the last three consecutive years which has cast a heavy burden and even our plans have suffered a set-back because of this.

The third kind of placards was for Mahagujarat. Now, I have no objection to placards. They are welcome to hold meetings or to talk to me and others. They can express their viewpoint and I can explain mine. But ultimately the decision will rest with Parliament and no one else. The most important thing at the moment is to reduce tensions and disputes over the question of language and province for otherwise there can be no progress. I am terribly afraid of the habit of disunity among us, and not of any outside power. Therefore, I consider the forging of unity as the most important task before us. In the few years left to me this will be one of the primary goals before me. I am always willing to talk and to listen. But if I allow disunity and violence to flourish, I will not be fulfilling my responsibility as the Prime Minister of India.

Therefore, I appeal to the youth not to resort to violence or hooliganism or any such thing as it will undoubtedly harm India and the State of Bombay, Gujarat as well as Maharashtra, and everyone else and produce a narrow-minded way of thinking. I shall do my best to get the decision changed if it is possible. You can see that all kinds of strange partnerships take place just for the sake of opposing the government. The Jana Sangh and those who advocate Mahagujarat, and different kinds of people who have nothing in common, come together. They have the right to oppose the government. But once that purpose is served, their unity will be broken. Their unity is artificial and so these are dangerous paths and will gradually weaken us.

Gujarat, which is part of Bombay State, is doing very well. In fact, in my opinion, the whole of Bombay State has progressed a great deal in the last two years. As I had mentioned earlier, though I do not wish to make a comparison because that will be improper, your Chief Minister, Shri Chavan,<sup>80</sup> has done excellent work. You must have heard that recently oil has been discovered in the Gujarat part of Bombay.<sup>81</sup> This is a historic event for India. I cannot say just now exactly how much it will be but I think it will be of great benefit to all of us and the country. So now, if all our attention is turned away from all these talks of development and is bent upon breaking and destroying and looting and arson, how can we progress? How much respect will the world have for India?

Well, as you know, I had come here especially for the Youth Congress convention which is being held here.<sup>82</sup> I was happy to see that almost 4,000 delegates have come: one thousand from here and about 3,000 from outside. I am very happy to see all these young people and their enthusiasm, because ultimately it is they who will hold the destiny of the country in their hands.

I am happy to have come to Baroda and met all of you. Thank you for your warm and affectionate welcome.

Jai Hind.

[Translation ends]

## 5. Need for an Economic Revolution<sup>83</sup>

बहिनो और भाइयो,  
कुछ दो बरस से कुछ कम हुआ, पौने दो बरस, जब मैं आपके यहाँ इंदौर आया था कांग्रेस के जलसे में शायद<sup>84</sup> परसों मैं भोपाल गया था। कुछ दिन बाद भोपाल गया था और एक इतिफाक से परसों इस नये मध्य प्रदेश की सालगिरह थी दूसरी।<sup>85</sup> तो यह एक शुभ अवसर हुआ, भोपाल, जो हमारे नये मध्य प्रदेश की राजधानी है, वहाँ जाने का। सुन्दर जगह है

80. See fn 66 in this section.

81. See fn 67 in this section.

82. See fn 68 in this section.

83. Speech at a public meeting, Indore, 3 November 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. The *National Herald* reported on 4 Nov. that over 200,000 attended.

84. 2-8 January 1957 for the sixty-second session of the Indian National Congress. See also SWJN/SS/36/pp. 277-300.

85. The new State of Madhya Pradesh came into being on 1 November 1956.



भोपाल, बढ़ रहा है जैसे कि आपका शहर इंदौर बढ़ रहा है। अक्सर, आपको याद होगा, पहले भी, शायद अब भी, बहस हुआ करती थी राजधानी की और बाज़ बातों पर इंदौर और ग्वालियर के पीछे।<sup>86</sup> और मैंने उस वक्त एक कहानी सुनायी थी कुछ लोगों को, जो मेरे पास आये थे। तरह-तरह की राजधानी कमेटीयाँ थीं—एक इंदौर की, एक भोपाल की, एक ग्वालियर की। तो मैंने एक पुरानी कहानी सुनायी, अंग्रेजों के मुल्क की थी।

कई सौ बरस हुए एक बादशाह थे, Charles the First, इंग्लैंड में।<sup>87</sup> आपने सुना होगा शायद कि उनकी लड़ाई हुई थी वहाँ की उस समय की Parliament से। और एक गृहयुद्ध भी हुआ था, उसमें बादशाह हारे थे। ख़ाली हारे नहीं थे बल्कि उनको मौत की सजा दी गयी थी, Parliament ने, और उनका सिर काट डाला। ख़ैर, तो इन बादशाह के पास, वो बादशाह नाराज हो गये, London शहर से, वहाँ के व्यापारियों से, और व्यापारियों को उन्होंने बुलाया, बड़े व्यापारियों को London के, उस समय के, और उनसे कहा कि तुम बहुत बदतमीज़ी कर रहे हो और अगर तुम अपना तरीका नहीं बदलोगे, तो मैं राजधानी को उठाके दूसरे शहर में ले जाऊँगा, Oxford में ले जाऊँगा। तो उनका जवाब मशहूर है, जो व्यापारियों ने जवाब दिया था, कि आप इस मामले में जो मुनासिब समझें वह करें, लेकिन कृपा करके जब आप राजधानी यहाँ से ले जाइए, तो Thames नदी को यहाँ छोड़ जाइएगा, जो दरिया है London में। यानी उनका मतलब यह था कि London जो उनका बड़ा शहर है, उस समय बहुत बड़ा नहीं था, लेकिन फिर भी कुछ न कुछ बड़ा था। उसकी शोहरत, उसका बड़ापन वो राजा साहब के वहाँ रहने से नहीं थी, न राजधानी से, बल्कि इसलिए थी कि Thames नदी थी, और व्यापार आता था और इसलिए London बढ़ता जाता था। यानी शहर बढ़ते हैं अपने काम से, दो चार दफ्तरों से नहीं। ये एक पुराने जमाने की बात है जब कोई काम-काज बहुत कम होता था और जहाँ दफ्तर होते थे वहाँ कुछ न कुछ काम मिल जाता था। जहाँ अदालत हुई वहाँ कुछ काम मिल जाता था, High Court वगैरह में। लेकिन वो तो एक मुट्ठीभर आदमी की बात थी। असल शहर के बढ़ने की बात है कि वहाँ कारोबार हो, industry हो, त्तिजारत हो, व्यापार हो, उससे शहर बढ़ते हैं, यानी जहाँ कुछ पैदा हो।

अब आप जानते हैं कि इंदौर पहले भी बड़ा शहर था और अब बढ़ रहा है, काम बढ़ रहा है, इसलिए कि यहाँ कारोबार है, और कारोबार और होगा यहाँ। इससे एक जान लेने की चीज है। दो एक दफ्तर यहाँ आ गये, उससे कोई बहुत फर्क नहीं होगा। आयें दफ्तर, अच्छी

86. There were lobbies for Indore, Bhopal, Jabalpur, Gwalior, and Rewa. A sub-committee of the Congress Working Committee, consisting of Nehru, G.B. Pant, U.N. Dhebar and Maulana Azad, chose Bhopal on 2 December 1955, but recommended that government offices could be distributed between Gwalior, Indore, Rewa and Jabalpur also.

87. (1600-1649): King of England, Scotland and Ireland, 1625-1649; defeated in civil wars, tried and executed in 1649.

बात है। फिर मिसाल आपके मध्य प्रदेश में जहाँ तक मुझे मालूम है इस समय सबमें बड़ा शहर इंदौर है, और भी बड़े शहर होंगे (तालियाँ) और भी बड़े शहर हैं। प्रसिद्ध ऐतिहासिक शहर ग्वालियर है। शानदार शहर है ऐतिहासिक, अच्छा है। वो भी तरक्की कर रहा है। भोपाल तो खैर राजधानी हो गयी है। जबलपुर है, और रायपुर वगैरह है, बड़े शहर हैं। क्योंकि मध्य प्रदेश तो लम्बान-चौड़ान में हमारे देश में सबसे बड़ा प्रदेश है, सूबा है, और हर तरह के लोग हैं यहाँ। बहुत सारे आदिवासी रहते हैं इधर भी, इधर बस्तर की तरफ। बड़े शहर हैं, बड़े पुरानी रियासतें यहाँ, जो उससे मिल गयी हैं, और ये बिल्कुल बीच में है, नाम ही उसका मध्य प्रदेश है। और जैसे मैंने और जगह कहा, इसकी जमीन अच्छी है, खेती के लिए अच्छी है, और इसकी जमीन के नीचे दबे हुए कितने धातु हैं, कितनी कीमती चीजें हैं जिनको निकालने से धन-दौलत देश का और प्रदेश का बढ़ेगा, रोज़गार मिलेगी लोगों को। आप जानते हैं, एक बहुत बड़ा लोहे का कारख़ाना भिलाई में बन रहा है, एक बहुत ही बड़ी चीज़। और एक जहाँ कारख़ाना बनता है ख़ाली वो ही नहीं, बहुत दूर तक उसका असर होगा। सारे मध्य प्रदेश को उससे लाभ होगा और सारे देश को लाभ होगा। अभी भोपाल में मैंने देखा एक बहुत बड़ा बिजली का कारख़ाना, बिजली के सामान के बनाने का कारख़ाना, बन रहा है।<sup>88</sup> वो भी भारत का अपने किस्म का एक होगा, सबसे बड़ा, क्योंकि मैंने सुना है कि सारे एशियाभर में बड़ा होगा। तो ये चीज़ें हैं, अलग-अलग हो रही हैं। और ठीक है, इसे होना चाहिए, क्योंकि हम तो चाहते हैं कि सारा हमारा देश चारों तरफ से उठे। यह नहीं कि एक जगह उठे, दूसरी जगह दबा रहे। हम तो चाहते हैं कि सारी जनता देश में, करोड़ों है, सब आगे बढ़ें। यह नहीं कि मुट्ठीभर आदमी अमीर हो जाएँ, बाकी पिछड़े रहें। हाँ, कठिन है, मुश्किल काम है।

तो ख़ैर, मैं यहाँ दो डेढ़ बरस बाद इंदौर आया, और एक दिनभर रहा मैं। लेकिन दिनभर में बहुत कुछ घूमा, बहुत कुछ देखा, और कुछ दिल पर असर हुआ कि इंदौर तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ रहा है, एक जानदार शहर है। और आप रहने वाले यहाँ के आप जानते हैं। तो यह अच्छा असर हुआ मेरे पर और आपको मुबारकबाद दिया चाहता हूँ उसकी। (तालियाँ) तो बात यह है मैं यहाँ आया किसलिए? दो बातों के लिए मैं ख़ास यहाँ आया। एक तो यहाँ जो श्रम मंदिर है, कहलाता है, जो कि यहाँ के मजदूर संघ ने अपनी मेहनत और अपने परिश्रम से, और अपने पैसे से बनाया है।<sup>89</sup> और एक सुन्दर जगह बनायी जहाँ उसमें अच्छा काम हो। तो उसके लिए मैं यहाँ आया। दूसरे मैं आया था इसलिए कि भारत के एक जो ये flying club हैं, जो हवाई जहाज़ की संस्थाएँ हैं, सरकारी नहीं—सरकारी

88. The Heavy Electricals Plant, built with technical assistance from a UK company, the Associated Electricals (India) Limited, was inaugurated by Nehru on 6 November 1960.

89. On 3 November 1958, Nehru inaugurated the Workers' Training College, situated within the campus of Shram Shivir, the headquarters of the Madhya Pradesh branch of INTUC. The College was constructed out of voluntary contributions and labour of the textile workers of Indore. See item 179.



तो अलग हैं, सरकारी फौजे हैं—लेकिन और लोगों ने बनायी हैं, अलग-अलग प्रदेशों में, उनका एक सम्मेलन यहाँ था। उन्होंने बुलाया था<sup>90</sup> और मेरी उसमें भी बड़ी दिलचस्पी है। मैं आया। आप लोग भी बहुत लोग वहाँ मौजूद थे। कल परसों से हो रहा है। कुछ थोड़ा सा आज भी देखा और मैंने सोचा जब मैं आ रहा था वहाँ से और एक बड़ा मजमा इंदौर के रहने वालों का था, लाखों आदमी मालूम होते थे, तो वो भी एक निशानी थी एक हमारे नये जमाने की। जैसे बड़े-बड़े मेले हुआ करते थे पहले, यात्रा और मेले, अब ये नये मेले चले हैं, नये ढंग से।

जैसे कि मैंने कहा था दो बरस हुए, भाखड़ा-नांगल, यह एक बड़ी योजना है, और बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर, जहाँ बिजली पैदा होती है और नहरें निकलेंगी, उसके बारे में मैंने कहा था कि अब हिन्दुस्तान में नये यात्रा की जगहें हो गयी हैं, नये मंदिर, नये मस्जिद, नये गुरुद्वारे, नये गिरजे, जो भी कुछ कहिए आप।<sup>91</sup> मज़हबी जो हैं वो तो हैं ही। लेकिन यह नये मंदिर बने हैं नयी यात्राओं की जगह, जहाँ नया भारत बन रहा है। जहाँ देश की सेवा के लिए बड़े-बड़े काम हो रहे हैं। इससे ज़्यादा बड़ा मंदिर क्या हो सकता है जहाँ देश की सेवा के लिए कोई काम हो। तो ये तस्वीर भारत की हल्के-हल्के बदलती जाती है और तस्वीर ऊपर से नहीं कि एक कारख़ाने बन गये और कुछ हुआ। लेकिन चारों तरफ से लोग बदलते जाते हैं और बदलेंगे। लोगों के विचार बदलते जाते हैं। और बदलेंगे, क्योंकि भारत इस समय एक क्रांति की तरफ जा रहा है। क्रांति के माने आप न समझें कि झगड़े-फसाद से। क्रांति के माने हैं जब देश की समाज बढ़ती है, बदलती है, तब एक परिवर्तन होता है, आम जनता सब मिलकर, अकेले नहीं। जो बात भारत में हो रही है, कुछ लोग शायद उसको पूरा समझें नहीं, महसूस नहीं करें, क्या हो रहा है। वो अपने मुहल्ले में रहें या अपने शहर में, अपने झगड़ों में फंसे हैं और उनके कान में बड़ी तस्वीर नहीं आती। लेकिन अगर आप फिरें तो आप देखेंगे कि आजकल अजीब बात हो रही है और वह यह कि अक्सर भारत दर्शन की यात्रायें हो रही हैं। एक पूरी रेलगाड़ी चार सौ, पाँच सौ आदमी ले लेते हैं, वो चाहे किसान हों, चाहे विद्यार्थी हों, चाहें कुछ भी उनका पेशा हो, और वो भारत में महीनेभर, डेढ़ महीनेभर घूमते हैं और देखते हैं पुरानी प्रसिद्ध जगहें भी और नई जगहें जहाँ बड़ा काम हो रहा है। अच्छी बात है। आपको और हमें, अपने को और अपने देश को पहचानना है। यह काफी नहीं है कि आप अपने शहर, मुहल्ले को जाने या अपने जिले को जाने। देश को जानना है। हम बहुत बरसों तक अपने अलग-अलग गिरोह में रहे, अलग-अलग गाँव में, शहर में, और कुछ देश का पूरा ख़याल नहीं आया। लेकिन जितने बड़े काम देश में होते हैं वो देशभर के होते हैं। हमारे देश को स्वराज मिला तो वो एक प्रांत और एक प्रदेश को तो स्वराज नहीं मिला, सारे देश को मिला। अगर देश आगे बढ़ेगा, सारा देश बढ़ेगा, मध्य प्रदेश ख़ाली नहीं या बम्बई

90. On 3 November 1958, Nehru spoke at the prize distribution of the Air Rally at Indore.

91. He used these words when inaugurating the Bhakra-Nangal canal system at Nangal on 8 July 1954. See SWJN/SS/26/p. 143.

या मद्रास या उत्तर प्रदेश या बंगाल। तो बड़े-बड़े हमारे प्रदेश हैं, और दुनिया में देशों के बराबर हैं।

पहले आपके प्रदेश में क्या था? बहुत सारे झगड़े थे, रियासतें थीं, राजा-महाराजा थे अलग-अलग। वो बात खत्म हुई स्वराज आने के बाद जल्दी, क्योंकि वो बात ऐसी थी कि उससे भारत की एकता मजबूत नहीं होती। हम वहाँ रहते हैं, दूसरे अलग हैं, या अब भी कोई गाँव वाले समझें कि हमारा गाँव है, यह है, और प्रदेश है, तो वो तो पुरानी बातें हो गईं। अब हम सब मिलके भारत के रहने वाले हैं चाहे आप मध्य प्रदेश में रहें, चाहे उत्तर प्रदेश में रहें। और हमारा जीवन, और हमारी उन्नति बंधी हुई है एक-दूसरे के साथ। हमारी किस्मत बंधी हुई है सारे भारत के साथ। भारत उठता है, तो हम सब उठते हैं, और भारत नहीं उठता तो फिर अलग क्या कर सकते हैं? मिलकर बहुत कर सकते हैं।

तो फिर इस तरह से अब हमें स्वराज मिला तो एक हमारी बड़ी यात्रा पूरी हुई, स्वराज की यात्रा। उस स्वराज की यात्रा में भी हमने और बातें की थीं या और बातें हमने सोची थीं। उस समय भी हमारे विचार आते थे कि जनता की उन्नति के लिए क्या करना है? जनता की गरीबी को कैसे दूर करना है? कैसे आर्थिक तरक्की हमारी हो? उस समय भी आते थे। और अगर आप कांग्रेस के प्रस्ताव पढ़ें स्वराज के बहुत पहले के, तो उसमें एक तरफ तो ये सबमें अव्वल बात थी, हम देश में स्वराज लायें, अंग्रेज़ी राज को यहाँ से हटायें। लेकिन उसी के साथ शुरु से, शुरु से तो नहीं, बाद में, दूसरी बात बढ़ने लगी कि देश में और क्या-क्या करना है? कैसे हम आर्थिक उन्नति करें? क्योंकि स्वराज तो एक रास्ता था न। स्वराज एकदम जब आ गया तो सारे देश की गरीबी तो दूर नहीं हुई। वो तो स्वराज आने से रुकावटें हटीं। हमारे हाथ में, जनता के हाथ में देश की बागडोर आई। फिर क्या हमें करना है, बड़ा काम है। उसी सिलसिले में स्वराज के पहले हमारे यहाँ बड़ा विचार होता था कि यह प्रथायें हैं, यह रजवाड़े हैं, रियासतें हैं, यह ऐसे नहीं रह सकतीं, क्योंकि इससे हिन्दुस्तान के टुकड़े हो जाते हैं, तब यह एक बड़ा देश नहीं बन सकता। यह जागीरदारी है, ताल्लुकदार हैं, वो नहीं रह सकते, क्योंकि वो देश के बढ़ने में रुकावट डालते हैं। वो एक पुराने ज़माने की चीज़ है। अब जागीरदारी हो, ज़मींदार हों, ये हैं, वो हैं तो वो व्यक्तिगत रूप से कोई बुरे व्यक्ति थोड़े ही हैं। भले हैं, हमारे मित्र, साथी। उनमें से कुछ भले नहीं, जैसा होता है। लेकिन वो एक पुराने ज़माने का संगठन था, और उस संठगन में आजकल की दुनिया में हम नहीं बढ़ सकते, वह खपता नहीं। तो उसको हटाना है। ज़मींदारी प्रथा को हटाना तो हमने पहले ही सोचा था और बहुत जगह अब हट गयी है बिल्कुल। अभी तक मैं कहूँगा ज़मीन के बारे में पूरा काम, जो हम चाहते हैं, पूरा काम नहीं हुआ, लेकिन बहुत काफी दूर तक हम पहुँच गये हैं। और बातें बहुत हमने सोची थीं उस समय भी, स्वराज के पहले कुछ हमारे विचार समाजवाद की तरफ जाते थे।

समाजवाद क्या है? एक समाज का संगठन, एक नया ढंग, जिसमें सारे समाज को फ़ायदा हो। यह नहीं कि कुछ लोगों को फ़ायदा हो, और लोग दबे रहें। और आपको याद



होगा कि उसी समय से बहुत दिन से गांधीजी ने हमारे सामने बहुत बातें रखीं, उसमें एक बात ये थी कि जो हमारे देश में दबी हुई जातियाँ हैं, हरिजन, और और लोग, उनको उठाना आवश्यक है, उनको बराबर करना, अपनाना आवश्यक है, क्योंकि हम स्वराज किसके लिए माँगते थे? क्या स्वराज मुट्ठीभर आदमियों के लिए था? क्या स्वराज अमीरों के लिए था? वो तो स्वराज नहीं हुआ, वो तो कुछ और है। सारी जनता के लिए हम चाहते थे। सभी को बराबर का अधिकार उसमें हो और तरक्की करने का मौका मिले।

तो उन्होंने किन बातों पर जोर दिया? याद करो। पहली बात तो, खैर, आप जानते हैं उनकी थी, सबमें पहली बात यह थी कि हमें एक निडर होना चाहिए अभय। पुराना शब्द है हमारे देश का कि हममें से डर निकल जाना चाहिए। क्योंकि हम एक दबी हुई कौम थे हम। एक पराये राज में लोग दब जाँएँ, दबाये जाते हैं, उनके साथ अत्याचार होता है, तो उनमें हिम्मत नहीं रहती। तो हमें एक साथ बड़े कारखाने नहीं बनाने थे। हमें तो सबसे पहले हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को बनाना था, या उभारना था और उनके दिल को मजबूत करना था। तो गांधीजी का पहला सबक यही था कि अभयदान। उसका एक हिस्सा है अहिंसा, वगैरह। अहिंसा का बड़ा चर्चा आपने सुना, शान्ति में हम करें वो ठीक है, लेकिन शान्ति, अहिंसा यह एक आदमी को निडर करे। डरपोक की अहिंसा नहीं होती है। वो तो डर की चीज है। और जो डर से निकलती है बात वो अच्छी नहीं होती है, वो निकम्मी होती है। तो उन्होंने कहा दिल से डर निकालो। उन्होंने कहा कि अहिंसा के रास्ते पर चलो, शान्ति के, और उन्होंने कहा एकता। हमारे देश के टुकड़े-टुकड़े उन्होंने देखे, अलग-अलग धर्म हैं, हिंदू, मुसलमान, जैन, बौद्ध, पारसी, सिख, इत्यादि। लेकिन देश एक है। अपने लोग अलग-अलग धर्म पर रहें। लेकिन अगर धर्म को वो लेके राजनीति में लाते हैं, और एक-दूसरे से द्वेष करते हैं, तब वो देश के टुकड़े करते हैं, खराब करते हैं। हमें एक-दूसरे के धर्म का आदर करना है। और प्रांत, प्रांत बहुत सारे प्रदेश अलग-अलग सोचें। अब भी करते हैं कुछ। लेकिन अगर अपना-अपना ही सोचें तो देश कहाँ? देश नहीं चल सकता।

तो हमने जो संस्था बनाई थी कांग्रेस की, आपको याद होगा, वो किसी एक प्रदेश की तो थी नहीं, किसी एक धर्म वालों की थी नहीं, वो किसी जाति की थी नहीं। वो सब लोगों की थी, ऊपर हिमालय से लेके नीचे कन्याकुमारी तक सब प्रदेश, सब जातियाँ, सब धर्म उसमें आते हैं। इसी तरह से महात्माजी ने देश को बनाया, ढाला जिसे कहते हैं। जैसे कोई कारीगर ढालता है, उन्होंने देश को ढाला, हल्के-हल्के। बहुत बड़ा काम है वो। और जातिभेद लीजिए, वो भी हमें अलग-अलग करता है, ऊँच-नीच, यह बातें आजकल के ज़माने की नहीं हैं। उन्हें भी हमें हटाना है। यह मोटी बातें हैं, और इन सब के साथ, परिश्रम करके आगे बढ़ना है। तो उससे हम लोग दुर्बल थे, कमज़ोर थे, लेकिन फिर भी थोड़ा बहुत जो हमने गांधीजी की बातें मानी, उससे देश में शक्ति आई, किसान में ताकत आई, कमर उसकी सीधी हुई, आँख में रौनक आई कुछ, मजदूर में आई, औरो में आई, जो गिरे हुए थे। सारे हमारे सवाल तो हल नहीं हो गये, उसमें तो समय लगता है, लेकिन शक्ति आई।

खैर, स्वराज आया। स्वराज के बाद आर्थिक प्रश्न पहले आ गये: कैसे हम भारत को आगे बढ़ायें? कैसे हम यहाँ की गरीबी दूर करें, कैसे रोज़गार बढ़े, कैसे देश में धन-दौलत पैदा हो? धन-दौलत के माने क्या? धन-दौलत क्या चीज़ है? धन-दौलत सोना चाँदी या रुपया, वगैरह नहीं है। यह तो धन-दौलत की निशानी है। असल धन-दौलत तो सामान होता है जो आदमी पैदा करता है। खेती से आप पैदा करते हैं गल्ला, वो ही धन है असली। उसको आप बेचें। उससे पैसा मिल जाए तो और बात है। वो ही धन है। पैसा असली धन नहीं है। वो तो व्यापार की चीज़ है। कपड़ा या व्यापार की हज़ार चीज़ें आती हैं। चाहे बड़े कारख़ाने में बनें या चाहे कारीगर बनायें, चाहे कोई, सब देश का धन है। जिस देश में अधिक सामान बनता है, वो देश धनी होता है। आजकल के देश जो धनी आपने सुने, अमेरिका है, इंग्लैंड है, जर्मनी है और ऐसे देश हैं, रूस भी धनी हो गया है। कैसे? इसलिए कि वो सामान अधिक अपने देश में पैदा करते हैं, जमीन से, कारख़ाने से। तो अगर हमें धनी होना है तो इसके माने हुए कि हम भी अपने देश में अधिक से अधिक सामान पैदा करें और अधिक से अधिक समान पैदा करने में अधिक से अधिक लोगों को रोज़गार भी मिलता है। दोनों बातें होती हैं। तो यह तो आवश्यक हो गया है। और यह भी नहीं कि हम किसी और देश से माँग के हम अपनी गरीबी को दूर करें। उस तरह से कोई भीख माँग के तो गरीब आदमी अमीर नहीं हो जाता, न अच्छा है। और मिले भी हमें तो क्या मुट्ठीभर मिलती है। हम अपने परिश्रम से, मेहनत से पैदा करें। यह बात हो गई न।

फिर सवाल हुआ कि कैसे परिश्रम करें, किन बातों में करें। परिश्रम तो अब भी करते हैं। क्यों नहीं हम हुए परिश्रम करके धनी? किसान परिश्रम करता है, लेकिन जितना जमीन से पैदा करता है हमारे देश में, उसका दुगुना-चौगुना और देश करते हैं। एक एकड़ जमीन से जितना किसान पैदा करता है भारत में, उसका दो गुना, तिगुना और चौगुना और देश में पैदा होता है, चावल, गल्ला, वगैरह। क्यों नहीं हम दुगुना-चौगुना पैदा करें। हम कर सकते हैं। क्योंकि जहाँ हमने कोशिश की छोटी जगह वहाँ हमने करके दिखा दिया। और मैं नहीं कहता कि बड़ी मशीन आए, tractor आए, नहीं। बल्कि परिश्रम से दो-चार बातें करके, जो कि सब कर सकते हैं, जिसमें अधिक खर्चा नहीं है। खाद अच्छी हो, बीज अच्छे चुने हों, ज़रा सौदा अच्छा हो, ज़रा हल अच्छा चल जाए, पानी ठीकतौर से दिया जाए, दुगुना-चौगुना हो जाता है। इसी तरह से कारख़ाने बनायें। यह रास्ता है, जैसे और देशों में हुआ है। अब इसके पीछे और देशों में क्या बात थी जो उन्होंने की, हम क्यों पिछड़ गये? इसके पीछे बात यह थी कि कोई डेढ़ दो सौ बरस हुए विज्ञान ने, science ने और देशों में तरक्की की। और विज्ञान ने नयी-नयी शक्तियों को पकड़ा जिसके प्रयोग से ये बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने चलने लगे।

वो शक्तियाँ क्या हैं? कारख़ाने कैसे चलते हैं, किस शक्ति से? कुछ आप भी चलाते हैं। माना आप जानते हैं। रेल कैसे चलती है? भाप से, steam से। भाप आप सब जानते हैं, आप कोई भी एक पतीली चलाएँ भाप निकलती है उसमें से, केतली चलाइये। और हमेशा



से निकलती है। लेकिन एक बुद्धिमान आदमी ने, एक अंग्रेज़ था, बहुत दिन हुए, उसने कहा कि भाप निकलती है, बड़ी शक्ति है, इसको पकड़के काम करेंगे। तो भाप को पकड़ा, रेल बन गयी, रेल चलने लगी। तो इसमें कोई जादू नहीं है। आप जानते हैं। एक शक्ति को, एक प्रकृति की शक्ति को पकड़ा। बाद में उन्होंने एक और बड़ी शक्ति को पकड़ा, बिजली की, जो कि आसमान पर बहुत चलती थी। यहाँ पहियों की रगड़ से बिजली पैदा की, और उस शक्ति से काम किया। इस तरह से विज्ञान को जानकर बहुत बातें उन्होंने कीं। और बड़े-बड़े मशीन चलने लगे, बड़े-बड़े कारखाने चलने लगे। बड़े-बड़े हथियार बने, उनकी फौजें मज़बूत हो गयीं, और देशों को उन्होंने दबा लिया। हम पिछड़ गये। विज्ञान में पिछड़ गये। हम समझें, हमसे मतलब उस ज़माने के लोग, हमारे देश के, कि हम तो बहुत पहुँचे हुए हैं, हम सब जानते हैं और कोई इस बात को उन्होंने देखा नहीं कि और दुनिया में क्या हो रहा है।

एक छोटी सी आपको बात बताऊँ। सारी दुनिया में किताबें छपती थीं। यहाँ क्यों नहीं? क्योंकि हम आँखें बंद करके बैठे थे। सारी दुनिया में हो रहा था, हम क्या देख नहीं सकते थे क्या हो रहा है? नहीं, हम बैठे हुए थे समझकर कि हम तो पहुँचे हुए हैं सब, बहुत ही ऊँचे दर्जे के हैं, कुछ हमें और करने की जरूरत नहीं है। हम पिछड़ गये। रह गये। पहली बार किताब यहाँ आई थी, छपी हुई, अकबर के ज़माने में, सम्राट अकबर। कुछ यूरोप के लोग लाए थे, उन्होंने दिखाई थी। उनको पसंद आई, आश्चर्य हुआ, लेकिन यहाँ किसी ने सोचा नहीं कि हम भी छापें। क्या बात है? जब कोई लोग अपने मन को, दिमाग को बंद कर लेते हैं, गड्ढे में पड़ जाते हैं तो समाज बदल नहीं सकता। हमारी समाज गड्ढे में पड़ गयी। निकले, निकल नहीं सकती थी। अंग्रेज़ों में ज़्यादा शक्ति थी, क्योंकि विज्ञान में बढ़ गये थे, फौजी ताकत भी हो गयी थी। आए, यहाँ बैठ गये। खैर, तो अब जो हम बढ़ना चाहते हैं तो हमें अपने को उस गड्ढे से निकालना है। कुछ तो हमने निकाल लिया, और निकालना है। जब लोगों के दिमाग और मानसिक शक्ति गड्ढे में हो जाती है, तब समाज बंध जाती है। हम बंध गये थे अपने कुछ पुराने रिवाजों में बंध गये, पुरानी आदतों में बंध गये और उनसे निकल न सके, और दुनिया आगे बढ़ गयी।

तो अब जो हमारा स्वराज आया, और स्वराज के आने से भी, उसके लड़ाई में भी, कुछ हमारे में शक्ति आई, कुछ हमारे दिमाग खुले, कुछ और दुनिया का हमें मालूम हुआ। तो जाहिर है कि हमने सोचा कि हम उन बातों को सीखें, विज्ञान को, जिन बातों से और देश बढ़े हैं। औरों की नकल करके नहीं, अपने यहाँ वैज्ञानिक लोगों को पैदा करके। आपके यहाँ कुछ इंदौर में textiles, कपड़े वगैरह के मिल हैं, वे कैसे बने? मुझे मालूम नहीं, विलायत से, जर्मनी से मशीन ले आए, लगा दी और उसको चलाया। अच्छी बात है किया। लेकिन वो तरक्की की बड़ी निशानी नहीं है। तरक्की तो जब हो, हमारे लोग मशीन बनायें, हमारे लोग विज्ञान में आगे बढ़ें, नई-नई चीज़ें बनायें। नकल करके तरक्की नहीं होती।

तो स्वराज के बाद हमने कई बड़े-बड़े काम किये। उसमें एक काम यह था कि देशभर

में हमने बड़े पैमाने पर ये विज्ञानशाला, उद्योगशाला, national laboratories बनाई, जिसमें विज्ञान, ऊँचे दर्जे का विज्ञान सीखें, science सीखें।<sup>92</sup> यों तो हमारे स्कूल-कॉलेज में भी पढ़ाई जाती है, अच्छी है, लेकिन उससे अधिक ऊँचे दर्जे की, कि हम आगे बढ़ सकें। इस तरह से हमने भारत में एक बुनियाद डाली आगे बढ़ने की। उसके बगैर आप यहाँ हजार कारखाने बना लीजिए, तो कुछ नहीं। हमारे अन्दर से नहीं निकलते, हमारे दिमाग से नहीं निकलते, उसमें शक्ति नहीं बढ़ती, तो हम विज्ञान बढ़ायें। हम क्या कर रहे हैं? और हमने, आप जानते हैं एक बड़ी-बड़ी नदियों की योजनाएँ, river valley schemes, जिससे बिजली की शक्ति पैदा होती है, जिससे नहरें हों खेती के लिए। अब बिजली की शक्ति आवश्यक है कारखाने चलाने के लिए, बड़ी-बड़ी मशीन चलाने के लिए। जितना बिजली की शक्ति हम रखें उतनी चलायें। लोहा आवश्यक है। लोहे के कारखाने बड़े-बड़े बन रहे हैं, बहुत बड़े-बड़े। तो इस तरह से हमने बुनियाद डाली भारत को बदलने के लिए। पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना में और उसके बाद अब दूसरी में।

यह पंचवर्षीय योजना के माने क्या हुए? इसके माने यह नहीं हैं कि हम एक कारखाना यहाँ खड़ा कर दें, एक कारखाना वहाँ खड़ा कर दें, एक अस्पताल वहाँ कर दें। यह योजना इस तरह से नहीं बनती है। उसके माने यह है कि हम सारे भारत के चित्र को अपने सामने रखें और देखें कि हमारे पास पैसा तो काफी है नहीं कि हम इस पैसे से पहले क्या करें, दूसरे क्या करें, तीसरे क्या करें? अगर हम पहली बात न करें, पहले दूसरी बात करें, तो हम अटक जाएँगे। फर्ज करो कि हमारे पास लोहा नहीं है, तो हम लोहे का प्रबंध तो न करें लेकिन हम कारखाने बनायें। कारखाना रुक जाएगा या हमें लोहा बाहर से खरीदना पड़ जाएगा। हम दिवालिया बनें। या हम कारखाने बना दें तो हमारे पास बिजली की शक्ति नहीं है चलाने की। कारखाने चलेंगे नहीं। कुछ कोयले से चल जाएँगे। कोयले और बिजली से शक्ति पैदा होती है इसलिए यह हमें देखना पड़ता है कि पहले हमें क्या करना है, पहले हमें बिजली की शक्ति पैदा करनी है, या कोयले से शक्ति पैदा करें? पहले हमें लोहा पैदा करना है। पहले हमें ऐसा कारखाना बनाना, जो मशीन बनाता है। तो फिर उसके बाद नई-नई चीजें पैदा होती जाएँगी, अपने आप से।

तो लोग समझते हैं कि ये planning जो है, योजना बनाना है, वो एक फ़ेहरिस्त बना लेते हैं कि हमें क्या-क्या कर लेना है? कितने अस्पताल बनाने, कितने हमें कारखाने बनाने और बनाते जाओ। इस तरह से नहीं काम चलता। उसका हमें देखना पड़ता है पहले कहाँ

92. Since January 1950, a large number of National Laboratories were set up all over the country to undertake both fundamental and applied research. The National Chemical Laboratory, Poona, National Physical Laboratory, New Delhi, Central Fuel Research Institute, Dhanbad, Central Leather Research Institute, Madras, Central Food Technological Institute, Mysore and Central Building Research Institute, Roorkee are some of the important National Laboratories.



करें, कहाँ आसानी से हो सकता है, किस तरह से एक बुनियाद पड़ेगी, जिसके ऊपर हम नये भारत की इमारत बनायें। यह कठिन बात है, सब रखना और उसमें गलतियाँ होती हैं लेकिन हमेशा याद रखो, और एक और बात याद रखो, कारखाने हम बनायें, कारखाने को चलायेगा कौन? आदमी चलायेंगे, सीखे हुए। कैसे सीखे हुए? अच्छे सीखे हुए, कुछ काम भी करने वाले। हम लोहे का कारखाना भिलाई में बना रहे हैं कुछ रूसी लोगों की मदद से। हम राउरकेला में बना रहे हैं लोहे का कारखाना जर्मनी की मदद से। हम दुर्गापुर में बना रहे हैं अंग्रेजों की मदद से। इन लोगों की मदद से हम बना रहे हैं, क्यों? क्योंकि हमारे पास उतने सीखे हुए लोग नहीं थे जो इस काम को इस समय कर सकें। हमें उनसे लेना पड़ा। ठीक, लिया। लेकिन अब हमें यह विचार करना पड़ता है कि हम अपने सीखे हुए लोग बनायें, तो हमें रूस और अमेरिका और जर्मनी की मदद लेने की आवश्यकता न हो।

अब कारखाना, हम एक लोहे का कारखाना बनाते हैं, उसमें हमें जमाने में पाँच वर्ष लगे, समझो। लेकिन किसी आदमी को सिखाने के लिए एक बड़े कारखाने को चलायें उसमें कितना समय लगता है? पन्द्रह बरस, दस बरस, जितना सीखा हुआ हो। तो सब में मुश्किल काम होता है यह लोगों को सिखाना, ऊँचे दर्जे का सिखाना। तो इस बात का हमें उपाय करना पड़ा कि अभी कैसे हम सिखायें लोगों को, कुछ ऊँचे, मध्यम दर्जे के, हर तरह के, कि जो हम करने वाले हैं उस काम को वो बाद में कर सकें। बड़े-बड़े engineer बनायें, बड़े-बड़े हर तरह के लोग बनायें, जो उस काम को कर सकें। स्कूल-कॉलेज में तो हमारे लोग पढ़ते हैं, और बहुत सारे BA हो जाते हैं, MA भी कुछ हो जाते हैं, अच्छे लड़के-लड़कियाँ हों। लेकिन पुराने ढंग की जो पढ़ाई थी उसमें ज्यादातर जोर इस तरफ नहीं था, engineer, वगैरह की तरफ। अधिकतर था, क्या कहूँ आपको, जो बाद में BA, MA, हो गये, अच्छे लड़के हुए, लेकिन फिर वो नौकरी की तलाश करें दफ्तरों में। अब नौकरी कोई बुरी चीज नहीं है, लेकिन यह असंभव है कि लाखों आदमी सरकारी नौकर होते जाएँ। वो नहीं हो सकते।

तो पढ़ाई का हमें बदलना पड़ता है कि ऐसी पढ़ाई हो जिसमें जो हम नये काम देश में कर रहे हैं, वो लोग उसके लिए तैयार हों। अधिक हमें, सबमें अधिक engineers की जरूरत है। तरह-तरह के engineer होते हैं, खाली एक तरह के नहीं। काम करने वाले भी हाथ पैर से। Overseer की हमें बड़ी जरूरत है, ऐसे लाखों, लाखों इस समय हमारे देश में। हमने दो बरस हुए गिनती की थी, 72,000 engineers हमारे देश में हैं ऊँचे, नीचे, सब मिलाके। लेकिन हम हिसाब लगाते हैं तो अभी दो-तीन-चार बरस बाद हमें इसके दुगने, तिगुने चाहिए, लाख-दो लाख चाहिए, इसके बाद पाँच लाख चाहिए, दस लाख चाहिए, overseer वगैरह, मिलाके।

तो अब इसको तैयार करना, नहीं तो सारा काम रुक जाएगा। और लीजिये हम जो कर रहे हैं, विकास योजना, community blocks, देहातों में। वहाँ हम ग्रामसेवक भेजते हैं। वो सबमें पहला सेवा करने वाला है, ग्रामसेवक, उसको हम सालभर सिखाते हैं तरह-तरह की

बातें। उसके अलावा वहाँ हमें लोग और रखने पड़ते हैं, छोटे engineer, कुछ स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध रखने, कुछ शिक्षा का प्रबंध करने, तरह-तरह के। हमने, मुझे याद नहीं है इस समय, शायद 25-30 हजार ग्रामसेवकों को तैयार किया है, सालभर शिक्षा देके। लेकिन बिल्कुल कम हैं वे। हमारे देश में साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव हैं। और तीन लाख गाँव में यह योजना पहुँच चुकी है, वो कम पड़ती है। तो हमें लाखों ग्रामसेवक तैयार करने हैं सिखाके, हमें लाखों डॉक्टर तैयार करने हैं। हमें लाखों स्त्रियाँ तैयार करनी हैं, जो नर्स का काम करें। इस तरह से जिधर आप देखिए, नई शिक्षाएँ देनी हैं, नये काम के लिए। पुरानी शिक्षा जो है उससे भी लाभ हम उठायेंगे, लेकिन वो काफी नहीं है। ढंग कुछ बदल गया। तो इस तरह से जो हम योजना बनायें, planning करें, तो चारों तरफ आँखें रखनी होती हैं, चारों तरफ लोगों से सलाह करनी होती है, देशभर में, और उसमें हम दो-तीन नतीजों पर पहुँचते हैं।

पहली बात तो खैर यह है कि कितना ही हम तरक्की करें, ये कारखाने बनायें, बड़े-बड़े मशीन बनायें, आखिर में फिर भी हमारा देश एक खेतिहर देश है, agricultural देश है। करोड़ों आदमी खेती करते हैं। तो हमें पहले खेती को मजबूत करना है, खेती की तरक्की हो, ज्यादा पैदा हो जमीन से। मैंने आपसे कहा न, हमारी जमीन से फी एकड़ कम पैदा होता है। और मुल्कों से क्यों कम हो? हम कर सकते हैं अधिक, और आवश्यक है कि देश में काफी खाना पैदा हो, और काफी से अधिक हमें ताकि हम उसको बाहर भेजें गल्ले को और उसकी एवज में हम मशीन लायें। अगर गल्ला ही ठीक नहीं होता तो सारा हमारा काम उलट-पलट हो जाता है, फिर हम बाहर से क्या लायें सामान? तो सबमें पहली बात याद रखें आप, खेती की तरक्की। मैं इसको बाद में आता हूँ कि खेती की तरक्की कैसे होती है, कैसे अधिक पैदा हो।

दूसरी बात उसकी मैं, दूसरी कहूँ, लेकिन वो भी अव्वल है, कि यहाँ यह कारखाने का सिलसिला बहुत बढ़ गया। इसके माने मेरे नहीं है कि कपड़े बनाने की मिल हर जगह बन जाए। लेकिन हजारों तरह के कारखाने, बड़े, छोटे, मध्यम, और ग्रामोद्योग भी, क्योंकि यह बात मेरी राय में बिल्कुल पक्की है कि हम खेती में कितनी ही तरक्की करें, उससे लाभ होगा, लेकिन खाली खेती से, हम न तो रोज़गार लोगों को दे सकते हैं, अधिकतर जो बेरोज़गार हैं, न हम देश को खुशहाल बना सकते हैं। यह बात तय है। उसके लिये जब तक हम, यह नये ढंग के कारखानों को न लायें, हजारों, लाखों, छोटे, बड़े, उस वक्त तक यह नहीं होगा, उस वक्त तक हम तरक्की नहीं करेंगे, न धन-दौलत पैदा करने में, न सामान, न रोज़गार देने में, तो जिसको कहते हैं industrialisation, जो बिल्कुल आवश्यक है। यानी एक माने में जो बात सौ बरस हुए अंग्रेज़ों के देश में हुई, अमेरिका में हुई, वो हमें करनी है। सौ बरस में थोड़ा हम कर सकते हैं, हमें जल्दी करनी है, दस बरस में करनी है, 12 बरस में करनी है। ये दो पहलू हो गये और इसके करने के लिए और दोनों के लिए हमें लोग तैयार करने हैं। सबमें बड़ा पहलू है। और उसी के साथ-साथ और बातें आती हैं।

लोग तैयार करने के माने क्या? क्या पढ़ाई-लिखाई? एक तो बुनियादी पढ़ाई, तो जो



सब लोगों को आनी चाहिए भारत में, एक-एक बच्चे को और एक-एक बड़े को, आनी चाहिए। यानी 38 करोड़ आदमी, सबको आनी चाहिए। अब नहीं होती। और उसके ऊपर की पढ़ाई भी। मैंने आपसे कहा engineer बनें, क्या बनें? नर्स बनें, डॉक्टर बनें, नर्स बनें, पचासों बातें बनें, एक पढ़ाई ऊँचे दर्जे की। अभी मैं हिसाब लगा रहा था कि ठीक-ठीक पढ़ाई हिन्दुस्तान में हो, तो कितने लोगों को पढ़ना पड़े और पढ़ायें। तो मुझे कुछ आश्चर्य हुआ, गिनती करके देखके कितने लोग हैं ऊपर के जिसमें हम समझें कि छह बरस से लेकर और छह बरस से पहले भी हो सके तो पढ़ाना शुरू करें हर बच्चे को और उसको चौदह बरस तक पढ़ायें। यह तो basic हुआ। उसके बाद की पढ़ाई भी होगी, उसके बाद फिर ज़रा ऊँचे दर्जे की पढ़ाई। वो भी लाखों आदमियों की होगी। और इतने लोगों को पढ़ाने के लिए पढ़ाने वाले कितने हों? करोड़ों आदमियों को पढ़ाने के लिए भी करोड़ों आदमी चाहिए। तो मैंने गिनती की, सब हिसाब लगाया कि भारत में करीब अगर पूरीतर से हो, ऊपर से नीचे तक, दस करोड़ आदमी पढ़ने वालों की और पढ़ाने वालों की गिनती हो जाती है, सोचें आप। यानी भारत की आबादी का एक चौथाई से कुछ अधिक। हमारे यहाँ कम उम्र के लोग ज़्यादा हैं, इसलिए बढ़ गयी। बूढ़े ज़रा कम होते हैं हमारे। अब उमरें बढ़ने लगी हैं, अच्छी बात है।

तो आप देखें अब नौ-दस करोड़ आदमियों को पढ़ाना और उनके लिए पढ़ाने वाले आदमी भी उसमें शामिल हों, लाखों की तादाद में, यानी पचास लाख, साठ लाख, सत्तर लाख पढ़ाने वाले, यह एक बड़ा काम हो गया, ज़बरदस्ता। पढ़ाने के माने यह नहीं है कि जैसे आजकल बदकिस्मती से, एक अक्सर गाँवों में देखता हूँ कि निहायत निकम्मा, एक गंदी सी जगह है, वो गाँव का स्कूल है, अंधेरी कोठरी सी है, वो गाँव का स्कूल है, साहब। और जो पढ़ाते हैं वहाँ, वो भी बेचारे भले आदमी हैं, लेकिन बहुत जानते नहीं हैं। तो जितने अच्छे पढ़ाने वाले हों अच्छी जगह हो। मैंने तो कहा कि कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है उसके लिए मकान बनाने की, स्कूल की, रुपया हमारे पास कम है, कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है। पेड़ के नीचे पढ़ायें गाँव में। पढ़ाने वाला अच्छा हो, वह आवश्यक है। मकान आवश्यक नहीं है जितना पढ़ाने वाला आवश्यक है। उसको बेचारे को अच्छी तनख़्वाह हो। यह नहीं कि जैसे आजकल हमारे पढ़ाने वाले हैं, उनकी बेचारों की हैसियत ही क्या बनायी है। हाँ, हल्के-हल्के हम मकान भी बना देंगे लेकिन पहले आवश्यक है पढ़ाने वाला अच्छा हो, और स्कूल हो, चाहे दरख़्त के नीचे हो। तो यह सब पहलू आप देखें तो आप सोचेंगे कि कितना बड़ा और कितना पेचीदा काम है।

खेती, पाँच लाख गाँव हैं, कारख़ाने लाखों हम बनायें, उनके लिए हम लोग तैयार करें, पढ़ाई शुरू से आख़िर तक हो, स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध हो, सब जगह हो, फिर एक बेशुमार करोड़ों आदमियों को उठाना है। अब उसमें, कोई आसान रास्ता तो है नहीं, न कोई जादू से हो सकता है। मेहनत से, परिश्रम से। किसकी? वो तो दस-बीस-पचास आदमी जो मॉनिमंडल दिल्ली में हों, या भोपाल में बैठा हो, या उनके बड़े-बड़े छोटे-छोटे अफसर हों, बड़े, छोटे, वो कोई भारत को बदल देंगे? वो भारत के बदलने में मदद कर सकते हैं, कानून बनाके या और

बातें करके। आखिर में इसका बोझ कुछ भारत के रहने वालों पर पड़ेगा। जब करोड़ों आदमी काम करेंगे मिलकर, और सही रास्ते पर चलेंगे, तो भारत बदलता जाएगा अपने आप। लोग समझते हैं कि सरकारी हुकुम से यह सब बातें हो जाती हैं। सरकारी हुकुम से क्या होता है? बहुत बातें होती हैं? सरकारी हुकुम से कोई खेत में अनाज नहीं पैदा हो जाता। किसान मेहनत करता है तो पैदा होता है। सरकारी हुकुम से एक नदी पर पुल नहीं बन जाएगा। Engineer आपको मिलेगा, बना सकता है उसको, जब बनायेगा तब पुल बनेगा। हर बात के लिए फन की जरूरत है। चाहे वो बड़ई हो, वो बनाये कुर्सी-मेज, धन पैदा करेगा, कारीगर बनाएगा, कारखाना बनाएगा। परिश्रम से जितना हमारे देश में वो बातें लोग सीखे हुए होंगे और परिश्रम करेंगे, उतना ही देश बढ़ेगा, न नारे से बढ़ेगा और न बहुत बहस से, आपस की। हाँ, और इसके पीछे, परिश्रम करने के पीछे, दो-चार मोटी बातें हैं, कि अगर हमारी जो शक्ति है, वो यों भी अधिक नहीं है। यानी अधिक नहीं है इस माने में कहता हूँ कि अभी तक ढली नहीं है, अभी तक हमारे पास काफी लोग सीखे हुए नहीं हैं, पैसा काफी नहीं है। हम सारी शक्ति को लगायें उसमें, तो हो सकता है, लेकिन अगर हम उस शक्ति का नाश करें आपस के झगड़ों से, छोटी-छोटी बातों में, वो शक्ति और कम होती है और हमारा बढ़ना [...]

लेकिन उसी के साथ मैं आपसे एक और बात इसके निस्वत अभी आपसे कुछ और कहने वाला हूँ, कि इस समय विशेषकर हिन्दुस्तान में हम अपने झगड़े इस तरह तय करें, लड़ाई-झगड़ा करके, एक हड़ताल करके और lockout करके और उससे देश की हानि हो, हमारी हो, किसी की भी जीत हो, वो कोई अक्ल की बात नहीं। मजबूरी हो तो लाचारी है। हमें और रास्ते ढूँढ़ने हैं। मानता हूँ अन्याय होता है कभी-कभी, तो अन्याय को हटाने के लिए और रास्ते ढूँढ़ने हैं। यह पुराना रास्ता लड़कर, हड़ताल और lockout का, यह आजकल के ज़माने के मौजू नहीं है। हमारा फर्ज है, government का फर्ज है और सभी का फर्ज है कि हम रास्ते ढूँढ़ें कि न्याय हो और उसके साथ काम रुकें नहीं। और आखिर में यह भी बात आप जानिए कि दुनिया किधर जा रही है।

दुनिया जा रही है, चाहे किसी नीति पर देश चले, कुछ न कुछ समाजवाद की तरफ जाती है। और मैं इस समय को देखता हूँ, मालूम नहीं कितने दिन लगेँ उसको लाने में, जब यह ऊँच-नीच हमारे देश से हट जाए। जब मालिक कारखाने का और मजदूर का फर्क हट जाए। जब हर एक आदमी मजदूर हो, और हर एक आदमी मालिक हो। अब जाहिर है हर एक आदमी में काबलियत तो नहीं एक सी होती है। कोई अधिक काबिल होता है, मौका मिले, कोई कम, वह और बात है। जो ज़्यादा अधिक योग्यता रखता है उसको हम योग्य पुरुष मानकर ज़्यादा ज़िम्मेदारी देंगे। ज़्यादा उसको काम करने का मौका देंगे। वो तो उसकी योग्यता पर है। लेकिन ये जो आजकल फर्क है जैसे कि हमारे जातिभेद में हैं, जातियाँ हैं, ऊँच जाति, नीच जाति, वगैरह, ये निकम्मी चीज है, इसको हटाना है। उसी तरह जो जातियाँ बन रही हैं और हमारे जीवन में, कामों में, उसको भी हटाना है। हर एक पुरुष और



स्त्री को मौका मिलना है कि वो आगे बढ़ सकें, पढ़ने-लिखने, खाना-पीना उसके पास हो, कपड़ा हो, घर रहने को हो, पढ़ने का मौका मिले, स्वास्थ्य का, फिर जितनी उसमें योग्यता होगी वो पढ़के बढ़ेगा। हम चाहते हैं सब लोगों को एक सा मौका मिले। इसके माने सब लोग एक से होते हैं? सब लोग तो एक से नहीं हैं। कुछ बड़े ऊँचे दर्जे के होते हैं, कुछ एक बात में बड़े आगे होते हैं, कुछ दूसरी बात में। अब हर एक आदमी तो महात्मा गांधी नहीं हो सकता। जाहिर है हर एक आदमी कोई कृषि तो नहीं कर सकता। हर एक आदमी किसी फन में भी आगे नहीं पहुँच सकता। आपके लड़के यहाँ होंगे स्कूल-कॉलेज के, आप अपने कॉलेज में games करते हैं, athletics करते हैं, खेल, खेलों में शरीक होते हैं, दौड़-कूद में होते हैं। कोई आप में तेज आता है दौड़ने में, कोई कम आता है। कोई ज्यादा कूदता है, कोई कम कूदता है। कोई बहुत अच्छा होता है, वो दुनियाभर का champion हो जाता है। ऐसे लोगों में ऊँच-नीच तो होती है, लेकिन मौका मिलना चाहिए सभी को। नहीं आजकल मिलता हमारे देश में। बढ़ता जाता है मौका।

और अगर आप मुकाबला करें, एक दस-पंद्रह बरस की बात, पंद्रह-बीस बरस की बात में आप जाएँ, तो ज़रा सोचिए तो आप उस समय हिंदुस्तानियों को कितने मौके थे आगे बढ़ने के? डॉ. काटजू<sup>93</sup> बता रहे थे एक जगह, आज होल्कर कॉलेज<sup>94</sup> में कि वे जब विद्यार्थी थे उस समय के विद्यार्थी किधर देखते थे? क्या कर सकते थे? या तो छोटी सरकारी नौकरी, छोटी, याद रखिए बड़ी नहीं, या बड़ा जोर लगाकर deputy collector तक पहुँच जाते थे। अच्छा, या वकालत की, या कोई डॉक्टर हो गये, शायद थोड़े से engineer हो गये मुट्ठीभर लोग। एक नौजवान उस ज़माने में इतना ही कर सकता था। थोड़ी जगह खुली तो थी वो भी ऊँचे दर्जे की नहीं थी। और बेचारा किसान क्या करता था? खेती करता था। वो वहीं पड़ा है गड़ढे में मुसीबत में। कुछ मजदूर काम करते थे। कितने दरवाजे बंद थे उस ज़माने में। कुछ खुले, लेकिन फिर भी स्वराज के पहले तक, कुछ 15 बरस हुए तक, कौन दरवाजे खुले थे? कितने हिंदुस्तानियों के लिए? फौज लीजिए, वहाँ भी, हाँ सिपाही जाते थे। बड़े अफसर तो हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं होने पाते थे। छोटे नीचे होकर रह जाते थे। कहीं भी देखिए आप दरवाजे बंद थे। अब हज़ारों दरवाजे खुले हैं ऊँचे से ऊँचे, हर फन में, हर बात में। फौज का मैंने कहा। सारे अफसर हमारे हैं ऊँचे से ऊँचे, हवाई जहाजों पर, समुंदरी जहाजों पर हमारे। मैंने कहा आपसे विज्ञानशालाएँ खुली हैं। हज़ारों लड़के, लड़कियाँ वहाँ काम कर रहे हैं, अच्छा काम, बहुत अच्छा काम कर रहे हैं। दिल खुश होता है देखके जो हमारे वहाँ नौजवान scientists काम कर रहे हैं। और सारे हमारे जितने सरकारी काम हैं बड़े अफसर, छोटे अफसर, आखिर हिन्दुस्तानी हैं। दरवाजे खुल गये उनके लिए। ये जाहिर है तिजारत, व्यापार, industry, कारख़ाने, कितने कारख़ाने खुले हैं। लेकिन अब

93. K.N. Katju was Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

94. The Government Model Autonomous Holkar Science College, popularly known as the Holkar College, was established in 1891.

भी जो खुले हैं वो कम हैं। हम तो इससे बहुत ज़्यादा खोलना चाहते हैं, और खोलते जा रहे हैं। बदलती जाती है दुनिया। यह बात है।

मैं बताता हूँ आपको कि लोग इस पर विचार कम करते हैं, शिकायत करते हैं कि unemployment है, रोज़गार नहीं मिलता लोगों को। ठीक है बात, और शिकायत भी ठीक है, मैं उसमें एतराज नहीं करता, क्योंकि हम एक ऐसी जगह फँस गये हैं या फँसे नहीं, हम हैं, हमारा देश एक जगह से दूसरी जगह जा रहा है, और यह बीच में न इधर पूरे जमे हैं, न उधर जमे हैं। तो ऐसे मौके पर ये दिक्कतें तो होती हैं। हम एक तरफ से पैदा कर रहे हैं लोगों को, स्कूल कॉलेज में से निकलते हैं, दूसरे तरफ से उस किस्म का काम उन्हें आसानी से नहीं मिलता। यह बातें हल्के-हल्के बनेंगी, जमेंगी, समय लगेगा। यह हमारी बात नहीं है, हर देश की बात है, ऐसा होता है।

बात बुनियादी यह है मैं आपको बताऊँ कि यह जो विलायती यूरोप के देश हुए, पश्चिमी यूरोप के, और अमेरिका, यह देश यानी जो एक धनी देश गिने जाते हैं, जहाँ 150 बरस हुए एक क्रांति हुई थी, आर्थिक क्रांति, industrial revolution हुआ था, अच्छा, industrial revolution के ज़रिये से उन्होंने अपना सामान धन-दौलत अधिक पैदा किया। उनकी आर्थिक शक्ति बढ़ी, और उसके बाद उनके यहाँ दूसरी क्रांति हुई जिसको राजनीतिक क्रांति कहते हैं। Democracy आई। पूरी तौर से जनता का राज आया। सभी को वोट मिला, इत्यादि। यानी यह बात समझिये आप कि उन देशों में पहले economic revolution हुआ, आर्थिक क्रांति हुई, और बाद में political, राजनीतिक क्रांति हुई। जब राजनीतिक क्रांति हुई तो उस समय तक आर्थिक शक्ति उनकी बढ़ गयी थी। तो उनके पास सामान था कि political क्रांति, जो राजनीतिक क्रांति हुई उसकी जो माँगें आती हैं उसको पूरा कर सकें। क्योंकि राजनीतिक के माने हैं कि लोग जाग उठते हैं और लोग माँगते हैं कि लाओ दो हमें, और ठीक माँगते हैं, उनकी हालत अच्छी नहीं है। तो फिर मैं दोहराता हूँ कि इन देशों में जो कि धनी देश हो गये हैं, पहले आर्थिक क्रांति हुई, economic revolution, फिर political revolution।

हमारे देश में यह उलट गया है। हमारे यहाँ political revolution, राजनीतिक क्रांति, पहले हुई, और आर्थिक क्रांति अब हल्के-हल्के हो रही है। तो political consciousness होने से हमारे देश में सारी जनता आ गई, वोट करने में, माँगने में, political consciousness उसकी हो गयी और उसने माँगना शुरू किया, और ठीक माँगना शुरू किया, क्योंकि उसका हक है माँगने का। चारों तरफ से माँग है यह लाओ, वह लाओ। और ठीक माँग है। लेकिन क्योंकि हमारी आर्थिक क्रांति अभी नहीं हुई है, हमारे पास सामान पूरा नहीं है, ताकत नहीं है माँग को पूरा करने के लिए, यह पेंच पड़ जाता है। खाली हमारे देश में नहीं, जो पिछड़े हुए देश हैं वहाँ यह सब पेंच पड़ा हुआ है। तो अब हम उसे एक ही तरह पूरा कर सकते हैं कि जल्दी से जल्दी आर्थिक क्रांति करें और आर्थिक क्रांति के माने नहीं है कि कोई जादू से या कोई कानून से ऊपर हो जाए। सारे देश को बदलना है, सारे देश को बनाना है।



सारे देश में नये-नये काम शुरू करना, उसमें समय लगता है। यही सब पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरह हैं। ये बड़े-बड़े पेंच हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ यह आप समझें। चाहे हमारे मजदूर दल के भाई हों और चाहे हमारे विद्यार्थी हों, और शहर के रहने वाले, क्योंकि आपको इन बातों को समझना है क्योंकि आपको इन बातों में भाग लेना है, हिस्सा लेना है।

अब देखिए उसमें पेंच क्या पड़ते हैं? एक कारखाना है, कोई industry है। इस बात को आप छोड़ें इस समय कि उससे कोई बेजा फायदा हो, मालिक, मजदूर, कारखाने को। मालिक उठायें और वो लखपति, करोड़पति हो जाएँ और उनके मजदूरों को ठीक न मिले। वो तो गलत बात है। वो तो नहीं होना चाहिए। लेकिन आखिर में एक कारखाना उतना ही मजदूरी दे सकता है जितनी वो बरदाश्त करे, नहीं तो कारखाना बैठ जाए। अब मजदूरों का हक है मजदूरी बढ़ाने का, बढ़वाने का। लेकिन अगर इतनी बढ़ी कि कारखाना बैठ गया, तो वे बेकार हो गये। ये पेंच हो जाते हैं न। इसी तरह से हमारे सरकारी मुलाजिम हैं। हमारे बहुत सारे लोग हैं स्कूलों में पढ़ाने वाले, खासकर primary स्कूलों में। मैं समझता हूँ और मैं शर्मिन्दा होता हूँ कि हमारे primary स्कूलों में गाँवों में जो तनख्वाह मिलती है, बहुत कम है। यह शर्म की बात है कि ऐसा अध्यापक के लिए हो। लेकिन शर्मिन्दा होकर मैं रह जाता हूँ कि इस समय एकदम से प्रबंध क्या हो? हम ज़रा सा बढ़ाते हैं तनख्वाह, करोड़ों रुपये का असर हो जाता है उसमें। क्योंकि बहुत सारे लोग हैं। कहीं ज़रा सा बढ़ायेँ करोड़ों रुपयों का प्रबंध करना पड़े। करोड़ों रुपये कहाँ से आएँ? आखिर में tax से आते हैं। कहीं और से, ऊपर से तो टपकते नहीं। तो यह पेंच में हम पड़ जाते हैं। इच्छा हमारी होती है कि हम बढ़ायेँ, लोगों की हालत अच्छी हो। लेकिन जितना देश के पास, उस समय देश की आमदनी है, उतना ही वह खर्च सकते हैं। नहीं तो दिवाला निकल जाए। और उतना भी नहीं खर्च कर सकता देश। क्योंकि अगर कोई भी देश आगे बढ़ता है, तो कैसे बढ़ता है? वो बढ़ता है कि जितना उसका खर्च हो, उसके अलावा उसके पास कुछ बचा रहे पैसा। जो बचता है, उससे वो नये काम पैदा करता है जिससे देश बढ़े। जो बचता है उससे हम कारखाने बनायें या पढ़ाई बढ़ायेँ, या स्कूल बनायें, अस्पताल बनायें, यानी जो surplus होता है उससे बढ़ता है। अब surplus या बचना गरीब देश में यों ही कठिन है। गरीब देश नहीं तो गरीब देश नहीं होता। गरीब देश के सामने मुसीबत यह आती है कि किस तरह से हम रुपया हर साल बचायें जिसको हम नयी योजनाओं में लगायें, जिसको हम invest करें, जिससे देश बढ़े। यह पेंच हैं। अमीर देश के पास रुपया है, वह लगता है, और बढ़ता जाता है जोरों से। उसके पास बच जाता है surplus। गरीब देश के पास बचता नहीं। और जितनी हम इस वक्त कोशिश करें लोगों को कुछ आराम पहुँचाने की, उसके माने होते हैं उतना ही हम invest नहीं कर सकते कल के लाभ के लिए, कल की तरक्की के लिए। ये बड़ा पेंच है। अब उसको तराजू पर जहाँ तक बन पड़े बनाना पड़ता है।

लेकिन यह आप समझें कि मैंने आपसे कहा कि आप जो बुनियादी बातें हैं पेंच की उनको समझें। ये बातें आती हैं खासकर उस मौके पर जब हम बड़ा कदम उठाते हैं एक

आर्थिक क्रांति की तरफ। और कुछ ज़माना गुज़रता है जब कि मुश्किल हो जाता है हमें लोगों को कुछ लाभ बहुत पहुँचाना, क्योंकि हमारा रुपया लगा हुआ है कल के लाभ के लिए, कल जो आने वाला है। फर्ज कीजिए हम आज चार कारख़ाने बना रहे हैं लोहे के। चार कारख़ानों में लोहे के आप सोचें हमारे पाँच सौ करोड़ रुपये लग रहे हैं। ज़रा सोचिएगा। बड़ी रकम है। और एक गरीब मुल्क पाँच सौ करोड़ लगाए। कहाँ से आप पाँच सौ करोड़ लगाएँ? इसलिए हमने कर्ज़ा लिया है इधर। लेकिन आख़िर हमें देना है। हमें अपना पेट काट के किसी तरह से पाँच सौ करोड़ निकालने होते हैं, और वह ख़ाली ख़र्च होता जाता है। अभी तो कारख़ानों से कोई आमदनी नहीं हैं, ख़ाली ख़र्च होता है। कारख़ाने जब बन जाएँगे, जब कारख़ानों में से लोहा निकलेगा, तब आमदनी होगी, तब लाभ होगा देश को, और जोरों से लाभ होगा, इसलिए हम बनाते हैं। लेकिन अगर हम कहते हैं कि पाँच सौ करोड़ रुपये कहाँ से लायें? हम नहीं कर सकते और जो कुछ हमारे पास सौ-पचास करोड़ हैं, उसको हम जनता के इस वक़्त कुछ आराम में दे दें तो मुमकिन है कि कुछ लोग खुश हों। लेकिन हम तो हमेशा यहीं घिरे रहते हैं। बड़े देश में निकलता नहीं, उसमें से। उसकी बुनियाद थी कि लोहे के कारख़ाने लाना है। ये पंच हैं, ये दिक्कतें हैं। दिक्कतें तो आपको मैंने बयान की। लेकिन ज़रा भी आप आजकल हिन्दुस्तान को देखें, दुनिया को देखें, और ख़ासतौर से हिन्दुस्तान को, तो आप जाने कि हिन्दुस्तान काफी मज़बूती से आगे बढ़ रहा है। तकलीफ़ है, दिक्कतें हैं, सब बातें हैं। मुसीबतें आती हैं। तीन-तीन फसलें ख़राब हुई हिन्दुस्तान में मुसलसल, एक के बाद। और एक फसल ख़राब होना, अकाल होना, बाढ़ आना, यह मुसीबत है लाखों-करोड़ों के लिए। काफी धक्का हमें लगा इससे। लेकिन ख़ैर, उसका सामना किया, करेंगे और भी।

लेकिन बात यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान इस वक़्त बदल रहा है। और मैं जो कुछ ज़्यादा देख सकता हूँ, मौका मुझे है, कुछ मेरे पास ख़बरें आती हैं, कुछ मैं फिरता हूँ, आँख से देखता हूँ रोज़ नित्य और इस नये भारत को बनते हुए चारों तरफ़ देखता हूँ, तो एक मेरे दिल में जोश बढ़ता है। मैं जानता हूँ कि ये एकदम से तो नहीं हो जाएगा। ये सिलसिला तो बहुत दिन का है, और चलता जाएगा, जहाँ तक मेरे ज़माने में होगा, मैं देखूँगा, मदद करूँगा। फिर और आजकल के नौजवान हैं उसको चलायेंगे, क्योंकि देश के बढ़ने की कहानी कभी ख़त्म नहीं होती। अब एक दफे बढ़ने लगे और हम नहीं चाहते कि हमारा देश कोई गिरा हुआ दूसरे दर्जे का हो। अव्वल हो, खुशहाल हो। हम लोग सिर उठा कर चलें। हर एक को मौका मिले, और इस तरह से हम अपनी सेवा करें और दुनिया की सेवा करें।

और आप जानते हैं कि हमने दुनिया में जो कुछ थोड़ा बहुत हमने किया, हमारी एक बड़ी शक्ति नहीं, फौजी या पैसे की। फिर भी दुनिया में भारत का आदर है क्योंकि उन्होंने देखा, एक तो यह कि हम एक शान्ति के रास्ते पर हैं जिसको कि दुनिया के सभी लोग पसंद करते हैं, दूसरे यह कि उन्होंने देखा कि हमने मिलकर स्वराज लिया और एक अच्छे ढंग से और अब मिलकर अपनी शक्ति से अपने देश को उठाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं।



थोड़ी बहुत मदद मिलती है और देशों से, उनको धन्यवाद। लेकिन सच बात तो यह है कि अपनी शक्ति से हम बढ़ सकते हैं, औरों की मदद से नहीं।

तो अब एक और पहलू की तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाऊँ। आप कितना इस बात को समझते हैं और महसूस करते हैं कि हम एक बड़े क्रांतिकारी ज़माने में रहते हैं। और उस नये ज़माने की झलक हर तरफ नज़र आती है, चाहे उस सवाल को आप दुनिया की तरफ से, चाहे भारत की तरफ से देखें। दुनिया में क्रांति, क्रांति में मैंने आपसे कहा कि बड़ी क्रांति कैसे होती है। बड़ी क्रांति इतिहास में लिखा है सिर फोड़, वो क्रांति अलग है। बड़ी क्रांति होती है जब नये ढंग होते हैं, नयी शक्तियाँ लोगों के हाथ में होती हैं, जिसके प्रयोग से वो तरीके अपने पैदा करने के ज़मीन से, कारख़ाने से बदलें, क्योंकि उससे उसका बड़ा असर होता है। जनता के जीवन पर असर हो। अंग्रेज़ आजकल के बदले हुए हैं जो सौ बरस पहले थे। क्यों? इसी आर्थिक क्रांति से, economic revolution से। हमारे यहाँ वो हो रहा है, और हमें वो economic revolution जो पहले वहाँ हुआ, उसको करना है। और उसी के साथ वहाँ एक दूसरी क्रांति हो रही है, ये atomic energy की, अणुशक्ति की। इसकी भी हमें दो क्रांतियाँ करनी हैं। और हमें जो सौ-दो सौ बरस से हम जमे हुए थे हमारी समाज उसको निकालना है निकल रही है और आगे बढ़ना है।

भारत इस समय हर तरह की तस्वीर आपको दिखाता है। बाज़ लोग हैं, हमारे पिछड़े हुए भाई, जंगल वगैरह में रहने वाले, जो बिल्कुल ही मालूम नहीं किस पुराने ज़माने के जैसे ही हैं। उनको भी हमें उठाना है। भारत में आपको हर ज़माने के लोग मिलेंगे इस समय, हर सदी के लोग। दो हजार बरस पुराने, हजार बरस पुराने, पाँच सौ बरस पुराने, चार सौ बरस पुराने, तीन सौ, दो सौ, सौ, पचास, हर सदी के लोग मिलेंगे। और आजकल के लोग मिलेंगे। और कल आने वाले भी मिलेंगे आपको। तो भारत में हर तरह के लोग हैं। लेकिन यह पुराना भारत काफी हिल गया है वाक़यात से और कोशिश से। और दूसरे ढंग से आप देखें तो आप महसूस करेंगे कि नया ज़माना चारों तरफ नज़र आता है। नये आसमान, नयी ज़मीन, नये लोग, नये विचार, नये तरीके काम करने के, सब बदलता जाता है। अगर आप विचार करें, आप रोज़ देखते हैं उसे, तो शायद महसूस न करें। लेकिन अगर आप एक इतिहास की निगाह से देखें, किस तरह से रूप बदल रहा है, तो आपको आश्चर्य होगा।

हमारे लोग नौजवान लड़के-लड़कियाँ रोज़-ब-रोज़ अधिक स्कूल-कॉलेज जाते हैं। इसका असर आप देखें कितना ज़बरदस्त असर हो रहा है, होगा। लड़कियों को आप देखें जो कि बहुत कम पहले जाती थीं स्कूल-कॉलेज, अब जा रही हैं। स्कूल, कॉलेज, यूनिवर्सिटी, हजार पेशे, काम करती हैं। दिल्ली में दफ़्तरों में बड़े से बड़े काम करती हैं। हमारी गर्वनर हुई हैं, औरतें गर्वनर हुई हैं। ये हमारी राजदूत औरतें हैं। हमारे Foreign Service में औरतें काम करती हैं। ये सब नयी बातें हैं न। तो और जो लड़कियाँ वैसी ही रहेंगी जैसे कि जब औरतें लड़कियाँ कॉलेज में नहीं जाती थीं वैसी रहेंगी? जाहिर है नहीं रहेंगी। उनके दिमाग़ खुलेंगे। कभी गलतियाँ करेंगी, कभी ठोकर खाकर गिरेंगी। कभी आप उनकी बात को

बरस में आए, नहीं जानता, तरक्की हो सकती है।<sup>97</sup> कितनी बातें नयी हुई हैं कि हम आदी होते जाते हैं नयी बातों के। आपके जितने पुराने ज़माने के जादूगर वो सब इनका मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते, जो असल में बातें हांती हैं। यह तो ज़माना है science, technology के बढ़ने का, यह मैंने माना। और उसके साथ में रहना है, और महसूस करना है कि ज़माना जो हिन्दुस्तान में आ रहा है उसे समझना है। क्योंकि अगर नहीं समझते, पुराने कुछ रटे हुए सबक दोहराते जाते हैं, तो हम गिर जाते हैं, हम पिछड़ जाते हैं। मुझे मंजूर नहीं है कि हम पिछड़ें और यकीनन आपको नहीं मंजूर होगा कि हम पिछड़ें।

बहुत सारे हमारे भाई हैं उन्होंने बहुत हिम्मत दिखाई आज़ादी के ज़माने में, आज़ादी की लड़ाई के ज़माने में। परेशान होते हैं इस समय कि क्या हो रहा है इस समय दुनिया में, क्योंकि एक दर्जा दुनिया आगे बढ़ गयी, हिन्दुस्तान आगे बढ़ गया। उनको भी बढ़ना चाहिए, समझना चाहिए इस नये ज़माने को, तभी उनका काम कर सकते हैं। पिछले सबक बाज़ बड़े अच्छे हैं और बाज़ पुराने हो गये, आजकल नहीं मौजू। ये बातें आपको समझनी हैं, उस नये ज़माने को, नया आसमान, नयी ज़मीन, उसको समझना है, नये विचारों से, नये दिमाग़ से, नयी अदाओं से, तब इसको हम समझें। और महज़ एक परेशान होने से नहीं। मेरी उमर आप जानते हैं शायद ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा हो गयी, वो बेहयायी है, लेकिन मुझे बहुत फिक्र नहीं है। एक बात की फिक्र है कि इंसान को उस वक़्त तक ज़िंदा रहना चाहिए, कम से कम मैं रहूँ, जब तक मुझ में ताकत है काम करने की ज़ोरों से। नहीं, मैं लंगड़ा-लूला नहीं रहना चाहता। निकम्मी बात है औरों के सहारे हाथ-पैर इधर-उधर ले जाएँ। अभी मैं अपने को अजमाने के लिए भूटान गया था, पहाड़ों पर चढ़ा था, तो इतमीनान हुआ कि है, मज़बूती है।<sup>98</sup> तो जब तक है उस वक़्त तक ज़ोरों से काम होगा।

मैं एक और पहलू की तरफ़ चंद मिनट आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। हम तरक्की करें science में और विज्ञान में और यकीनन हम करेंगे technology में और industrial revolution इस मुल्क में आयेगा यकीनन, और atomic revolution को हम लाने की कोशिश में हैं, वो भी आएगा। सब बातें ज़रूरी हैं। लेकिन अगर ख़ाली यही सब बातें हैं और इसके पीछे कुछ और नहीं हैं तो कहाँ हम जाएँगे? और दुनिया कहाँ जा रही है? जहाँ industrial revolution हो चुका है, बड़ी तरक्की हुई है, बड़ी उनमें खुशहाली है, बड़ा पैसा है, कहाँ जा रही है?

बारह बरस हुए वहाँ, बारह-तेरह बरस हुए atom bomb पहले गिरा था। Atom bomb दो बातों की निशानी थी। एक दुनिया को एक चेतावनी थी। एक तो इस बात की कि एक नयी शक्ति, महान् शक्ति आई atomic energy की। एक नया युग आया, atomic age आया। उसको आप देखें, अच्छा सिलसिला चलायें या बुरा उसका इस्तेमाल

97. Nehru was right, for eleven years later, on 20 July 1969, Neil Alden Armstrong, the American astronaut, landed on the moon.

98. Nehru visited Bhutan from 18 to 29 September 1958.



करें, एक शक्ति है। शक्ति अच्छी-बुरी नहीं होती, वह तो शक्ति होती है। एक तो यह था नये युग, और उसी के साथ यह भी देखना, उसकी भयानक शक्ति, उस नये युग की, जो हिरोशिमा और नागासाकी में आयी। और दो बड़े शहर, आपके इंदौर से बहुत बड़े शहर, नेस्तनाबूद हो गये बम से। एक भयानक शक्ति थी उसकी। एक तो यह बात है। और उसके पीछे दूसरी बात कि एक भयानक शक्ति को, या आजकल की दुनिया को हम अगर काबू में नहीं ला सके और ज़रियों से, तो उसका नाश हो जाएगा। वो और ज़रिये क्या हैं? United Nations में बातचीत होती है, समझौते होते हैं, resolutions होते हैं, लेकिन बात तो यह है कि देश एक-दूसरे के विरोध में द्वेष से भरे हैं, डर से भरे हैं। जितने बड़े देश हैं, बड़ी शक्ति हैं, उतना ही उन्हें द्वेष है दूसरे शक्तिशाली देश से। फौज बढ़ाते हैं, atom bomb बनाते हैं, hydrogen bomb बनाते हैं, यह करते जाते हैं। आखिर ये कैसे यह बात संभले? मुश्किल है कहना। लेकिन आखिर में एक-दूसरे के मुकाबले से नहीं संभलती। एक-दूसरे की नफरत से, द्वेष से नहीं संभलती। वह तो बढ़ता जाता है। एक-दूसरे के हथियार बढ़ाने से नहीं संभलती है। इधर बढ़ाते हैं, उधर बढ़ाते हैं, कैसे संभले?

आखिर में कुछ इंसान को बदलना चाहिए। आखिर में कुछ इंसान का दिल और दिमाग बदले। जब तक कि कोई हम इसको हल करने की कोशिश न करेंगे, जब दिल में उनके भरा हुआ है द्वेष और नफरत और दूसरे को तबाह करने की कोशिश—यकीनन दूसरे के दिल में भी यही भरा है—जब वो भी कोशिश करेंगे, एक बड़ा हथियार उसको हल करने की, हल नहीं हो सकती। खैर, यह तो पुराने सिद्धांत हैं, पुरानी बातें हैं, बुजुर्गों ने कही हैं। गौतम बुद्ध ने कहा, औरों ने कहा, गांधी ने कहा कि किस ढंग से हम सवालियों को हल करेंगे, हथियार से नहीं। हथियार तो एक छोटी चीज है, असल चीज तो आपका दिल और दिमाग है। गांधीजी ने यह भी कहा था कि अगर तुम अपने दिल में एक तलवार रखते हो तो अच्छा है निकाल के तलवार से सिर काट लो बजाय इसके कि दिल में रखो। बुरी चीज तलवार से सिर काटना है, लेकिन उससे बुरा दिल में तलवार रखना, और आजकल की दुनिया के दिल में तलवारें भरी हुई हैं और खंजर भरे हुए हैं। मुश्किल तो यह है। तो यह ऊपर के प्रस्ताव और resolution से थोड़े ही हल होती है। इंसान को बदलना है। जो पुराने सिद्धांत थे ये, वो आजकल सिद्धांत खाली नहीं रह गये। वो आज के practical politics हो गये। क्योंकि हम ऐसे ज़माने में आ गये कि अगर कहीं बड़ी लड़ाई हो जिसमें atom bomb वगैरह चलें तो सब जानते हैं दुनिया खत्म हो सकती है। तो practical politics हो गयी न? जीत किसकी और हार किसकी?

तो फिर गौतम बुद्ध ने कहा, ऐसी लड़ाइयाँ अच्छी हैं, सबसे अच्छी, जिसमें हर एक की जीत हो, किसी की हार न हो। यह तो हमारे पुराने बुजुर्ग हैं। हमारे ज़माने में, हमारी खुशकिस्मती हुई कि एक महान् पुरुष आए, गांधीजी, और कुछ थोड़ी सी झलक उनकी हमारे ऊपर पड़ी। कुछ हमारे दिमाग के अंधेरे में कुछ रोशनी आई, कुछ ताकत हमारी बढ़ी, कुछ हम भी निडर हुए। लेकिन भूल जाते हैं लोग, और अक्सर आप लोगों के लिए जो

नापसंद करेंगे, और बात है, लेकिन बदल रही हैं। मेरी राय में सब बातें देखके सहीतौर से बदल रही हैं। लड़कियाँ हमारी बदल रही हैं। लड़कों की आपको मिसाल मैंने इसलिए नहीं दी, कि पहले भी लड़के काफी जाते थे। लेकिन अब उनके, दुगने-चौगुने, पंचगुने जा रहे हैं। ऐसे लोग जा रहे हैं लड़के, खुशी की बात है, जिनके बाप, दादा, परदादा कभी पढ़े लिखे नहीं थे। अब जा रहे हैं। नयी दुनिया उनके सामने खुल रही है, करोड़ों बच्चों की, लड़के-लड़कियों की। यही एक क्रांतिकारी बात है। आज आप गये, मैं गया, इसको यहीं हवाई जहाज के अड्डे पर वहाँ देखने। वहाँ मैंने इनाम दिए लोगों को।<sup>95</sup> दो लड़कियों को इनाम मिले, हवाई जहाज में अच्छे काम करने को, उड़ने को। ख़याल कीजिए, आप ज़्यादातर कम उम्र के हैं, लेकिन पचास बरस हुए को ले लीजिए, मेरे बचपन को ले लीजिए। ये बातें कितने लोग मुमकिन समझते हैं कि हमारी लड़कियाँ जाके इस तरह के इनाम पायेंगी, हवाई जहाज की रेस वगैरह में, या और पचास बातों में, या विज्ञान में, या कुछ।

तो एक ज़माना था जब औरतों के लिए शराफत की निशानी थी कि परदे में रहना, और परदे में रहीं। अगर खुशहाल हैं ज़रा भी, तो बहुत नज़ाकत से रहें। नहीं हैं, जो कुछ हो, बहरसूरत परदे में रहें, यह उनके एक हैसियत की निशानी है। ख़ैर, मेरे को तो आज क्या बचपन से समझ ही में नहीं आया कि परदे में रह कैसे कोई सकता है, बलवा क्यों नहीं करता। [...] अब तक मेरे समझ में नहीं आता और मुझे कुछ गुस्सा चढ़ता है, और कुछ ये एक औरत को, मैं अपनी बहिन को देखूँ पिंजरे में बंद, मैं उसको पिंजरा कहता हूँ। और यह न करे, वह न करे, न जा सके, न आ सके, यह कहाँ की सभ्यता है, यह कहाँ की संस्कृति है? ख़ैर, वह बात ख़त्म हो रही है, करीब-करीब हो गयी है। कहीं, कभी राजस्थान वगैरह में लम्बे-लम्बे घूँघट नज़र आ जाते हैं। (हंसी) ख़ैर, मैं समझता हूँ मूर्खता की निशानी है। एकदम से मूर्खता नहीं जाती, क्या किया जाए? लेकिन बहरसूरत मैं आपसे स्त्रियों का इसलिए कहता हूँ कि एक समाज को बदलना, सबमें ज़्यादा बदलने की निशानी स्त्रियों में हुआ करती है हमेशा, पुरुषों में नहीं। वो निशानी होती है समाज के बदलने की। और वह समाज का बदलना आप स्त्रियों में देख सकते हैं। हाँ, मैंने माना कि अभी देश बड़ा है, देहात हैं, गाँव की स्त्रियाँ हैं, लेकिन वह सिलसिला चल लिया और गाँव में भी उसका असर हो रहा है, और-और जगह भी।

हमने दो बरस हुए, तीन बरस हुए, मुझे याद नहीं, तीन बरस हुए, हमने कानून कुछ वहाँ बनाये थे, लोकसभा में Parliament में, खासकर स्त्रियों के बारे में। जो Hindu Code का सिलसिला था उसके टुकड़े किए, विरासत वगैरह, शादी-ब्याह, वगैरह।<sup>96</sup> कुछ लोगों ने एतराज़ किया कि तुम हमारे रिवाजों को, पुराने को, छेड़ते हो, लेकिन मुझे बड़ी

95. At the Third All India Air Rally.

96. See SWJN/SS/35/p. 173.



खुशी है कि कानून हुए। और मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी Government ने, एक बहुत बड़े कामों में वह किया हमने। और हम डर नहीं गये थे। लोग जो ज़रा, ज़रा क्या, बहुत कुछ एक माने में, एक पुरानी दुनिया में रहते हैं, जो लोग जो कुछ जनसंघ वगैरह में, इसमें हैं। उनका कोई संबंध आजकल की दुनिया से, आजकल के विचारों से, आजकल की अक्ल से, कुछ भी नहीं है। मालूम नहीं कैसे अंधेरे में पड़े हैं? जब दुनिया में रोशनी है, आँखें बंद करके रहते हैं। लेकिन, खैर, उन्होंने ऐतराज किया यह और, वो क्या साहब, शास्त्रों में लिखा है। मैं एक तो मानता नहीं कि शास्त्रों में लिखा है। दूसरे, शास्त्रों में हर बात लिखी है, इधर की भी और उधर की भी, जिसको आप चुन लीजिए।

लेकिन आपको मैं बताऊँ कि हिंदू समाज की एक शक्ति थी पुरानी, वो बदल सकती थी, जो उसकी ताकत थी, और बदलती है, वाक्यात से बदलती है, वो एक बिल्कुल रस्सी से बंधी नहीं थी। उसकी ताकत थी कि वो बदल सकती थी। बाद में वो ताकत उसमें कम हो गयी, रस्सी से जकड़ गयी और यह जातिभेद वगैरह बढ़ गया, इसलिए दुर्बल हो गये ये हरिजन, वगैरह। लेकिन असलियत नहीं रही। खैर, जो भी हो। समय से हम बदलते हैं, ज़माना बदलता है। और कोई साहब मुझसे कहें कि एक चीज जो अच्छी थी एक हज़ार बरस हुए या दो हज़ार बरस हुए उसको बदलते हुए ज़माने में भी रखना है, तो इस बात को मैं स्वीकार करने को नहीं तैयार हूँ। अच्छी चीज भी ज़माने के बदलने से बुरी हो सकती है और नयी कोई चीज बुरी हो तो बुरी रहती है, नयी होने से कोई अच्छी नहीं हो जाती।

तो गरज़ कि मैंने आपको स्त्रियों की, औरतों की, मिसाल दी क्योंकि मैं समझता हूँ कि भारत की तरक्की नहीं हो सकती जब तक कि भारत की स्त्रियाँ पूरीतौर से इसमें भाग न लें, पढ़ने, लिखने, आगे बढ़ने में। हर एक कह सकता है, लड़का हो, लड़की हो, और बहुत आजकल की शिकायतें भी होती हैं कि गलत रास्ते पर चलते हैं और बदतमीज़ी करते हैं, और करते भी हैं वो, और ऐसा करें तो बुरा है। लेकिन सबमें ज़्यादा बदतमीज़ी किसी आदमी के लिए है कि जहालत में रहना, लाइल्म रहना सबमें बुरा, ignorance में रहना, आँखें बंद करके रहना, यह सबमें ख़राब बात है। आँखें खोलने पर गलती हो तो संभाल सकते हैं, लेकिन आँखें बंद करके कोई आदमी या मुल्क बढ़ नहीं सकता। मालूम नहीं किस शख्स ने, पुराने या नये, एक लफ्ज़, शब्द, हमारी स्त्रियों के लिए रखा “अबला”। अजीब जाहिल आदमी था जिसने उसको रखा, चाहे जो कोई हो। अबला। क्यों कोई अबला हो, मर्द या औरत या बच्चा? इसके माने क्या? एक माथे पर लिख दिया आधी कौम का होना कि कमज़ोर है, बुज़दिल है। ख़याल तो कीजिए कि किस तरह जुल्म और ज़्यादती है ऐसी बातें करना, कहना या सोचना। और इसी से मालूम होता है कि किस गलत दिमाग़ ने इन बातों पर विचार किया। वही दिमाग़ जनसंघ वगैरह में आया है। (तालियाँ)

तो गरज़ कि ज़रा आप समझें और देखें कि यह नयी दुनिया जो बन रही है, नयी दुनिया, आप देखें, और बातें छोड़िए, एक नये-नये चाँद बनते हैं, लोग चर्चा करते हैं कि वो फासला चाँद का पार करके वहाँ लोग जाएँगे। हो सकता है कि दस-बीस, हो सकता है कि दस-पंद्रह

नौजवान हों, गांधीजी एक कहानी हैं। प्रेम से आप उनका सोचते हैं और महात्मा गांधी की जय पुकारते हैं, लेकिन फिर भी एक कहानी हो जाएगी, हिन्दुस्तान की हज़ारों बरस की कहानी में एक और अध्याय उसमें जुड़ गया। लेकिन सवाल तो यह है कि इस पेचीदा दुनिया में, भयानक ख़तरनाक दुनिया में, atom bomb की दुनिया में, और तो सब काम हम करें, अपने को मज़बूत करें, खुशहाल करें, लेकिन फिर भी कहाँ तक हम उन उसूलों को कायम रखते हैं जो कि, एक माने में कहा जा सकता है, खास हिन्दुस्तान की आवाज़ में बार-बार सुनाया है दुनिया को, और हमारे ज़माने में गांधीजी ने सुनाया है? यह बात गौरतलब है। क्योंकि एक बात साबित है कि atom bomb दुनिया को नहीं बचा सकता, वो तबाह कर सकता है। और atom bomb से आप हटें, atom bomb से भी नहीं कर सकते हैं, यह भी साबित है, और तबाही बढ़ती है atom bomb से। आप फतह करना चाहते हैं तो दूसरे ही ढंग हैं। और यह कुछ गांधीजी के ढंग हैं, लोगों को अपनाना, लोगों से दुश्मनी नहीं करना, और अपने दिल और दिमाग़ को काबू में लाना, और इस तरह से औरों को, और मुल्कों को अपनाना और दोस्ती से सवालों को हल करना। मैं जानता हूँ कि कहने की बातें हैं, आसान नहीं हैं, मुश्किल हैं, सख़्त मुश्किल हैं, लेकिन और कोई रास्ता दुनिया के लिए है नहीं। और यकीनन कभी न कभी दुनिया उस रास्ते को पकड़ेगी। अगर उसके क़ब्ल hydrogen bomb ने उसको ख़त्म नहीं कर दिया।

फिर से आपने बड़े प्रेम से मुझे सुना और आज इंदौर की सड़कों पर प्रेम से स्वागत मेरा किया, उसके लिए धन्यवाद।

मेरे साथ जयहिन्द तो कहिए, जयहिन्द, फिर से जयहिन्द, जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins]

Sisters and brothers,

I last came to Indore a little less than two years ago for the Congress session.<sup>99</sup> I was in Bhopal the day before yesterday after a long interval of time and by a coincidence it happened to be the second anniversary of this new Madhya Pradesh.<sup>100</sup> So it was an auspicious occasion for revisiting Bhopal, the capital of new Madhya Pradesh. It is a beautiful place and is growing just like the city of Indore is growing. You may remember the controversy that used to rage over the choice of capital and whether it should be Indore or Bhopal.<sup>101</sup> All sorts of committees were formed advocating Bhopal, Indore or Gwalior. I remember I told a story to some people who had come to me at that time. It is an old story, dating back to the days of the British rule.

99. See fn 84 in this section.

100. See fn 85 in this section.

101. See fn 86 in this section.



A few centuries ago, Charles the First<sup>102</sup> was the King in England. You may have heard about the conflict between him and his Parliament and the civil war that followed in which the King not only lost the battle but his head as well. Anyhow, once Charles I was very annoyed with the merchants of the city of London and threatened to shift the capital to some other place if they did not change their ways and put an end to their misdemeanour. He threatened to make Oxford the capital. The answer given by the merchants has become famous in history. They said that the King must do as he thought proper, but would he please leave the river Thames behind? The implication was that the city of London owed its fame and greatness not to the King or to the fact that it was the capital but to the commerce which flowed into and out of London via the river Thames. In short, a city grows not by a few offices but by its commercial and other activities. The days are gone when a few offices or a High Court, etc., provided jobs to people, for that was only for a handful of men. The real growth of a city depends on commerce, industry, trade, etc.

Indore has always been a big city, as you know, and continues to grow because it is teeming with activity. Commerce and industry are life-giving things. A few offices here and there do not make much difference, though they may be a good thing. As far as I know, Indore is the biggest city in Madhya Pradesh at the moment, though there may be other cities too. Gwalior is a great historic city and is progressing. Bhopal is, of course, the capital. Then there are other cities like Jabalpur and Raipur. Madhya Pradesh is the largest State in the country and you will find all kinds of people living here. There are many tribals here, in this region as well as in Bastar, etc. There are many cities and some old princely states in Madhya Pradesh which have now merged with the Indian Union. It acquires its name from being right in the middle of India. As I said elsewhere, the soil is fertile and there are vast underground deposits of metals and valuable minerals which could be mined to add to the nation's wealth and to provide employment to the people. You must be aware of the big steel plant which is being put up in Bhilai. It is a huge plant which will produce far-reaching results. The whole of Madhya Pradesh as well as India will benefit by it. I saw that a big heavy electricals plant is coming up in Bhopal which is going to be the first of its kind in India.<sup>103</sup> I have heard that it is the biggest in the whole of Asia. So all these things are happening, which is proper, for we want the country to progress in all directions. We do not want unbalanced, unplanned progress. We want that the people of India, all her millions, should progress and not that a

102. See fn 87 in this section.

103. See fn 88 in this section.

handful of them become rich while the others remain poor. It is a difficult task.

So, I have come to Indore after a year and a half or two and spent a whole day here. But I have gone around and seen a great deal in this short time and am impressed with the way the city is growing. I want to congratulate all the citizens of Indore. Why did I come here? I came for two things in particular. One was to inaugurate the Shram Mandir, a beautiful building built by the local workers' union with their own labour and money.<sup>104</sup> Secondly, there was a conference of the flying clubs of India—these are different from the Air Force which belongs to the Government. I was invited to it<sup>105</sup> I am greatly interested in it so I came. Many of you must have been present there. It has been going on for the last two to three days. I saw something of it today. There was a vast gathering of people and I thought that this too is a symbol of the modern times. In the olden times, there used to be big fairs which would attract people from far and wide. These are the new kinds of fairs that we have now.

As I mentioned to you two years ago, Bhakra-Nangal is a huge project which produces electricity on a large scale and where canals will be developed. I had said in that connection that, apart from temples, mosques, churches and gurdwaras which are the religious places of worship, new centres of pilgrimage devoted to the service of the nation are coming up in India.<sup>106</sup> How can there be a bigger temple than a place where service is being done to the country? So, gradually the picture in India is changing, not on the surface or merely with a few industries coming up here or there but in every direction. People are changing; their thinking and attitudes are changing and will change further; because India is now on a revolutionary course. Please do not think that revolution means violence. A revolution implies change, social change brought about by the people. This is what is happening in India. So often people fail to understand what is happening in the country. Being immersed in their own day-to-day problems and local squabbles, they fail to see the larger picture. You must roam all over India to see what is happening. Nowadays you often find farmers, students and people of various professions undertaking Bharat darshan tours in trains and buses. They go all over the country for a month or one and a half months visiting the old, historic spots as well as the new centres of progress. This is a very good thing. We must learn to understand our country. It is not enough to know your city, street or district. You must recognise your country. We have lived far too long in separate groups and compartments, in villages and towns, with no thought

104. See fn 89 in this section.

105. See fn 90 in this section.

106. See fn 91 in this section.



for the whole country. But really big tasks are going on all over the country. Freedom came not to one State but to the whole of India. Progress too will have to come to the whole country, not merely to Madhya Pradesh, Bombay, Madras, Uttar Pradesh or Bengal. There are in India huge States almost as big as the smaller countries of the world.

Madhya Pradesh used to be a conglomeration of a number of princely states. That came to an end soon after Independence. The old idea of living in compartments, in narrow grooves, is no longer feasible in today's world, and weakens India's unity. All of us are Indians whether we live in Madhya Pradesh or Uttar Pradesh or anywhere else. Our lives are firmly interlinked with India's destiny. If India progresses, so will all of us and if she does not, we cannot go very far on our own.

We reached the end of a long journey when we attained freedom. Even during the freedom struggle, we thought about other things like taking steps for the progress of the people and to remove their poverty, and to make economic progress. If you read the old Congress resolutions, you will find that the first goal that the Congress set before itself was to remove British rule and to attain freedom. But almost from the beginning, you will find the thoughts of the Congress turning towards the tasks that had to be done for India's progress in economic and other fields. Freedom was only the first step towards attaining these goals. The poverty of the country was not removed with the coming of freedom which had only removed the obstacles from our path. The people now hold the reins of power in their hands. There are a great many tasks before us. Even before we got freedom, we had reached the conclusion that many of the old customs and the system of princely states or the jagirdari, zamindari or taluqdari systems could not continue to exist because they were anomalous and created obstacles in the path of progress. Now, the jagirdars and zamindars may not be bad as individuals. Many of them are good people and are our friends and colleagues. It is the system itself which had outlived its usefulness and become anomalous in the modern age. So they had to go and we had taken this decision even before the coming of freedom. The zamindari system has been abolished in most places. I will not say that we have achieved all that we wished to in connection with the land problem but we have been able to do a great deal.

We had thought of many other things before we became free. Our thoughts had often turned towards socialism. What is socialism? It is a comparatively new method of social organisation which aims at the welfare of the entire society and removal of disparity between the haves and the have-nots. You may remember that among the many lessons taught by Gandhiji, one was the uplift of the Harijans and the other downtrodden sections of society, and bringing about equality between all sections of society. We were not demanding freedom for a handful of people

but for everyone in the country. We wanted everyone to enjoy equal rights and the opportunity to progress.

He laid great emphasis on fearlessness. This is a very old word in our vocabulary as we have wanted to get rid of our fears. We were an oppressed nation, groaning under the weight of foreign rule and had lost our spirit. So what we needed was not the setting up of industries all over the place. Our foremost task was to uplift the people and infuse a new spirit into them. So Gandhiji's first lesson was of fearlessness and a corollary of that was non-violence. You have heard a great deal about peace and non-violence. But it requires courage to practise these things. Cowards cannot practise non-violence for they are afraid. Anything that is born out of fear is useless. So Gandhiji taught us to remove fear and to follow the path of peace and non-violence and unity. He taught us that in spite of the various religions which exist in India, like Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Sikhism, etc., we are all one. We must abide by our faith but if we bring it into the sphere of politics and show hatred, we will split the country and weaken it. We must respect one another's religion. Similarly, we must not allow the various provinces to pull in different directions because then the country cannot exist as a united entity.

You may recall that the Congress was by no means a provincial or a communal organisation. It belonged to the people of India from all the provinces, from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari and of all religions. This is how Mahatmaji moulded India, carefully, almost like an artist. It was a tremendous task. Casteism must go for it separates people into compartments and creates disparities, which are no longer acceptable in the modern times. These are the broad tasks before us and we have to work hard in order to make progress. We were weak and lifeless for a long time. So, to whatever extent we followed Gandhiji's teachings, a new spirit and strength was infused in the nation. The bent backs of the peasants straightened a little and their eyes acquired a new lustre. The downtrodden sections of our society acquired a new spirit and strength. Our problems were by no means solved, for that takes time. But we gained some strength.

Anyhow, we got freedom and were immediately confronted with a number of urgent economic problems of working towards India's progress, like removing her poverty and unemployment, and increasing production. What does wealth mean? It does not consist of gold and silver or money. Those are merely the symbols of wealth. The real wealth consists of goods produced by the people from land and industries and in other ways. There are thousands of things produced in this way. Money is only a tool of trade. The more goods a country produces, the richer it is. You must have heard of the rich countries of the modern times, like the United States, England, Germany, the Soviet Union, etc. They have become rich because they produce enormous amounts of goods



from their land and industries. So if we wish to become rich, we must also increase production. In the process, we provide employment to more people. This is very essential. We cannot eradicate poverty by taking a begging bowl around. No one can become rich by begging, nor is it proper. We must increase production by our hard work and effort.

Then the question is to give a direction to our efforts. We work hard even now. Why do we not get results? The farmers work hard even now but in other countries the production from land is double of ours. In other countries they produce double, treble and even four times as much rice and wheat per acre of land as what we do in India. Why can't we also double or treble the production? We can do it; wherever effort has been made on a small scale, we have proved that it can be done. I do not say that we must get big machines and tractors and what not. All we have to do is to work hard and adopt some improvements which do not cost much, like better seeds and fertilisers, better methods of ploughing and irrigation, etc. If we do this our production will be doubled or even trebled. This is how we will be able to industrialise India. This is what other countries have done. Then why is it that we have remained backward? The important thing is that the other countries progressed in the field of science which enabled them to harness new energies and set up big industries.

What are those energies? How do industries run? You know that trains run with steam power. All of you know that when a kettle boils, steam comes out and it has always done so. But it was an Englishman who discovered that steam could be utilised as a source of energy. Soon it began to be used to run steam engines. There is no magic in this. It is merely harnessing a natural source of energy. Later on, electricity was discovered and is now being used for innumerable things. In this way, the knowledge of science has helped them to do many things. Heavy machines and industries, and new and powerful weapons were produced and those countries became strong and powerful and held sway over the other countries, while we remained backward because we did not learn science. Steeped in our own pride, we remained ignorant of what was going on in the rest of the world.

Let me tell you a small thing. Books were printed all over the world but not in India because we had shut our eyes to what was happening in the rest of the world. We thought that we were so great that we did not need to learn anything new. So we remained backward. It was in the time of Emperor Akbar that a printed book first reached India from Europe. Nobody had even thought of printing books in India. Why? When a people shut their minds and get into a rut, they stop growing. Our society had fallen into a rut and was unable to get out of it. The British were powerful because they had advanced in science and become militarily powerful. So they came and occupied our country. Anyhow, we want

to get out of that rut now and progress. We have already succeeded to some extent. But the worst thing is getting into a mental rut for it binds the society down. We had become rigidly bound by our traditions and customs and were unable to get out of it while the world went ahead.

The freedom movement gave us strength and our minds became broader, and we began to be aware of what was going on in the world. So, we felt that we should learn science and technology, for India can grow only by producing our own scientists and not by copying others. You have some textile mills in Indore and elsewhere. How did they come up? I don't know exactly but the machines were imported from Germany or England and these mills have been started. This may be a good thing, but it is not a sign of great progress. Real progress means that we should make our own machines, advance in the field of science and make new inventions. There is no progress in merely copying others.

So, we took up great tasks after Independence. One of them was to open big science laboratories, national laboratories, all over the country to train people in science of a high standard.<sup>107</sup> Science is being taught in our schools and colleges but we require a higher standard of scientific learning to lay the basic foundations for our future. Without that, even if we put up thousands of factories here and there, it will be of no great significance. So long as we do not invent things ourselves, it does not add to our strength. As you know, we are taking up big river valley schemes which will produce electricity and provide water for irrigation. Electricity is absolutely essential for running big machines and industries. Industrialisation is possible only if we have enough electricity. We need steel, so we are putting up big steel plants. In this way we are trying to lay the foundations of change in India with the First and now the Second Five Year Plan.

What do the five-year plans mean? They do not mean putting up an industry here and there and a hospital somewhere. This is not planning. Planning means having a broad picture of India before us and determining our priorities because we do not have unlimited resources. Suppose we do not produce enough steel in the country and try to put up industries without making adequate arrangements for producing steel. Then either we will have to import it from outside or the industries will come to a standstill and we will go bankrupt. Similarly, we cannot put up industries without enough electricity or coal. So the first thing to do is to ensure that we can produce enough electricity and coal as sources of energy. Then we have to put up machine-making industries. After that, other industries will come up on their own.

107. See fn 92 in this section.



People often think that planning means making a list of things that need to be done—how many hospitals or industries need to be put up and so on. This is not the way to plan. We have to see what our priorities should be and how we can lay the foundations of a new India. It is difficult to do everything at the same time and we are bound to make mistakes. But you must always remember that ultimately it is the trained human beings who are responsible for running the industries. We are putting up a steel plant in Bhilai with the help of the Russians, another in Rourkela with German help and a third one in Durgapur with British collaboration. We have to seek foreign collaboration because we do not have enough trained men at the moment. But we must plan in such a way that we have trained people in our own country and do not have to look to the Soviet Union, the United States or Germany for help.

Suppose we put up a steel plant; it takes five years to start production. But ten to fifteen years may be required to train the people who would run the plant. So the most difficult task is to train people in specialised areas. Therefore, we had to make arrangements to start training people, like engineers and others, who can do these complex tasks by themselves later on. Innumerable boys and girls go to colleges and acquire BA and MA degrees because in the old system of education the emphasis was on arts courses rather than engineering and science. The result was that intelligent boys and girls had to go in search of government or white-collar jobs. There is nothing wrong in that. But it is impossible to give government jobs to millions of people.

So the entire pattern of education has to be changed to prepare and train the people for the new tasks that we are taking up in the country. We need engineers in large numbers. Engineers can be of many types. Then we need lakhs of overseers and semi-skilled labourers. Two years ago we had about 72,000 engineers of all categories in the country. But now we have calculated that in the next two to three to four years we will need twice or three times as many engineers and overseers. So we have to train them; otherwise all our work will come to a standstill.

Now, we are taking up community development schemes and national extension service in the rural areas. We train the gramsevak for a year and send them to the rural areas. Apart from that we have to make arrangements for engineering services and health care, education, etc. I do not remember exactly, but I think so far we have trained twenty-five to thirty thousand gramsevak. But they are far less than we need. There are five and a half lakh villages in India and the community development schemes have spread to three lakhs of them. So we need thousands of village workers, doctors and nurses. In this way, we need a new type of education and training for various activities. We must take advantage of the old system too. But it is no longer enough. The

whole pattern is changing and in whatever planning we do, we have to keep an eye on everything and consult people from all walks of life.

We have drawn two or three conclusions from all this. First of all, it is a fact that no matter how much industrial progress we make, India is basically an agricultural country. Millions of people work on land. So our first task is to improve our techniques of agriculture and increase production from land. As I told you, why should we produce less per acre of land than what other countries do? We can produce much more and it is imperative that we should become self-sufficient in food production. In fact, there should be a surplus so that we can export foodgrains and get machines in return. If we cannot produce enough food, all our other plans will go awry. So the first priority is improving agriculture. I will tell you later as to how food production can be increased.

Secondly, we are rapidly becoming industrialised though by that I do not mean that textile mills should spring up everywhere. Thousands of industries, small, medium and big, as well as cottage industries, are coming up. I am fully convinced that improvements in agriculture will certainly help the country but that alone cannot provide employment to everyone, nor can it make the country more prosperous. This is definite. So long as we do not put up thousands and lakhs of new industries all over the country, we cannot advance nor can we produce more goods and provide employment to people. Therefore, industrialisation is absolutely essential and we will have to do in ten years what the United States and England and other countries did in a hundred. These are the two angles to this question and we must prepare ourselves for that.

What does that mean? It means educating the people and training them. For one thing, basic education should be available to each and every child in India. All the thirty-eight crores of people in India should become literate. Then comes higher education. As I said, people have to be trained to become engineers and doctors and nurses and what not. I was trying to calculate how many people will get educated if we provide education to children between the ages of six and fourteen. If possible, we may even begin imparting education to children before they are six. Then higher education will also have to be provided to lakhs of people, and for that you require lakhs of teachers. I have calculated that the total number of students and teachers will be around ten crores, that is, a little more than one-fourth of India's population. This figure is large because the number of the younger people is more in India; the older people are less here. Life expectancy is now increasing in the country which is a good thing.

As you can imagine, for providing education to nine to ten crores of people, we will need at least sixty to seventy lakh teachers. To train them is a tremendous task. By education I do not mean the kind of schools that often exist in villages these days, functioning in small, dark rooms in unhygienic surroundings with



teachers who are themselves not very well educated. There must be good schools and good teachers. I have already said that there is no need to put up buildings for schools immediately since we do not have enough money. The classes can be held even under trees but there should be good teachers. That is far more important than buildings. Teachers must be well paid, which they are not today. Buildings will come up gradually but the first priority is good teachers even if the classes have to be held under trees.

So, you can see what a complex task it is to improve agriculture, put up industries, train people to man them, provide education and health care facilities in five lakh villages and uplift millions of people. There can be no easy way out nor can it be done by magic. What we require is hard work. A few people in the Cabinet in Delhi or Bhopal and some officers, big and small, cannot change India. All they can do is to help in the process by making legislation and in other ways. But ultimately the burden will fall on the people of India. It is only when her millions work together and follow the right path that India will change. People often think that these things can be done by government orders. How can government orders increase food production if the farmer does not work hard? Or, how can you build a bridge by an order from government unless you have engineers? Every activity requires expertise. A carpenter is required to make furniture, skilled workers to run factories, and so on. It is they who produce wealth. The better trained they are and the more hard-working they are, the more the country will progress. We cannot progress by shouting slogans or having long debates. True, there are a few important requisites. First of all, we do not have enough resources in terms of trained personnel and money. We will have to put our entire strength into the task. But if we squander our energy in petty squabbles, that strength will be dissipated and our progress impeded. [...]

At the same time I would like to tell you that particularly at this juncture in India, if we try to settle our differences by strikes and lockouts, it will harm the country, no matter which side wins. This is not wise. Sometimes it becomes unavoidable. But we must try to look for other solutions. I agree that there is injustice sometimes. But even to ensure proper justice, we will have to look for other solutions. The old ways of strikes and lockouts are no longer relevant in the modern times. It is the duty of the government as well as the people to look for a way by which justice is done and at the same time the work goes on. After all you must also realise where the world is going today.

No matter what policy various countries follow, the world is unmistakably moving towards socialism. I do not know how long it will take to remove the disparity between the haves and the have-nots, between the rich mill-owners and the workers, and when a situation is reached when every man is a worker as well as the owner.

Now, it is obvious that everyone does not have the same ability. Some are more able; they should get opportunities. Some are lacking in ability; that is a different matter. Those who are more able are naturally given more responsibility. That depends on the ability of the individual. But disparities, like caste distinctions, are absurd and must be removed. Every single man and woman in the country must have the opportunity to progress, to be educated and to get enough food to eat, clothes to wear, house to live in, health care facilities, etc. After that, they can go as far as their ability takes them. Everyone is equal and so we want that there should be equality of opportunity for all. That does not mean that everybody is exactly alike. There are bound to be differences, mental as well as physical, and some may be good at one thing while the others may be good at something else. Now, it is obvious that everybody cannot be a Mahatma Gandhi. Everybody cannot excel in every field. Those of you who are in schools and colleges must be taking part in athletics and playing games, etc. Some of you will run faster than the others or jump higher and if someone is very good he may even become a world champion. Such differences are natural. But everyone should get equal opportunities which are not available today in the country. But the opportunities are now increasing.

There are certainly more opportunities today compared to fifteen to twenty years ago. Dr Katju<sup>108</sup> was telling us just now that when he was a student of Holkar College<sup>109</sup> what the outlook of the students used to be. They used to aspire to get small office jobs or to reach up to the level of a deputy collector with great effort, or become lawyers or doctors. A handful of boys may have become engineers. The opportunities were limited in those days, and those opportunities were not for the higher positions. The rest of the people were either farmers or labourers. Most doors were not open to the people then. It is only since Independence that gradually many avenues of employment are opening up. Even in the armed forces, Indians could not aspire to the higher posts before Independence. They would remain at the lower rungs. Now, thousands of avenues have opened up in every field. Indians are occupying the highest posts in the army, navy and air force. As I told you, science laboratories have been opened all over the country and thousands of boys and girls are working in them. You feel happy and proud to see our young scientists at work there. Trade and industries are expanding. But even this is not enough. We want more and more avenues to open before the people.

People often fail to realise the changing conditions in the world and complain about the unemployment problem. Their complaint is justified and I do not object

108. See fn 93 in this section.

109. See fn 94 in this section.



to it because we have got stuck in a peculiar position. The country is on the move and we have not yet become stable one way or the other. There are bound to be temporary difficulties. On the one hand, we are producing graduates from colleges and, on the other hand, it is not easy to provide them with suitable jobs. These problems will sort themselves out gradually. It will take time. This is peculiar not only to our country but to all countries in the world.

The basic fact is that the countries of Europe and the United States which are regarded as rich went through an Industrial Revolution more than one hundred and fifty years ago and were able to generate great wealth. They became economically strong and then there was a political revolution and democracy was established. The reins of power passed into the hands of the people and everyone got the right to vote. You must understand that in all these countries the political revolution was preceded by an economic revolution. By the time the political revolution took place in these countries, they were economically so strong that the demands of the people could be fulfilled. Political revolution implies an awakening among the people towards their rights and so demands for justice become louder. I would like to reiterate that in all these countries the economic revolution came before the political revolution.

In India, the opposite has happened. The political revolution came first and it is only now that gradually an economic revolution is taking place. Since the political consciousness of the people has been awakened, naturally their demands are many because they have the right to demand. But economically, a revolution is yet to take place in the country and we do not have the goods or the strength to fulfil the demands of the people. This dilemma is being faced not only by India but all underdeveloped countries. Now, the only way to fulfil these demands is to bring about an economic revolution as quickly as possible. But that does not mean that it can be done by magic or by passing some orders from the top. The entire system has to change and new avenues of work have to be opened up. All this takes time. The five-year plans and other things are aimed at this. I want you to understand these complex problems, whether you belong to our trade unions or you study in schools and colleges or whether you live in the urban or rural areas. You have to understand these things and take part in these tasks.

Look at the complexities that arise. Suppose there is an industry. Let us leave aside for the moment the profiteering by the owners. It is not proper that they should become millionaires while the workers get nothing. But after all, the factory can give only so much by way of wages as it can bear. Otherwise it will go bankrupt. It is the right of the workers to demand higher wages. But if they are raised beyond what the factory can bear, it will go bankrupt. This is the dilemma before us. Similarly there are government servants. We have large numbers of teachers in primary schools. I am ashamed of the fact that their salaries

are very little. It is shameful that teachers should get so little. But I am unable to do anything about it because nothing is possible immediately. Even if we raise the salaries a little, it will amount to crores of rupees. Where are we to get such large sums from? They cannot come from anywhere else except from people's pockets as taxes. So this is our dilemma. We want to increase their salaries and make the people better off. But a country can spend only as much as its income permits. Otherwise it will go bankrupt. In fact, no country can afford to spend all that it earns if it wants to progress because something has to be saved in order to invest in new tasks. The money that is surplus can be invested to build schools and hospitals or to put up industries. Now, to have a surplus in a poor country is extremely difficult. A country will not be poor if it has a surplus. The difficulty that the poor countries face is to save money to invest in development. This is the dilemma before us. The rich countries have enough surpluses to invest in new tasks and so they advance very rapidly. The poor countries have no surplus and the more we try to provide immediate comfort of the people, the less will we be able to invest for future benefit and progress. These things have to be carefully weighed in the balance.

But, as I told you, you must understand the complexities that are involved in these basic matters, especially when we are taking steps towards an economic revolution. There is always a time lag when the money invested does not yield dividends immediately; the profit would come in the future. We are putting up four steel plants and investing five hundred crores of rupees in them. Just imagine. It is a huge sum for a poor country like India. Where are we to get it from? We have taken loans which will have to be returned by tightening our belts and cutting down on other things. But at the moment there is no income from these plants. It is only when they go into production that the country will start enjoying the benefits. If we had not put up the steel plants but utilised the meagre resources of fifty to hundred crores of rupees at our disposal to provide some temporary relief to the people, it is possible that they may have been happy for a while. But then the country could not have hoped to progress and there could be no industrialisation as the basis of all industries is steel. These are the complexities and difficulties. Now, let us look at the other side. If you look at India in the larger context of the world, you find that India is marching ahead firmly in spite of difficulties and problems. Crops have failed in India for three consecutive years. There have been floods and droughts. All these calamities cast a heavy burden on millions of people. They have caused a grave setback to us. But we have somehow faced them.

It is a fact that India is progressing. Whatever I see for myself and the reports that I get buoy me with hope and enthusiasm. I know that these things cannot be done immediately for it is a lengthy process and will go on. I will do what I can



in the years that are left to me. Then the younger generation will take over because the story of a country's progress is never ending. We do not want India to be a second-rate nation. First of all, the people should be well off. We should walk with our heads held high and everyone must get an opportunity to progress. This is how we can serve the country and the world.

As you know, we have already served the cause of peace in the world in a small way. We have neither military might nor any wealth. Yet there is great respect for India in the world because it is seen that we are following the path of peace. Secondly, the world has been impressed by the peaceful methods through which we got freedom and the way we are now working for the country's advancement, using all our might. Of course, we have got some help from certain countries for which we are thankful to them. But the fact is that we can advance only through our own strength and not by relying on outside help.

Let me draw your attention to yet another aspect of this problem. How many of you realise and understand that we are living in great revolutionary times? You can see glimpses of these new times on all sides whether you look at it from India's point of view or in the larger world context. I have told you about the great revolutions that have been brought about by the discovery of new forces to increase production from land, to set up new industries and what not. These things have had a tremendous impact on the life of the people. The life in England has been entirely transformed in the last one hundred years or so by the economic revolution that took place there. We have to bring about an economic revolution in India. Another revolution which is taking place in the world is of atomic energy. We have to bring about both these revolutions in our country and take our society out of the rut into which it had fallen during the last two hundred years or so. It is happening today but we have to progress further.

You can see different images in India today. The tribals who live in the jungles and the like seem to represent the life style of very ancient times. They have to be uplifted. In fact, you will find people of every age and century in India today, with different ways of life, which may be two thousand years old, or like that of the Middle Ages or four hundred, three hundred, a hundred or fifty years ago, as well as the modern way of life. You will also find people of the future here! But tremendous changes have taken place through circumstances and through conscious effort. You will realise that there is a new thinking and manner of working in the country. When you see something everyday, you may not realise its significance. But when you look at the changes from a historical perspective, you will be amazed.

More and more of our boys and girls are going to schools and colleges which has a tremendous impact. Until a few years ago, very few girls used to go to schools or colleges. Now they are going in increasingly large numbers and taking

up various professions. You find them in offices in Delhi performing important duties. Our women have held the posts of governor and ambassador. There are women in the Foreign Service. All these are new things. Do you think that the girls who go to colleges will remain exactly as in the times when women were not educated? It is obvious that they will not. Their minds will broaden. They may make mistakes or stumble occasionally; you may dislike some of their new ways—all that is a different matter. But they are changing and in my opinion, taking everything into consideration, they are changing in the right way. I have not mentioned the boys because they used to go to schools and colleges in good numbers even earlier. But now their numbers have increased four or five times. Boys whose grandfathers and great-grandfathers had no education are today going to schools and colleges, which is a very good thing. A new world is opening out before millions of boys and girls. This in itself is a revolutionary thing. Today I had gone to the airport where I distributed prizes.<sup>110</sup> Two girls were also awarded prizes for excellence in flying. Most of you are young but just imagine, fifty years ago, when I was a child, it was unheard of that girls could be awarded prizes for such feats like an air race or science or fifty other things.

There was a time when purdah was considered to be a sign of good manners for women; and they did stay in purdah. If they were well-off even slightly, they had to be polite and elegant. If not, then in any case they were supposed to observe purdah. It was a symbol of their status. But I could never understand, even when I was a child, how anybody could stay in purdah without revolting. [...] I cannot understand it even now and feel very angry if I see women, my sisters, being confined in cage—I call purdah a cage—with all kinds of restrictions on their activity and movement. Is this civilised or cultured behaviour? Well, this practice is now coming to an end; it is almost at an end. Occasionally, you still see long veils in some places, like Rajasthan. Anyhow, it is sheer foolishness and it is not easy to get rid of it quickly. I am talking to you about women because a change in the position of women is the greatest sign of change in a society. And the changes in a society are reflected in its women. I agree that the country is large consisting mainly of rural areas and the position of women in the villages remains much the same. But changes are gradually taking place there and elsewhere also.

I think two or three years ago, we passed some laws in Parliament concerning the status of women, the Hindu Code, and inheritance and marriage, etc.<sup>111</sup>

110. See fn 95 in this section.

111. See fn 96 in this section.



There were strong objections to them on the ground that we were going against our ancient traditions and customs. But I am glad that these laws were passed and I think it has been one of the biggest achievements of our government. We did not get scared by public pressure. Some parties like the Jana Sangh and other communalist organisations are still living in the past and are not in tune with the present times and modern thinking. They seem to have enveloped themselves in darkness and have turned a blind eye to the world when it is shining brightly. Anyhow, they objected to these laws on the ground that they were in contravention of our ancient treatises. First of all, I do not agree that the treatises contain such things. Secondly, there are all kinds of things in our ancient treatises and we are free to choose.

Let me tell you that the age-old strength of the Hindu society was its ability to change according to the changing times and circumstances. It was never a stagnant society. Later on, it gradually lost its ability to change and became rigidly bound by various customs. As a result, casteism became more widespread and certain sections of the society like the Harijans became backward. And so gradually the society became weaker. It was no longer the original Indian society. Anyhow, whatever it is, we have to change with the changing times. I am not prepared to accept it if somebody comes and tells me that we must hold on to something merely because it was relevant one thousand or two thousand years ago. Even a good thing can become bad in changed circumstances and similarly not everything that is new is good. What is bad is bad even if it is new.

I have given you the example of women because I think India cannot progress until her women participate fully in all her affairs. Every single boy and girl must have the fullest opportunity. There are many complaints about the modern youth, about their indiscipline and wrong ways and what not, which is of course bad. But the greatest crime is to remain uneducated and ignorant and to turn a blind eye to what is happening around you. If your eyes are open, even mistakes can be rectified. But no individual or nation can progress with eyes closed. I do not know who coined the word *abala* for women. Whether that person belongs to earlier times or the present time, I do not know. Why should anyone be without strength, whether it is a man, woman or child? What does it mean? How can anyone presume to stick the label of weakness and timidity on half the nation? Just ponder what a crime and an excess it is to talk or think like this. This shows the type of mindset that must have been responsible for it. The Jana Sangh and similar other organisations have precisely this kind of mindset.

Therefore, I would like you to look around and understand this new world that is coming up. Leave aside other things, there is now talk of making new moons and people are talking of going to the moon. This may materialise in ten to twenty years or even ten to fifteen years. I cannot say definitely because the

progress may even be faster.<sup>112</sup> There are so many new developments taking place that we get accustomed to them. The magicians of old cannot compete with the fantastic things that are happening in real life today. I agree that this is the age of science and technology and we have to learn to live in it. If we fail to do so and keep repeating old lessons by rote, we will become backward. I cannot accept that and, I am sure, nor will you.

Many of our colleagues who had fought with great courage for India's freedom are rather perturbed today at the rapid changes that are taking place in India and the world. They must try to understand the new times and adapt themselves to the new conditions if they wish to do something useful. Many of the old lessons are no longer relevant today. You must try to understand these new times, the new sky and the new earth with a fresh approach, a new mind and a new orientation. Only then will you understand them, not by getting perturbed.

As you know I have lived shamelessly long. I am not bothered about that. But I am bothered about one thing. A person should live only so long as there is strength in him. I do not wish to live the life of an invalid or a cripple. It is absurd to have to be carted around here and there. Recently I climbed the mountains in Bhutan to test myself and was reassured that I am still pretty strong.<sup>113</sup> So long as there is strength in me, I shall work hard.

I would like to draw your attention to another matter. We must progress in science and technology and undoubtedly there must be an industrial revolution and an atomic revolution in India in due course. All that is no doubt essential. But if there is nothing else behind all this progress, what is the use? Where is the world going today in spite of the Industrial Revolution and the great progress and riches?

Twelve or thirteen years ago, the atom bomb was used for the first time. That was a symbol of two things. One, it was a warning to the world that a new power was making its appearance—the atomic energy. It ushered in the atomic age. Now, no source of power is bad in itself. It depends on the use it is put to. So it was its terrible aspect which manifested itself in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Two large cities as big as your Indore were razed to the ground by the atom bomb. It was a terrible aspect of the discovery of atomic energy. Moreover, it showed us that if we are unable to keep it under control, the world will be destroyed. What are the methods by which it can be kept under control? There are talks and debates in the United Nations, agreements are made and resolutions passed. But the fact of the matter is that all these big powers are full of hatred and bitterness and fear. The bigger the power and the greater their strength, the

112. See fn 97 in this section.

113. See fn 98 in this section.



greater their animosity towards other powerful countries. Arms are being piled up, huge armies are recruited and the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb are being made. Nobody knows where it will end. But ultimately it cannot be brought under control through competitiveness or more hatred and bitterness, or by increasing the stockpile of arms.

It is the human beings themselves who must change. Their minds and hearts must change. So long as their hearts are filled with hatred and efforts are made to destroy one another, there can be no solution to the problems. So long as it is sought to solve the problems by more and more powerful weapons, they will not be solved. It is only by listening to the words of wisdom of Gautama Buddha and Gandhi and others that we can succeed. They have said that weapons are a very small thing. The thing which is important is man's mind and heart. Gandhiji said that if you harbour a sword in your heart, it is better that you should take it out and cut off somebody's head rather than keep it there. It is no doubt bad to cut off somebody's head, but it is worse to harbour a sword in your heart. Today, the world harbours innumerable swords and daggers in its heart. This is the problem. How can the problem be solved by passing resolutions? Man will have to change himself. The principles of yore have not remained principles any more. They have become a matter of practical politics because we are living in an era when the world can be completely destroyed if there is a world war and the atom bomb is used. So it becomes a matter of practical politics, doesn't it? After all, where is the question of victory or defeat?

As Gautama Buddha said, those wars are best in which there is no victor or vanquished. It is our good fortune that in our times a great man like Mahatma Gandhi was born in India and some of his greatness has rubbed off on us. A light shone in the dark recesses of our mind; we grew a little in strength; and we learnt to be fearless. But people's memories are shortlived. To most of the younger generation, Gandhiji has already become a legend. You shout "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai". But soon his life will become yet another chapter in the thousands of years of India's history. The question is: In this complex, terrible, dangerous world of ours, while we must work towards progress and prosperity, how far are we able to abide by those principles which have been proclaimed to the world time and again in the unique voice of India and which have been reiterated by Gandhiji in our times? This must be considered. For one thing is quite evident that the atom bomb cannot save the world but will certainly destroy it. It is also evident that if we do not move away from the atom bomb, the danger of ruination will increase manifold. If you want victory, it will have to be achieved by quite different means, by the path shown by Gandhiji, the path of love and friendship towards everyone and enmity towards none and control over one's mind and heart. This is how problems can be solved today, peacefully and in

friendship. I know that this is more easily said than done. It is extremely difficult. But there is no other alternative before the world. There is no doubt about it that some day or the other the world will take this path if it is not destroyed before then by the hydrogen bomb.

I thank you once again for listening to me patiently and for the warm welcome that I have received in the streets of Indore today.

Jai Hind. Please say Jai Hind with me. Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind.

[Translation ends]

## 6. Roorkee University Convocation Address<sup>114</sup>

### Mantras Or Stars Offer No Remedy For Country's Ills

ROORKEE, Nov. 25—Prime Minister Nehru today called on youth to take up the challenge of the double revolution—industrial and atomic—facing the country, with courage and even to exhaust themselves through hard, concerted work, to serve the new era of responsibility and opportunity dawning before them.

Pandit Nehru was addressing a special convocation at the University of Roorkee after having received its first honorary doctorate of engineering.<sup>115</sup>

He said; "There is no remedy for the world's ills or the country's ills of taking recourse to magic or reciting a Mantra or looking at the stars or going to the astrologer. That is a way of defeat. That is a way of people or a nation which does not rely upon itself and does not have courage to fight all odds, including the devil and hell, and try to conquer them".

The Prime Minister said these ills and problems could not be solved by adopting a handdog expression but only by developing physical and mental courage and fighting them with one's head held high.

114. Report, 25 November 1958. *National Herald*, 26 November, 1958.

115. On 27 Nov. 1958, *The Hindu* reported Nehru saying, "Everyone knows of course that I am not an engineer and that I do not know much about engineering, except that it is very important. Other Universities have honoured me in various ways, in Letters, in Science, in Law and even in Medicine which I do not know at all and now this novel degree of engineering. I take it that that, of course, is no recognition of any engineering talent which I do not have, but rather to show your affection and friendliness to me. I welcome that, because, after all, among the many problems we have in the world, one fact emerges that it is science and application of science that are affecting the world and human life more and more."



Pandit Nehru said: "I am not at all despondent about the country or for that matter about the world. It is true no man can be sure in these days of heavy armaments and hydrogen bombs, of what may or may not happen to the world. Well, if hydrogen bombs are let loose on the world, I shall not be there to lament. Most of us will probably be put an end to by the hydrogen bomb or atomic radiation. I shall not be in a position to worry then. So why worry now?"

"While we should not worry, we cannot be escapists. We have to understand problems without optimism or pessimism, but in a straightforward way so that we can, through our courage and such force as we may have, go forward in the right direction", he said.

The Prime Minister said there were forces of war and peace, forces of evil and good, in the world today. They might be evenly balanced.

"Why", he asked, "should I not try to throw my tiny weight on the right side of the scale? Why should I simply look and wonder, 'what will happen?' That is not a kind of thing for a nation or individual of courage to do".

Addressing himself to the students, Pandit Nehru said: "You have this tremendous age and era of responsibility and opportunity lying before you and whenever there is an era of opportunity, it has its own risks and dangers. You cannot have it both ways, opportunity and safety and security. The two do not go together. Either be courageous enough to go ahead and face risk and win tremendous prizes that life gives or remain where you are, perhaps with some security, although there is not much security in the world either".

## 7. Planning for a Socialist Society<sup>116</sup>

बहिनो और भाइयो,  
गांधीजी की मृत्यु को करीब ग्यारह बरस होने वाले हैं और इन दस-ग्यारह बरसों में हिन्दुस्तान में तरह-तरह की मूर्तियाँ गांधीजी की, शहरों में, और-और जगहों में, बनाई गईं। लेकिन आज पहली बार है कि ऐसे समय पर एक मूर्ति का उद्घाटन करने मैं आया हूँ, गांधीजी की मूर्ति का, क्योंकि मैं कुछ झिझकता था ये करने से। जब और-और जगह मुझे बुलाया गया, तो मैंने माफी माँगी। कुछ मुझे चोट सी लगती है। मैं नहीं समझता कि गांधीजी की मूर्ति लगाने में कोई खराबी है। ठीक है, जो लोग लगाना चाहें, लगाएँ। लेकिन कुछ मेरे सामने यह प्रश्न

116. Speech at the unveiling of Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury's bronze statue of Mahatma Gandhi at the Park Street-Chowringhee Road intersection in Calcutta, 30 November 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

आता था कि जो उन्होंने हमसे काम कहा, उसको तो हम करते नहीं, जो संदेशा दिया उसको हम भूल जाते हैं, लेकिन सड़क पर उनका नाम लगा देते हैं, किसी भवन का नाम “महात्मा गांधी भवन” कर देते हैं, और मूर्तियाँ बना देते हैं। तो इससे कुछ मुझे परेशानी होती है।

और यों तो आपसे क्या कहूँ, गांधीजी को याद करके कुछ शक्ति आती है, और कुछ परेशानी रहती है मुझे। हमेशा यह सवाल आता है दिल में, मन में, कि जो उनका संदेशा था उसको हम भूल गये कि याद है। कहाँ तक हम उस रास्ते पर चल रहे हैं, कहाँ तक दूसरे रास्ते पर जा रहे हैं? मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि छोटी-छोटी बातों में, क्योंकि समय बदलता है और नये-नये समय पर नये-नये प्रश्न उठते हैं, नये-नये जवाब देने होते हैं। इसमें तो कोई शक नहीं हम आँखें बंद करके एक जवाब ढूँढ़ें और बगैर नये सवाल को, प्रश्न को समझे, तो उससे तो काम नहीं चलता। दुनिया बदलती है, हमारा देश रोज़ बदल रहा है, और जो नये प्रश्न उठ रहे हैं, काफी कठिन, और उसका हम जवाब ढूँढ़ते हैं। कभी धोखा खाते हैं, कभी सही निकलता है। तो मेरा मतलब नहीं कि हम एक-एक नकल करें छोटी-छोटी बातों की। लेकिन जो मूल सिद्धांत गांधीजी के थे, जो उन्होंने देश के सामने रखे थे, जो उन्होंने जिस रास्ते पर चलकर उन्होंने देश में स्वराज लाये थे, उस रास्ते को हम याद रखते हैं कि भूल गये-ये अक्सर मेरे मन में विचार आता है, और कुछ मुझे परेशान करता है।

जब गांधीजी जीवित थे, और हम लोगों को कुछ मौका मिला था उनसे कुछ सीखने का, उनके साथ कुछ काम करने का, तब भी मुझसे ये बेअदबी होती थी कभी-कभी कि मैं उनसे बहस करूँ या उनसे कहूँ कि उनकी बाज़ बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। और वो चूँकि ऊँचे दर्जे के आदमी थे, वो हमेशा कहते थे कि जो तुम्हारी समझ में आता है, उसको करो। बगैर समझे दूसरे की बात मानना भी ठीक नहीं है, चाहे वह बड़ा आदमी क्यों न हो, चाहे उसका तुम कितना ही आदर करो, प्रेम करो। यह तो एक बड़े आदमी की निशानी है। कोई वो ज़बरदस्ती नहीं करते थे, कोई ज़ब्र नहीं करते थे, लेकिन अपनी बात को वो फिर भी पकड़े बैठे रहते थे और आखिर में उनसे कुछ बहस करने के बाद नतीजा यह होता था कि उनकी बातों को हम मानते थे और हम क्या, जनता मानती थी, देश मानता था। तो यह बात ठीक है।

तो मैं बहुत छोटी बातों का नहीं कहता। उस समय के सवाल को आप जानते हैं। दूसरे के, हम अंग्रेज़ी राज्य का विरोध कर रहे थे। साम्राज्य को यहाँ से निकालना चाहते थे। और एक लड़ाई का ज़माना था, शान्तिमय लड़ाई का ज़माना था, लेकिन एक उस समय भी जो गांधीजी के सामने बातें थीं, वह अंग्रेज़ी सरकार से लड़ने की इतनी नहीं थीं बल्कि अपने देश को बनाने की, अपनी जनता की शक्ति बढ़ाने की, जनता को संगठित करने की, क्योंकि अगर हमारा देश मजबूत हो, हमारी जनता में एकता हो, संगठन हो, तो इतनी शक्ति हो जाती है कि अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य भी नहीं रह सकता। और अगर, वे कहते थे, किसी बात से हम तो दुर्बल रहे, हममें आपस में झगड़ा रहा, और अंग्रेज़ी राज अपनी दुर्बलता से हट गया यहाँ



से, तो फिर हम क्या करेंगे? अगर हम दुर्बल रहे, कोई और आकर हमारी छाती पर बैठ जाएगा।

तो असल बात जो थी वह थी अपनी शक्ति बनाने की, बढ़ाने की, जनता की, देश की। यह दूसरी बात है कि अंग्रेजी राज्य यहाँ से हटे, हमें स्वराज मिले। यानी गांधीजी स्वराज की असल तैयारी समझते थे अपने देश की शक्ति बनाना। और देश की जब सोचते थे, तब वो कोई ऊपर से राजनीतिक कोई नारा या प्रस्ताव नहीं या थोड़े से आदमी। उनकी आँखों में हमेशा देश की करोड़ों जनता होती थी। और विशेषकर वो हमारे ग्राम के रहने वाले, और विशेषकर वो लोग जो बेचारे दबे हैं, चाहे शहर के हों चाहे गाँव के हों। किस तरह से उन्हें उठाएँ और उनको संगठित करें, उनमें एकता हो और उनमें आगे बढ़ने की शक्ति हो। इस पर हमेशा वो जोर देते थे और वो जानते थे कि अगर ये बात हुई, तो अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य तो हटेगा ही? और उसकी जगह पर एक मजबूत शक्तिशाली देश होगा। तो उन्होंने गहरी जड़ खोदी थी देश को बनाने की। जैसे कि अक्सर राजनीति के लोग, politician होते हैं कि वक्त के ऊपर बोलते हैं, वक्त पे फायदा हो गया, लाभ हो गया, उसके जैसे नहीं थे वो, और जब वो समझते थे ज़रा भी गलत रास्ते पे चले, देश जा रहा है, तो उसको रोकते थे। रोकने में उसके काफी वीरता की जरूरत थी और अपनी गलती, अपना अपराध मानते थे कि मुझसे हुआ और एक बहते हुए दरिया को रोकते थे।

याद है आपको, क्या याद होगा, क्योंकि आपमें से बहुत लोग भी उस समय शायद पैदा भी न हुए हों या बहुत छोटे बच्चे हों। एक ये छतीस बरस की बात है, सैंतीस बरस की, जब पहली बार असहयोग आंदोलन शुरू हुआ था सन् '21 और '22 में। वह आंदोलन था, पहला था, देश में एक बिजली की तरह से एक शक्ति फैल गई थी। और सारे देश में आंदोलन-आंदोलन था और बहुत सारे लोग हममें से पकड़े गये थे, जेल भेज दिए गये थे। तो उस समय मेरे प्रदेश में, उत्तर प्रदेश में, गोरखपुर के जिले में एक गाँव है चौरी चौरा, छोटा सा ग्राम है। और वहाँ कुछ पुलिस ने अत्याचार किया था। तो गाँव वालों ने जमा होकर पुलिस थाने पर हमला किया। थोड़े से पुलिस वाले थे, छोटा थाना था। तो एक सात-आठ आदमियों ने हमला किया और घेर लिया उसको, थाने में आग लगा दी और चार, पाँच, छः पुलिस वाले भी उसमें जल गये, मर गये।<sup>117</sup> यह बुरी बात हुई थी। लेकिन आखिर जब देशभर में कहीं एक बुरी बात हो, तो हम क्या करें? सारे देश के करोड़ों आदमी तो एकदम से सब ऊँचे दर्जे के नहीं हो जाते। कभी क्रोध आ जाता है, कभी गुस्सा आता है, और इस तरह से गलत बातें हो जाती हैं। और बेचारे किसान सीधे-सादे, बहुत पढ़े-लिखे नहीं, उन्हें क्रोध आया। वो बहुत दिन से अत्याचार हो रहा था। लेकिन फिर हम तो जेल में थे, मैं भी जेल में था, लखनऊ जेल। हमने सुना ये, हमें कुछ दुःख हुआ। खैर, एक बात हो गई। फिर थोड़े दिन बाद हम जेल में पढ़ते हैं, गांधीजी ने एक बयान दिया चौरी चौरा का लिखते हुए कि मैं देखता हूँ कि देश में हवा बुरी चल रही है, हिंसा की तरफ चल रही

117. See fn 56 in this section.

है, हुल्लड़बाजी की तरफ। और इसलिए मैं इसको संभालना चाहता हूँ। और उन्होंने सारे अपने देशभर के सत्याग्रह आंदोलन को रोक दिया। अब हम जेल में पड़े-पड़े सोचते हैं, अजीब तमाशा है कि सारा देश जागृत है, सारा देश हवा है, आगे बढ़ रहा है जोरों से, सैकड़ों बरस बाद हम जोरों से मुकाबला कर रहे हैं अंग्रेजी राज्य का, उसको हिला दिया है। और कुछ बेचारे किसानों से अपराध हो गया है गोरखपुर के जिले में और सारे देश के हाथ पैर बाँध दिये। क्या अन्याय है? क्या है? बहुत बुरा लगा हमें जेल में। खैर, हम कुछ कर नहीं सकते थे।

लेकिन फिर हम जेल से निकले और गांधीजी से मिलना हुआ। उनसे बहस हुई। और उन्होंने समझाया कि उनका तरीका यही है। क्योंकि वो कोई नकली बात नहीं चाहते। नकली ऊपर की बात आ जाए तो ऊपर से चली भी जाती है। वो देश की शक्ति को बनाना चाहते थे। और ये बात नहीं हो सकती कि हम कहें कि शान्तिमय व अहिंसा के हमारे रास्ते हैं और ऊपर से इन बातों को होने दें, क्योंकि वो न इधर हैं, न उधर हैं। या तो एक देश हथियार लेकर लड़ता है, कहे कि हाँ, हम हथियार लेकर लड़ते हैं, या एक देश दूसरे रास्ते पर चलता है, शान्ति के। दोनों को मिलाने से न तो उसमें सफलता मिलती है न इसमें मिलती है। और उन्होंने कहा कि जब देश में हमने इस बात की प्रतिज्ञा की कि हम ये अहिंसात्मक और शान्ति के रास्ते पर चलेंगे, हमने संगठन बनाया, इससे हमारी शक्ति हुई। तो अगर ऐसी हिंसा होगी, तब वह बिगड़ जाएगा। और हथियार तो हमारे पास हैं नहीं। तो उधर वो भी निकल जाएगा हाथ से, ये भी। खैर, उनके समझाने से कुछ थोड़ा बहुत हमारी समझ में आया और उन पर विश्वास था।

इस तरह से आप देखें कि स्वराज आने के, उसके तीस बरस पहले के इतिहास को आप देखिए। तो कितने बार गांधीजी ने एक चलती हुई फौज को हमारी रोक दिया। एक बहते हुए दरिया को रोक दिया। क्यों? सोचने की बात है आपके, क्योंकि वे करते थे। क्योंकि वे हमारे देश को एक सबक सिखा रहे थे। वे खाली दूसरे आदमियों को धमकी देने को नहीं करते थे। खाली दिखाने को नहीं करते थे, अंग्रेजी राज डर जाए। हो सकता है अंग्रेजी राज डर जाता, हो भी सकता है नहीं डरता। लेकिन उनकी आँखें हर समय थीं अपनी जनता को, अपने देश को, मजबूत करने को और उठाने को। ये जानते थे कि जब वह मजबूत हुआ तब अंग्रेजी राज्य ठहर नहीं सकता, न कोई और राज आ सकता है बाहर से यहाँ। तो किस तरह से गांधीजी ने तीस वर्ष में, और तीस वर्ष से भी अधिक में भारत के करोड़ों आदमियों को train किया, discipline किया, नियम उनको सिखाये, संगठित किया, और तरह-तरह की शिक्षा दी। शिक्षा एक स्कूल में किताब से नहीं, बल्कि अपने चाल-चलन से। क्योंकि देश के करोड़ों आदमी, उनकी शिक्षा तो इतना स्कूल पढ़ने से नहीं होती, जितना तो वाक्यात से होती है। जो बातें होती हैं, उसका अनुभव उन्हें होता है। देश उससे सीखते हैं। इस तरह से पच्चीस-तीस वर्ष में उन्होंने देश को सिखाया और देश की एक ताकत बनाई और दुनिया के इतिहास में पहली बार ये चीजें देखने में आई कि हिन्दुस्तान देश ने, एक महान् देश ने,



शान्तिमय तरीके से चलकर स्वराज लिया।

और यँ तो आपसे क्या कहूँ, गांधीजी को याद करके कुछ शक्ति आती है और कुछ परेशानी होती है। हमेशा यह सवाल आता है दिल में, मन में, कि जो उनका संदेश था उसको हम भूल गये कि याद है, जिन तरीकों से चलकर स्वराज लिया। क्योंकि बड़े महापुरुष पहले भी बहुत हुए हैं, बहुत बड़े, हमारे देश में, और देशों में। लेकिन उन्होंने उन सिद्धांतों को राजनीति के मैदान में नहीं लगाया था, और एक आम जनता, करोड़ों आदमियों से वो काम नहीं करा रहे थे। खैर, ये एक बड़ी बात गांधीजी ने देश को सिखाई, मोटी बात। और जो बहुत बातें कहीं, छोटी-बड़ी, वो बदलती रहती हैं क्योंकि समय बदलता है, प्रश्न नये आते हैं, लेकिन जो मोटा सबक उनका सिद्धांत का था, वो मैं समझता हूँ नहीं बदलता। और इसीलिए मुझे विचार आते हैं अक्सर, कहाँ तक हम उस सबक को भूल गये और कहाँ तक हमको याद है? और कुछ दुःख होता है यह सोचकर कि हम बहुत कुछ भूल जाते हैं। कभी-कभी साल में एक बार जब उनकी जयन्ती का दिन होता है, तब हम कुछ थोड़ा सा कर देते हैं, कुछ जमा होकर कुछ चर्खा चला लेते हैं। महात्मा गांधी की जय पुकारते हैं। महात्मा गांधी की जय पुकारिये तो अच्छा है। लेकिन महात्मा गांधी अगर कोई चीज थे, अगर उनमें कोई ताकत थी और शक्ति थी, तो एक व्यक्ति में नहीं थी। थोड़ी देर के लिए वो एक भारत के एक नमूना हो गये थे। भारत की आवाज़, एक मूर्ति हो गये थे, भारत के दुःख की, भारत की परेशानी और तकलीफ की, भारत के लम्बे इतिहास की। और अगर हम उस आवाज़ को भूलते हैं, तो कुछ हम भारत की आवाज़ भूल जाते हैं, सुनते नहीं। यह सही है कि हर युग में नये सवाल होते हैं, नये जवाब होते हैं, और हर युग में हमें और आपको मिलकर विचार करना है, सोचना है, निश्चय करना है। किसी दूसरे के भरोसे नहीं काम को करना होता है। यह बात सही है तो फिर आप चाहें उनकी मूर्ति बनायें, यहाँ रखें, वो एक यादगार हो, स्मारक हो। लेकिन अगर उसके ये माने हैं कि आपने मूर्ति बनाकर उनको भूल गए, तब अच्छा नहीं हुआ। तब तो गलत हो गया। अगर उनकी मूर्ति कहीं रहनी है, तो हमारे मन में, और हृदय में रहनी है, कि हमें याद दिलाती रहे कि हमारा क्या कर्तव्य है, क्या धर्म है? क्या हमारा कर्तव्य है आजकल इस अनोखी दुनिया में?

मैं आज कलकत्ते आया विशेषकर इसलिए कि आचार्य जगदीश चन्द्र बोस की जयन्ती है, शताब्दी है, इसलिए मैं आया।<sup>118</sup> और आज सुबह-सवेरे उसके बारे में कुछ कार्यवाही हुई थी। एक महापुरुष थे आचार्य जगदीश चन्द्र। वो महापुरुष विशेषकर एक बारे में थे—बहुत बातों में थे। आप जानते हैं कि वो एक ऊँचे दर्जे के वैज्ञानिक थे, scientist थे। लेकिन उसी के साथ भारत की जो संस्कृति है, और भारत के हृदय की आवाज़ है, वो भी उनके कान में आई थी और उन दोनों बातों को वो कुछ जोड़ते थे। इसलिए वो आजकल के समय के लिये, युग के लिए विशेषकर एक ऐसे व्यक्ति हुए, जिसे हम याद करें, सीखें। आजकल

118. For Nehru's speech inaugurating the birth centenary celebrations at the Bose Institute, Calcutta, on 30 Nov. 1958, see item 240.

का युग क्या है? आजकल का युग विज्ञान का है, science का है युग। इस युग में यूरोप की और अमेरिका की शक्ति कैसे है? विज्ञान से है। और यह सब हमारे यहाँ भी बहुत कुछ आप देखते हैं। चीजें हैं—चाहे ये microphone हो, चाहे बिजली हो, चाहे रेल हो, चाहे हवाई जहाज हो, हजार चीजें विज्ञान से निकलती हैं।

एक-दो सौ बरस हुए, आप जाएँ, तो जब विज्ञान का असर दुनिया में कम था, तो दुनिया दूसरी थी। और दुनिया एक ऐसी थी, बदली नहीं थी हजारों बरसों से। अगर आप अशोक के समय में जाइये, या अशोक से पहले भी जाइये, और आप उस समय भारत का दृश्य देखते तो उसमें और उसके दो हजार बरस बाद में कोई बहुत अंतर नहीं पाते आप। अशोक के समय से लेके आप अकबर तक का समय ले लीजिए, बहुत अंतर नहीं होता। हाँ, अंतर तो होते, लेकिन अगर आप यहाँ से, बंगाल से, दिल्ली जाते उस समय तो कैसे आप जाते अशोक के समय? घोड़े से जाते, कि शायद रथ से जाते, पैदल जाते। उससे तेज तो नहीं जाते। अकबर के समय आप जाते, तब भी आप घोड़े पर जाते। उतना ही समय आपको लगता। कोई नई बात नहीं होती। शायद रथ ज्यादा अच्छा होता, मैं नहीं जानता। तो कोई हमारे देश के जीवन में बहुत अंतर नहीं हुआ हजारों बरस तक, सारे देश में। फिर एक चीज आयी, जिसको विज्ञान कहते हैं। उसने प्रकृति की नई-नई शक्तियों को पकड़ा। तो विज्ञान कोई जादूगर तो है नहीं। प्रकृति की शक्ति को पकड़ता है। उसने पकड़ा छोटी एक चीज। हम आप सब जानते हैं भाप को पकड़ा, steam को और steam power, एक शक्ति, को पकड़कर उसने रेल चलाई और क्या-क्या चलाया कारखाने में। उसने बाद में बिजली को पकड़ा। वो भी एक प्रकृति की शक्ति थी। उससे हजार काम किए, कारखाने बने, चले। एक नई शक्ति को पहचाना। जिन-जिन देशों ने विज्ञान को बढ़ाया, जिन-जिन देशों ने इन शक्तियों को पकड़ा, उन देशों की ताकत बढ़ी और वो धनी हो गए, शक्तिशाली हो गए। यूरोप के देशों ने किया। हम लोग पिछड़ गए, दुर्बल हो गए, इसलिए कि हमने नहीं पकड़ा।

और अब आप जानते हैं इसी विज्ञान की बदौलत atom bomb बनाया गया, hydrogen bomb बनाया और क्या-क्या, और हथियार और क्या-क्या बातें बनायीं। एक नया युग शुरू हो रहा है जिसमें प्रकृति की शक्तियाँ, अनेक शक्तियाँ, मनुष्य के हाथ में हैं। और आजकल के युग का सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न ये है कि इस महाशक्ति, महान् शक्ति से दुनिया नष्ट हो जाएगी या दुनिया सुन्दर बनाई जाएगी, ये महान् प्रश्न है। क्योंकि हमारे हाथ में शक्ति है, जिसको लेके सारी दुनिया के दुःख को हम भूल सकें। और उसी शक्ति को bomb करके चलाएँ, तो दुनिया नष्ट हो जाएगी। ये निर्विवाद है। ऐसा प्रश्न आजकल दुनिया में नहीं हो सकता। पहले भी लड़ाइयाँ हुई हैं, लेकिन चाहे उनका मुल्क तबाह हो जाए, और दुनिया तो बच जाती थी। अब कोई नहीं बचता। तो यहाँ तक विज्ञान पहुँचा। तो आप देखें कि विज्ञान से, science से, ताकत बढ़ी, देशों की हैसियत बढ़ी, धन बढ़ा, और उनकी शक्ति बढ़ी। इतनी बढ़ गयी है कि अब हो सकता है कि अगर गलत कदम उठे तो सबों का नाश हो जाए। तो अब सही कदम कैसे हों?



जहाँ तक दूसरी बात आती है कि अगर विज्ञान को आप अलग रखें और सिद्धांतों से, तो विज्ञान को संभाले कौन? उसकी बागडोर कौन पकड़े? इसलिए आवश्यकता हो जाती है कि कोई ऊँचे सिद्धांत भी हमारे मन में हों, कोई और। इस बारे में मैंने आपसे जगदीश चन्द्र बोस का कहा। वो एक बड़े वैज्ञानिक आदमी थे। लेकिन उस विज्ञान के साथ और भी सिद्धांत थे और भारत की प्राचीन जो विद्या, दर्शन उस विज्ञान के साथ और थे, प्राचीन दर्शन थे, वो उनके मन में थे और दोनों को जोड़ना चाहते थे। तो वो एक पुल बनाना चाहते थे। एक पुल बनाना चाहते थे भारत की विद्या में और भारत की वह समझिये एक पुरानी आवाज़ है और आजकल के विज्ञान में। क्योंकि अगर आज ख़ाली एक बात को रखें, आजकल का विज्ञान, तो आप तरक्की करेंगे, लेकिन उस तरक्की ने दो बड़ी लड़ाईयाँ करायी हैं और तीसरी लड़ाई के दरवाज़े पे लायी है। विज्ञान तो हमें लेना ही है। विज्ञान के बिना हम बढ़ नहीं सकते। विज्ञान के बग़ैर हम अपने बड़े-बड़े प्रश्नों को दूर नहीं कर सकते। विज्ञान से हमें लगाव लगाना ही है, खेतों में, कारख़ानों में और हज़ार कामों में जिससे हमारी जनता के दुःख दूर हों, जिससे हम नये-नये काम उठायें, जिससे बेरोज़गारी कम हो। तो विज्ञान तो हमें चाहिए ही। लेकिन इसी के साथ अगर हम अपने देश की पुरानी आवाज़ को भूल जाएँ, तब वो विज्ञान बे-लगाव हो जाता है।

हमारी नीति क्या है? वो दोनों हैं। तो वो दोनों बातें जगदीश चन्द्र बोस में थीं। उस समय के सवाल, दुनिया दूसरी थी। लेकिन बड़े प्रश्न एक थे। और ये सवाल घूमघाम के आजकल भी हमारे देश का है। और उसी सिलसिले में गांधीजी आते हैं मेरे मन में। उन्होंने, गांधीजी ने, विज्ञान पर अधिक जोर नहीं दिया। मैं देता हूँ। लेकिन उन्होंने उन सिद्धांतों पर जोर दिया जिसके बग़ैर विज्ञान आपको, हमें, नष्ट कर दे सकता है। तो दोनों बातों को हमें पकड़ना है। और अगर हम नहीं ये करते, तो दुर्बल हो जाएँगे, कमजोर होंगे।

अपने भारत के चारों तरफ आप देखें। और देशों का क्या हाल है? कोई मैं टीका-टिप्पणी नहीं करता किसी देश की। लेकिन साफ़ बात है कि अच्छी हालत नहीं है भारत की और [sic] जैसे देशों की। क्यों? कोई बाहर के दबाव से बुरा नहीं हुआ। अन्दर की दुर्बलता से, अन्दर की कमजोरी से ये बातें हुई हैं। तो किसी देश को, कोई बड़ा देश या छोटा देश, बाहर से इतना नहीं उसे भय होता है, अन्दर की दुर्बलता से होता है। और हमारा महान् देश हिन्दुस्तान। कभी-कभी मुझसे बाज़ लोग पूछा करते हैं आजकल दुनिया में तो एक भय फैला है और जितना बड़ा देश है उतना ही अधिक उसको डर है। अजीब बात यह है। बड़े शक्तिशाली देश हैं यूरोप के, अमेरिका के, वे एक-दूसरे से डरते हैं जाने कब वो छा जाएँ। और डर में रहते हैं। तो वो लोग मुझ से कभी-कभी पूछते हैं, “तुम्हें डर नहीं है? तुम्हारे ऊपर तो रूस हमला करेगा या चीन हमला करेगा।” तो मैं सोचता हूँ, क्या उन्हें जवाब दूँ क्योंकि वो उनके मन में तस्वीर ये ऐसी बन गयी है कि हमेशा एक-दूसरे पे हमला किया करें, एक-दूसरे से लड़ा करें और हम कुछ कभी-कभी हमारे पढ़े-लिखे लोग भी कोई बहुत यूरोप के विद्यार्थियों की सीख से, कुछ यूरोप के इतिहास से, ऐसे छा गये हैं कि

- लड़ाई का इतिहास यूरोप का है - कि हर वक्त लड़ाई देखते रहते हैं। तो मुझसे वो पूछें, तो मुझे आश्चर्य होता है, क्योंकि सच बात ये है, जब कोई इसमें धोखेबाजी नहीं है, मेरे दिल में बिल्कुल डर नहीं है - न रूस का, न चीन का, न पाकिस्तान का, न और किसी देश का। (तालियाँ) क्यों? एक तो ये कि रूस से, चीन से हमारी मित्रता है। और कोई वजह नहीं कि हम, खामख्वाह लोगों के भड़काने में क्यों आ जाएँ कि हम किसी से लड़ें। हम उनके मित्र रहेंगे। पाकिस्तान से, मुझे खेद है कि इस समय बहुत मित्रता नहीं है हमारी। मैं चाहता हूँ, हो, और कभी न कभी होगी, क्योंकि पड़ोसियों से होना चाहिए।

लेकिन इस प्रश्न को आप छोड़ें। मैं तो यह कहता हूँ कि कोई देश दूसरे की शक्ति से नहीं गिरता है, अपनी दुर्बलता से गिरता है। और भारत का इतिहास आपको दिखाता है, हजारों बरस का, कि जब-जब हम गिरे हैं, तो बाहर के दुश्मन की शक्ति से नहीं गिरे लेकिन हममें अन्दर फूट थी और हम दुर्बल हो गए थे और जो चाहे आ जाए हमारे पास। इसलिए गांधीजी का सबक याद आता है कि बाहर न देखो, बाहर की शक्ति से क्या घबराते हो, अपने अंदर की, देश के अंदर की शक्ति को बढ़ाओ, अपने अंदर की एकता बढ़ाओ और अपने दिल से डर निकालो। तो ग़रज़ कि प्रश्न हमारे सामने इस समय भी अपने देश को मज़बूत अंदर से करने का है। वो हमेशा रहता है कि देश अंदर से मज़बूत नहीं हुआ, तो फिर वो उसकी जड़ खुदती जाती है। तो ये अन्दर से मज़बूती के क्या माने? फौज? ठीक है, कुछ फौज तो हमें रखनी ही है और फौज रखें तो अच्छी रखें। अच्छे हवाई जहाज हों, अच्छे समुन्दर के जहाज हों। लेकिन ताकत फौज की तो नहीं है इतनी बड़ी। आखिर जो आजकल बड़े-बड़े great powers हैं उनका हम क्या मुकाबला करें अपनी फौज से? उनकी बड़ी फौज, उनके बड़े atom bomb, हमारे पास नहीं हैं। आखिर में हमारी शक्ति अपनी जनता से है, जनता के संगठन से और जनता की खुशहाली से और एकता से।

तो यह बड़ा प्रश्न आ जाता है, कैसे करें? और इसी प्रश्न के लिए पंचवर्षीय योजना और यह सब बातें शुरू की गईं। ख़ाली एक दिखाने के लिए कुछ कारख़ाने बनाये जाएँ या कुछ और योजनाएँ बनें, वो नहीं। लेकिन सामने ये कि भारत के चालीस करोड़ लोग कैसे मज़बूत हों, कैसे उनके जीवन में खुशहाली आये, तकलीफ़ जाये और जो-जो चीज़ें उन्नति की उनको चाहिए, वो उनको मिलें। हमेशा यह तस्वीर सामने रही। फिर हमने निश्चय किया के ये तस्वीर तब ही आये, जब हमारे समाज का संगठन समाजवादी हो, socialist pattern of society हो। हमने निश्चय किया, काँग्रेस ने निश्चय किया और लोकसभा ने, Parliament ने निश्चय किया,<sup>119</sup> क्योंकि समाजवादी pattern ही में तस्वीर हमें भायी, कि

119. Lok Sabha resolution, 21 Dec. 1954; for Nehru's speech on the occasion, see SWJN/SS/27/pp. 350-364. Nehru moved the resolution on "Socialistic Pattern of Society" at the 60th session of the Indian National Congress at Avadi, Madras State, on 21 Jan. 1955. See SWJN/SS/27/pp. 279-283.



उसमें एक तो बराबरी हो अधिक से अधिक, और दूसरे खुशहाली हो।

अब समाजवाद का चर्चा बहुत होता है और बाज़ लोग, जो समाजवादी अपने को कहते हैं, वो ऐसी तरफ देखते हैं जिसमें झगड़ा-फसाद है; या वो कहते हैं कि क्यों नहीं समाजवाद आ गया, कानून से ले आओ; क्यों लोग कुछ अमीर हैं कुछ गरीब हैं, बराबर करो; तो इन बातों में ज़रा हमें साफ-साफ सोचना चाहिए। मुझे समाजवाद पूरीतरा से, सोलह आने स्वीकार है, और मैं चाहता हूँ कि पूरा समाजवादी हमारा देश कभी न कभी हो जाएगा। लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि कानून से ही नहीं हो जाता ये, ना नारों से होता है। एक दिन सारे देश की जनता को उठना है वहाँ तक, समाजवाद को नीचे नहीं लाना है। समाजवाद मेरी राय में फाकैमस्त देश में आ ही नहीं सकता। क्या आप लोगों के फाके को, और लोगों की दरिद्रता और गरीबी को बाटेंगे, जो आजकल का हाल है? इसीलिए हमें अपनी धन-दौलत पैदा करने की शक्ति बढ़ानी है। बहुत बढ़ानी है। धन-दौलत से मेरा मतलब सोना-चाँदी नहीं है। वो तो व्यापार की चीज़ें हैं। लेकिन जो पदार्थ खेती से निकलते हैं, कारख़ाने से निकलते हैं, कारीगरी से निकलते हैं, या उनके परिश्रम और श्रम से निकलते हैं वो ही धन होता है। तब ये समाजवाद आता है।

और समाजवाद के रहने के लिए ज़रा लोगों को भी, अपने को भी संभालना है, बढ़ना है। आजकल हर देश में, हर समाज में नियम की, discipline की आवश्यकता होती है। अगर discipline न हो, नियम न हों, तब समाज इकट्ठे नहीं, संगठित नहीं रहता, टुकड़े-टुकड़े हो जाएँ उसके। Discipline से एक देश रहता है, एक समाज संगठित रहता है। अच्छा, अब ये discipline, ये नियम दो तरह का होता है। एक तो ऊपर से लाठी से, बंदूक से, एक सरकारी discipline हो, ज़बरदस्ती छाती पे बैठकें; या एक अच्छे समाज से हो, समाज के व्यक्ति के अंदर discipline। तो discipline के बग़ैर कोई देश चल नहीं सकता है। तो अब गांधीजी के ज़माने में, उन्होंने हमें self-discipline सिखाया। अपने अंदर से हम अपना discipline करें। और जाहिर है कि एक स्वतंत्र देश self-discipline से चलता है। अंग्रेज़ी राज में पराये राज का ज़बरदस्ती का discipline था। तो समाजवाद के मायने हैं कि अधिक से अधिक आज़ादी हो समाज की। उसमें से अधिक discipline आता है, self-discipline। हुल्लडबाजी थोड़े ही है समाजवाद कि गुलशोर मचायें, और नारों से कर लें अधिक discipline। [...] और न हो तो फिर यह मुसीबत आती है कि कोई और discipline आपसे कराए। और देश आप देखिए, साम्यवादी देश देखिए। अब साम्यवादी देश में, कोई मैं उसमें कोई टीका नहीं कर रहा हूँ, मैं महज़ कह रहा हूँ कि जो discipline वहाँ आता है, वो बहुत कुछ ऊपर का है। बड़े अच्छे काम करते हैं वहाँ, तरक्की की है, लेकिन discipline ऊपर का है। और कम से कम मैं पसंद करता हूँ कि discipline अंदर का हमारा हो, अपना ही, समाज का, न कि ऊपर का हो, सरकारी हो। कुछ न कुछ दोनों ही होते हैं।

मैं इसलिए आपसे कहता हूँ कि मैं भारत में इस समय देखता हूँ तो इतना, एक-एक

शक्तियाँ चलती हैं, जिसमें हमारे संगठन, समाज टूटें, बिगड़ें, अलग-अलग खिचें, और जिससे हममें दुर्बलता हो। हाँ, अलग-अलग विचार हों, अलग-अलग विचार रहने चाहिए, अलग-अलग खेंच होती है, लेकिन हमेशा याद रखना चाहिए देश की एकता। कभी-कभी तो प्रदेश के नाम से, कभी भाषा के नाम से, कभी धर्म के नाम से, कभी जाति के नाम से, इन सब बातों से अलग-अलग हर एक चलने को तैयार है। हमारे देश में बड़े-बड़े महापुरुष हुए हैं पिछले हजारों बरस में। और बड़े वीर पुरुष हुए हैं। लेकिन एक दुर्बलता रही है हमेशा हमारे देश में, और वह आपस की फूट है, आपस की एकता की कमी। इसलिए हम दुर्बल रहे। हमारे यहाँ वीर पुरुषों की कमी नहीं थी। तो तब प्रश्न यह आता है कि हम लोग ये सबक इतिहास का सीख चुके या नहीं सीखा। अगर हम अलग-अलग न जाएँ और आपस में झगड़ा न करें। अगर इस बात को हम नहीं समझते, तब हम दुर्बल हो जाते हैं, कमजोर हो जाते हैं। फिर मुसीबत आती है। तो इसलिए मैं आपको यह पहली बात है, उसमें सब बातें मिली हैं, अलग-अलग धर्मों का आदर करना, और जहाँ तक जातिभेद है, जातिभेद, उसने हमारे देश को बहुत कमजोर कर दिया है, दुर्बल कर दिया है। और समाजवाद अगर हम चाहते हैं या democracy चाहते हैं, तो उसमें जातिभेद कहाँ से आता है? ना democracy में, ना socialism में caste आता है। जातिभेद वो तो आजकल के युग के लिए जातिभेद तो बिल्कुल बुरी और गलत चीज है।

खैर, इन बातों को अलग रखिए। लेकिन हम समाजवाद चाहते हैं और समाजवाद को शान्ति से लाना चाहते हैं। क्यों शान्ति से लायें, आप पूछें? अब इसका जवाब तो मैं आपको क्या दूँ, सिवाए इसके कि आजकल कभी-कभी और विशेषकर आजकल की दुनिया में, और आजकल के भारत में, अगर एक दफे, हमारा देश अशान्ति की तरफ कदम उठाता है तो वो चिंगारी फैल के सारे देश को हानि पहुँचा सकती है। और हमारे सारे काम को रोक सकती है। आजकल हमें बड़े काम करने हैं, पंचवर्षीय योजना, क्या-क्या। इसलिए हमारे देश में विशेषकर यह हानिकारक है। और जो लोग कोई आंदोलन करते हैं, कुछ करें, आंदोलन करें ठीक है, जो चाहें, आंदोलन करें। लेकिन जहाँ अशान्ति की तरफ झुकें वो एक चिंगारी लगाते हैं, जिससे भारत को हानि पहुँचती है। हमारी स्वतन्त्रता को हानि पहुँचती है।

आप लोग जो नौजवान हैं आपको याद नहीं हो वो अंग्रेजी ज़माने में क्या-क्या हुआ, क्या नहीं हुआ। नई दुनिया आपके सामने है। आप समझें कि स्वराज हमें मिल गया, अब हम निश्चित हों। लेकिन निश्चित हो के हम नहीं रह सकते। जहाँ कोई देश के लोग निश्चित हो गए, complacent हो गए, वो देश दुर्बल होने लगता है। तो ये बात आप याद रखें कि हम तरक्की करेंगे। कैसे? न कोई नारे से, न जादू से, न कानून से। परिश्रम से, मेहनत से, हम तरक्की करेंगे। जमीन में परिश्रम करें, कारखाने में करें, अधिक से अधिक पैदा करें जैसे चीन में हो रहा है। कितना काम वहाँ हो रहा है। समाजवाद है, वगैरह। उसको आप भूलें। परिश्रम है वहाँ, जो असल चीज है। परिश्रम से वो आगे बढ़ रहे हैं दिन और रात काम करते



हैं, और हमारे यहाँ, क्या कहूँ आपसे, इतनी छुट्टियाँ होती हैं साल में कि कुछ पूछिए नहीं। वहाँ उन्होंने सप्ताह में छुट्टी होती थी एक, उसको भी निकाल दिया, सप्ताह की एक छुट्टी को। लेकिन फिर देखा कि कुछ न कुछ चाहिए, तो अब दस रोज़ में एक दिन की छुट्टी होती है, नहीं तो दिन-रात काम कराते हैं। इस तरह से देश बना रहे हैं। मैं तो नहीं चाहता कि हमारे लोगों को इस तरह से काम करना पड़े, लेकिन यह तो साफ है कि हम बग़ैर परिश्रम के नहीं बढ़ सकते, न समाजवाद की तरफ, न किसी और वाद की तरफ। तो हमें करना है। और कोई भी काम हो, चाहे वो हड़ताल हो, चाहे वो चूँ-चाँ।

हमारे industry में lockout होते हैं, strikes होते हैं, और मैं समझता हूँ हड़ताल करना, strike करना, ये एक बड़ा हथियार है हमारे मजदूर भाइयों के लिए, और उस हथियार को उनको रखना चाहिए। मैं नहीं चाहता कि उसको छोड़ दें। मेरा काफी पुराना संबंध है मजदूर-दलों से। इस हथियार से, इसी हड़ताल से, strike से, उन्होंने, यानी trade union के संगठनों ने अपनी शक्ति बढ़ाई। उसको रखना है, मजबूत करना है। यह बात ठीक है। लेकिन उसी के साथ मैं आपसे कहूँ कि ये हर बात पे ये करना, न trade union मजबूत होता है न उनको कोई बहुत मिलता है। और ऐसे समय पर जब कि एक-एक दिन, एक-एक घंटा काम से हम भारत की कुछ सहायता कर रहे हैं बढ़ने में, और अपनी सहायता करते हैं, उस समय कोई चाहे मालिक हो कारख़ाने का, चाहे वहाँ का, अगर वो उस काम को रोकता है, तो कुछ न कुछ हानि हो जाती है। अभी कुछ दिन हुए शायद, कहाँ वो port strike थी,<sup>120</sup> क्या थी? कोई थी। एक हड़ताल थी, कुछ दो-तीन हड़तालों थीं उस वक्त बड़ी, दो चार महीने हुए। अब उसका असर आप देखें। उसका असर हिसाब लगाने से मुझे ठीक याद नहीं है लेकिन तीस, चालीस करोड़ रुपये की हानि देश को हुई, हानि हुई। हमारा माल जो बाहर जाता है, export, जिसकी बहुत आवश्यकता है, उसमें हानि हुई। हमारा सामान export कम हो गया। दुनिया में हमें बड़ा मुकाबला करना है। और देश का जो हमारा सामान बिके, उसका सामान-उनका सामान। और अगर रुकावटें हमारे घर में पड़ जाती हैं, तो मैदान हमारे हाथ से निकल जाता है। दुनिया सख़्त है, कड़ी है। इसलिए ये हर एक को सोचना है कि हथियार तो हम अपने पास रखें, लेकिन इस वक्त हमारा परम कर्तव्य क्या है? तो हथियार से एक-दूसरे से लड़ा करें? तो दोनों को हानि है, भारत को हानि है।

और लीजिए, सत्याग्रह। सत्याग्रह—ख़ैर, बड़ा शुद्ध लफ़्ज़ है, बड़ा अच्छा लफ़्ज़ है। अब हर बात में सत्याग्रह आए जाता है, हर बात में जुलूस निकलता है। सत्याग्रह तो वो है नहीं, वो तो जो कुछ नाम उसको दीजिए, लेकिन सत्याग्रह का नाम उसमें नहीं लगे तो? लेकिन मैं [...] इस बात को मानने को तैयार हूँ कभी-कभी कि जो वो माँगें— बात वो शायद अच्छी

120. The nation-wide port and dock workers' strike took place 15-25 June 1958. For details, see item 180.

भी हो, कभी सही होगी, कभी अच्छी होगी, कभी नहीं अच्छी होगी, कभी गलत होगी। लेकिन अच्छी भी हो, तब भी इस समय पर ऐसे रास्ते पर चलना जिससे भारत को हानि होती है, तो हमें भी हानि होगी। और बात बन भी सकती है। ये हमारे सामने हैं पाँच, सात, आठ, दस बरस और हैं। दस बरस तो हुए, कटे, और मेरा विचार है कि उसमें काफी हमने तरक्की की, बुनियाद डाली मज़बूती से। कुछ बरस और हैं, जिसमें अगर हम जोर लगाकर काम नहीं करते तो बहुत हानि होगी। और अगर जोर लगाकर काम हम करते हैं देशभर में, ठीक। तब हम किसी कदर बेड़ा अपना पार कर देंगे। यों तो देश की उन्नति से, गरीब देश को, अपने को उठाना है, अपनी शक्ति से। इसमें बड़ी ताकत की, बड़े परिश्रम की जरूरत है। वो काम एक दफे बढ़ जाता है तब अपनी शक्ति से देश बढ़ने लगता है।

अब ये हमारी दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना है। तीन बरस बाद, दो-तीन बरस बाद तीसरी योजना आएगी, पंचवर्षीय, और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि वो एक तरफ काफी मज़बूत होके आगे ले जाए हमें। लेकिन कागज पर लिखने की बात नहीं है, जनता के संगठन की बात है, जनता के परिश्रम की, हमारे और आपके। ये एक बहस होती है। और कुछ लोग हमें सलाह देते हैं, कुछ परदेश के लोग, कुछ हमारे देश के लोग, कि तुमने बहुत पैर बढ़ाया, हाथ फैलाया था, दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में, मुसीबत में पड़ गए। अब सोच-समझकर चलो, तीसरी को छोटा रखो। यह सही है कि हमें कुछ कठिनाइयाँ हुईं और दूसरे ये भी सही है कि हमें अभी कुछ और देशों से सहायता मिली, जिसके लिये हम अनुगृहीत हैं। धन्यवाद देते हैं, और यह भी सही है कि अगर देश को आगे बढ़ाना है तो अपने परिश्रम से बढ़ना है, अपनी मेहनत पर, और औरों की तरफ हाथ फैलाकर नहीं। बात ठीक है, लेकिन जो लोग ये कहते हैं कि ज़रा तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना को ज़रा कम करना, छोटा करना, समय दो अपने को संभालने का, वो लोग समझे ही नहीं के ये चीज क्या है, five-year plans और योजनाएँ बनाना, planning क्या चीज है, उसी को नहीं समझे हैं, जड़ ही नहीं समझे हैं उसकी। यह कोई चार कारख़ाने बनाने हैं हमारे लिए? या सौ-हज़ार कारख़ाने बनें, अच्छा है। Planning योजना बनाना बिल्कुल दूसरा ही ढंग है। हमारी आबादी इस तेज़ी से बढ़ रही है कि हर साल पचास, साठ, सत्तर लाख नये पुरुष, नये व्यक्ति आ जाते हैं। उनका लिखाना-पढ़ाना, कपड़े पहनना, घर बनाना, कम से कम इतना ही हम करें कि वो लोग जो नये व्यक्ति हैं, होते जाते हैं, उनको खाना मिले, उनको कपड़ा मिले, उनको घर मिले, उनको स्कूल मिले, उनके स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध हो।

और जो लोग मुझसे कहते हैं कि तुम तीसरी योजना को छोटा कर दो, तो मैं तो छोटा उसको, फर्ज किये, करूँ, करने को राज़ी हूँ, लेकिन देश जो बढ़ता है, एक तरफ से आबादी, जनता बढ़ती जाती है। उसकी कौन देख-भाल करे? उनसे भी या तो प्रबंध कीजिए के देश का बढ़ना, सब बातें रुक जाएँ दस-पंद्रह बरस के लिए (तालियाँ), नहीं तो ये बातें बिल्कुल फ़िज़ूल हैं। हम कर नहीं सकते इसको। तो तीसरी योजना को ज़रा रोक दें, बंद कर दें, हम कर नहीं सकते ये। ये कोई आपकी, मेरी राय की बात नहीं है। ये वाकयात की बात है।



ये compulsion of events की बात है। जो हालत देश में है, जनता की हालत है, ये तो मिसाल वो हो जाती है आप bicycle पर बढ़ते हैं, तो bicycle को जहाँ रोकिएगा, आप गिर जाएँगे या उतरना पड़ेगा। जब तक चलते हैं, चलती जाएँगी। तो हम इस योजना की planning को रोक नहीं सकते। हमारे भाई बड़े-बड़े लायक हैं जो planning के माने नहीं समझे हैं और जो अब तक बड़े-बड़े कारखानों के मालिक हैं। या कुछ ऐसे प्रोफेसर लोग भी हैं जो हमें नेक सलाह देते हैं इस बात की कि ज़रा कम चलो, नहीं तो हानि होगी। वो कुछ अपने कमरे में या अपने घर में रहकर सारे भारत की तस्वीर नहीं देखते, सारे भारत में क्या हो रहा है? क्या लोगों के विचार हैं, क्या माँग है, क्या जरूरत है? वो नहीं-भारत का बढ़ता हुआ दरिया नहीं रुकता। तो फिर उसको सामने रखकर आपको कुछ करना है ना कि आप उसको भूल जाएँ और अपने दफ्तर में बैठके कागज-पत्र रखें, जिससे कोई संबंध आजकल की हालत का न हो। इसलिए हमें विचार करना है कि जो तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना, अभी तो उसको दो बरस से ऊपर हैं, ढाई बरस हैं, के वो ऐसा हो कि-भारत के बढ़ने को रोकना फ़िजूल है-ज़रा और तेजी से चले।

एक और बात की तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि मैंने आपसे Parliament में कहा था कि हमारी Parliament ने, लोकसभा ने, हमारी कांग्रेस ने समाजवाद की तरफ [...] देखा और उसको स्वीकार किया, उस तस्वीर की तरफ। लेकिन उसी के साथ हमने कहा कि हम मिलजुल के सहयोग से उधर जायेंगे और हम नहीं चाहते जहाँ तक बन पड़े किसी की हानि करें। वो ढंग नहीं है हमारा कि वो लाठी के जोर से या बंदूक के जोर से दब गए। लेकिन जायेंगे। अब मैं देखता हूँ कि हल्के-हल्के एक आंदोलन बढ़ रहा है विचारों का अख़बारों में, किताबों में, व्याख्यानों में, कभी-कभी, कि ये एक मूर्खता हो गई-समाजवाद का कह दिया था इन्होंने अपने उत्साह में। अब वहाँ से ज़रा हट जाना चाहिए। Private enterprises बहुत माकूल चीज़ है अपनी जगह पर, और मैं खुद चाहता हूँ कि व्यक्तिगत, हर व्यक्ति को आज़ादी हो, और मौका हो बढ़ने का। उसमें enterprise हो, उत्साह हो, उसको initiative मिले, उसको incentive मिले, मैंने माना। लेकिन ये बुनियादी तौर से जो कहा जाता है, और उसी के साथ देखें वे जितने हमारे public enterprises बड़े-बड़े हैं, आप जानते हैं चाहे एक प्रदेश के हों या सारे केन्द्रीय सरकार के हों, हर वक्त उसकी टीका-टिप्पणी होती है। देखिए, वो हुआ नुकसान, ये हुआ, वो क्यों हुआ? हर जगह होता है। गलतियों को पकड़ना चाहिए। लेकिन मुझे शक होता है ये जो बहुत आवाज़ें उठती हैं, इनके मन में एक और विचार है। और मन के विचार यह हैं कि हम public sector को बदनाम करें इसलिए कि हमें, private sector को, अधिक पैसा मिले, अधिक सहायता मिले, और उसकी आज़ादी को कोई रोकें नहीं। मैंने आपसे कहा मैं तो private sector भी चाहता हूँ और public sector भी। लेकिन दो-एक बातें उसके साथ भी चाहता हूँ। एक तो ये कि हम समाजवाद की तरफ जा रहे हैं और हम जाएँगे इधर, चाहे कोई भी रुकावट हो। और अगर हम समाजवाद की तरफ जा रहे हैं और जाएँगे तो उसके

माने ये हैं कि public sector बढ़ता जाएगा, और उसका बढ़ना भी जरूरी है। और कोई चीज उसके रास्ते में आयेगी तो झाड़ू से हटाई जाएगी। सीधी बात है ये। (तालियाँ)

दूसरी बात मैं ये कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैंने कहा कि [...] आपको, हरेक को, public sector के कारखानों को देखना और कोई गलती हो। ये जो सैकड़ों या हजारों private sector की चीजें हैं और वहाँ क्या-क्या जाँच करता है पर्दे के पीछे। कभी-कभी पर्दे के बाहर चीजें निकलती हैं। पर्दे के बाहर निकलती हैं तो आप देखते हैं कि क्या-क्या भ्रष्टाचार, भयानक बातें हुई हैं। वो तो पर्दानशीन होते हैं, पर्दानशीन की तरह से रहते हैं और काम करते हैं और न कोई Parliament की उधर [...] की है, और न किसी और की। कभी कोई बड़ी बात होती है, जब पर्दा हटता है, और आप देखते हैं क्या होता है। और कोई बड़े आदमी साहब पर मुकदमे चलते हैं फिर वो वर्षों चलते जाते हैं। बड़े से बड़े वकील उनके होते हैं। और एक application पर injunction High Court से लाते हैं और मुसीबत हो जाती है। [...] कोई कानून कहीं सख्ती से न पेश आए, हर तरह से उठता है। यह तो अजीब हालत है। तो ये बात ज़रा समझ लेनी है कि ये जो पर्दानशीन लोग पर्दे के पीछे से आजकल कार्रवाईयाँ क्या कर रहे हैं, क्योंकि पर्दे के बाहर की कार्रवाई तो दिखती है, पर्दे के पीछे की कम दिखती है। और पर्दे के पीछे से अक्सर अजीब-अजीब चालें होती हैं शतरंज की, जो ख़तरनाक होती हैं।

ख़ैर, मैंने आपसे इधर-उधर की बातें कहीं, लेकिन वो इधर-उधर की नहीं थीं। वो सब बातें थीं आजकल के भारत के हाल की, क्योंकि मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें, आप पकड़ें। मेरा आप जानते हैं [...] चन्द दिनों का या चन्द बरसों का मैं मेहमान हूँ। फिर मेरी जिंदगी काफी है और बहुत कुछ मेरी शक्ति जो थी, मैंने काम में लगाई। जितनी और है, वो भी लगेगी। फिर आपके हाथ में बागडोर आएगी, आजकल के नौजवानों के, औरों के, जब हमारे ज़माने के लोग चले जाएंगे। तो आप गलत बुनियाद न डालें। गलत बुनियाद अब डालें तो आपको भुगतना पड़ेगा। मुश्किल होगा आपके लिए, मुसीबत होगी मुल्क के लिए, सब के लिए। इसलिए सही-सही foundation डालना, सिद्धांतों को याद रखना और सही रास्ते पर चलना। इसलिए, बुनियादी तौर से हम चलें जैसे गांधीजी ने सिखाया। जो सिद्धांत उनके थे, उनको याद रखना है।

जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins]

Sisters and brothers,

It is nearly eleven years since Gandhiji died and during this time all sorts of statues of Gandhiji have been built all over India. But this is the first time that I am inaugurating one because I have always hesitated to do so. When I was invited to do so in other places I always excused myself because it hurts me a



little. I do not think there is anything wrong in putting up a statue of Gandhiji. Well, those who want to put up one are welcome to do so. But I used to ponder over the fact that we do not carry out the tasks that he set before us and we forget his message, and instead name roads and buildings and put up statues. This troubles me somewhat.

Well, let me tell you that I draw strength from my memory of Gandhiji, but I also feel a bit perturbed. The question that constantly haunts my mind is whether we remember the lessons he taught us or we have forgotten them. How far are we following the path shown by him? Or are we deviating from it? I am not talking of the small things, for times are changing and new problems arise at every turn to which new answers have to be found. There is no doubt about it that if we try to find a solution with our eyes closed and without understanding the questions before us, we cannot go very far. The world is constantly changing and so is our country day by day. There are difficult problems before us and we are in search of solutions. Sometimes we find them and sometimes we flounder. But the important thing is whether we remember the fundamental principles which Gandhiji put before the nation and the path which he followed to achieve freedom for the country, or have we forgotten them? This is the thought that often crosses my mind and troubles me.

When Gandhiji was alive and we had the opportunity of working with him and learning under him, I was sometimes guilty of rudeness to him for I would argue with him or tell him that I could not understand some of the things that he said. Since he was a great man, he would always say that one should do what one thinks proper because it is wrong to follow somebody's advice without understanding it, no matter how great that person is, or how much you respect or love that person. This is a sign of a great man. He used no compulsion or coercion. But he was unshakeable in his own faith and ultimately, after some arguments with him, the result used to be that we would agree with him. In fact, the common people followed him; the country followed him.

I am not talking of the small things. As you know, at that time we were opposing British rule and were struggling to put an end to imperialism in India. It was a time of struggle, of peaceful struggle but a time of struggle nevertheless. However, even in those days, Mahatma Gandhi's preoccupation was not so much with the struggle against British rule as the task of nation-building, of making the people of India strong, of organising them into a united force, because once the people were strong and united, British rule could not last long. He used to ask how we would benefit if British rule collapsed owing to its own weakness while we remained weak for some reason and quarrelled among ourselves. If we remained weak, someone else will come and rule over us.

So, the important thing was to strengthen ourselves, the people and the

country. Freedom from British rule and getting independence was no doubt important, but Gandhiji's idea of real preparation for freedom was to make the country strong. When he thought of the country, he had in view not some superficial political slogan or resolution or just a few people; it was the picture of India's millions which was constantly before him, especially the people who lived in the villages and the downtrodden masses, whether they lived in the cities or in the villages. His emphasis was always on the uplift and organisation of the masses and unity among the people and on creating inner strength in them to progress on their own. He knew that once this happened, not only will British rule fold up, it will give way to the emergence of a strong nation. So he laid a strong foundation of nation-building. He was unlike politicians who often behave as time-servers, looking for immediate benefits, and called a halt [to the movement] the moment he felt that the people were deviating even slightly from the right path. It required great courage to stop the tide but he would take the blame upon himself and do it.

Do you remember what happened thirty-six or thirty-seven years ago? How would you remember for many of you were perhaps not even born then or must have been very young? Well, I am talking about the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1921 and 1922. That was the first movement and it had electrified the people throughout the country. Innumerable people were thrown into jails. In a small village called Chauri Chaura, in the Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh, the police committed some atrocities and in retaliation the villagers attacked the local police station. It was a small police station with a few constables. Some of the villagers surrounded it and burnt it up and four to six constables also died in the fire.<sup>121</sup> This was a very bad thing. But what could we do if an isolated incident like this happened in one small village of India? After all, the millions of countrymen do not become high-class people overnight. Sometimes people are roused to anger and passion which leads to wrong acts. They were poor, simple, uneducated peasants who did something in a fit of anger in protest against atrocities which had been going on for a long time. Some of us were in the Lucknow jail at the time and there we heard about it and were perturbed. A few days later, we read in the papers a long statement by Gandhiji saying that the atmosphere in the country was breeding violence and hooliganism and that to control the situation he was calling off the satyagraha. Those of us who were in jails were amazed at this extraordinary turn of events at a time when the whole country was alive and vibrant with excitement and challenging the might of British imperialism after lying dormant for centuries. We felt it was unjust to stop the

121. See fn 117 in this section.



movement merely because a few peasants had done something wrong out of their ignorance. Well, there was nothing we could do.

But we had discussions with Gandhiji after we came out. His argument was that we had to follow the right means because we were not striving for something contrived. Anything contrived is only superficial and it disappears soon. He wanted to unite the country into an organised force which was not possible if we talked of non-violence and peaceful methods and at the same time let such incidents pass. We would have been neither here nor there. Either a country fights a violent battle with weapons or follows the path of peace. The two cannot go together. Therefore, he said, since we had pledged ourselves to a peaceful path and which had added to our strength, any violence on our part would ruin everything. We did not have the other weapons and if we let slip the weapon of non-violence, we would be nowhere. We understood a little of what he was trying to say and we had faith in him.

So Gandhiji had stopped a movement at its peak several times in the course of thirty years and stemmed the tide of a mighty torrent. Why? He was trying to teach the country something by that. His method was not one of threats against British rule. The method of threats might or might not have worked. His had his sight fixed upon the goal of making the people strong by uplifting them, because he knew that neither could British rule exist in India in the face of a strong, united nation nor could any outside power rule here. This is how Mahatma Gandhi trained the country during thirty years or more and inculcated discipline by organising crores of people and educating them in different ways. It was not through book-learning for he believed in teaching by practising what he preached. He moulded and educated the people over a period of twenty-five to thirty years and organised them into a strong force. For the first time in the history of the world a country had succeeded in achieving freedom by peaceful methods.

What more can I say? By remembering Gandhiji I get some strength and at the same time I feel somewhat troubled. The question that haunts my mind constantly is whether we remember his message or not. There have been great men earlier too, both in India and in other countries. But they had never applied their principles in the field of politics and they were not leading crores of common people.

So this was a great lesson Gandhiji taught the nation. Times change and new problems come up. But I feel that the broad, fundamental principles which he put before us can never change. So I wonder how far we remember his teachings. And I feel troubled when I see that we forget much of what he taught. We assemble once a year on his birth anniversary, spin the charkha and shout "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai", which is a good thing. But his real strength lay not in himself as an individual but the fact that he had become for a time a

symbol of India; he became her voice, an embodiment of her sorrows and frustrations and difficulties, and of India's long history. If we forget that voice or fail to hear it clearly, we shall be guilty of forgetting what India stands for. It is true that every era has its own problems and solutions, and new decisions have to be taken and new answers found with the changing times. We cannot afford to depend on others. If this is so then, well, you may put up a statue in his memory. But if you put up his statue and forget him, it is not proper. Then it is wrong. If his image has to be kept somewhere, it must be engraved in our hearts to remind us constantly of our duties and responsibilities in this strange world.

I have come to Calcutta especially in connection with the centenary celebrations of Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose.<sup>122</sup> There were some functions this morning. Acharya Jagadish Chandra was a great man in more ways than one. You know that he was a scientist of great eminence. But at the same time he understood India's culture, her inner voice, and sought to synthesise the two. So he was a man especially relevant for the present age, and we must remember him and learn from him. What does the present age stand for? It is the age of science. Europe and the United States have become powerful through science. You can see its innumerable applications in our own country. This microphone, or electricity, railways, aeroplanes and a thousand other things are products of science.

If you go back to one hundred or two hundred years ago, when science had not made much impact, the world was totally different and had existed like that, unchanged, for thousands of years. If you go back to the times of Asoka or even before that and compare the India of those days with the India of two thousand years later, you would not find any great difference. In the times of Asoka or of Akbar, the fastest mode of travel was on horse-back and the time taken to traverse a distance was the same. In short, there had been no appreciable change in the life of our country over thousands of years. Then came science on the scene. It harnessed different kinds of energies existing in nature. After all, science is not magic. For instance, steam is an ordinary, everyday thing, which was discovered by science and the result was railway engines and new industries and what not. Then came the discovery of electricity which is also a natural source of energy and is now being employed for a number of things. It was a matter of discovering the sources of energy already existing in nature. The countries which advanced scientifically became powerful and rich, like the European countries and the United States, whereas we remained backward.

122. See fn 118 in this section.



Now, as you know, science is also responsible for the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb and other weapons. In this new age, all kinds of new energies are coming into the hands of man. The great problem which the modern age faces is whether these forces will succeed in destroying mankind or make the world a better place to live in. Today man holds in his hand enormous power which can be used to alleviate the sufferings of mankind, or to destroy the world. This is absolutely beyond doubt. There have always been wars in the world. In earlier times, one country might be destroyed in a war, but the world as a whole never stood in danger of being destroyed. Now a situation has been reached where science has increased the power and wealth of nations enormously and one wrong step can destroy the whole world. So, what should be the right step?

Now, if you keep moral principles apart from science, then who will exercise control over science? Therefore, a certain moral restraint is essential. It is in this connection that I spoke about Jagadish Chandra Bose, who was a great scientist and at the same time deeply influenced by ancient Indian knowledge and philosophy. He wanted to build a bridge between the ancient wisdom of India and modern science. It is no doubt true that modern science will lead to great progress. But that progress has also led to two great wars and has brought the world to the brink of a third one. We need science for we cannot do without it. We cannot hope to solve our problems without science. We will have to take recourse to modern scientific inventions in agriculture and industry and a thousand other tasks in order to alleviate the sufferings of the people, to open new avenues of employment and reduce unemployment. So we need science. But at the same time, if we forget the age-old wisdom of India, science will become rudderless.

So, Jagadish Chandra Bose represented a synthesis of the two. The world was different then and the problems also were different, but the major problems before the world have always been the same and we too are facing them today. In this connection, once again the thought of Gandhiji comes to my mind. He did not lay great stress on science; I do. But he laid emphasis on those principles without which science can destroy all of us. So we must have a grasp of both things because we will otherwise become weak.

Look at the countries around you. I do not wish to criticise anyone. But it is quite clear that their condition is not good. Why? It is not due to any external pressures. They are weak because of internal weaknesses. So the danger to any country is not so much from outside as from internal weaknesses. And our India is a great country. Sometimes I am asked if we are not afraid. There is a pall of fear over the whole world and the strange thing is that the bigger the country, the more it is afraid. The great powers like the United States and some countries of Europe live in constant fear of one another. I am asked if we are

not afraid of an attack by Russia or China. I wonder what answer to give because they have developed an idea of frequently attacking each other and fighting. Sometimes our own educated people are so deeply influenced by the history and experience of Europe that they ask me if I do not fear a war. I am amazed because in my heart there is no fear of the Soviet Union or China or Pakistan or any other country. (Clapping) Why? For one thing, India has friendly relations with the Soviet Union and China. There is no reason for us to be incited by others into a war. We will continue to remain friends. I regret that our relations with Pakistan are not very friendly at the moment. I want them to be friendly, and there is bound to be friendship sooner or later because friendship between neighbours is essential.

But let us leave that problem aside. I believe that no country can fall due to external factors; it does when there is internal weakness. Thousands of years of India's history shows that whenever we have fallen, it is not because the foreign enemy was more powerful but because we were disunited and weak and fell an easy prey to the outsider. Once again Gandhiji's teaching comes to mind. He used to say, "Do not fear the external foe but look within and become strong and united and fearless." So the question before us is to strengthen the country from within because otherwise we will always remain weak. What does internal strength mean? Does it mean armed forces? All right, we do need to maintain some armed forces. And the armed forces should be properly equipped. For example, there should be good aircraft and ships, etc. But how can we compete with the arsenals and armies of the great powers? We do not have atom bombs. Ultimately our real strength lies in the people, their organisation, unity and prosperity.

So the great problem before us is how to achieve these goals? The five-year plans have been adopted with this in mind. It is not a question of merely putting up a few plants or industries here and there. The question is how to make the forty crores of Indians strong and prosperous, and how to remove their difficulties and provide them with full opportunities to progress. This is the picture which is always before us. Then we decided that this goal could be achieved only if our society is organised on socialist basis, that is, by adopting a socialist pattern of society. So the Congress and the Lok Sabha, Parliament, have passed a resolution to this effect<sup>123</sup> because that is essential to ensure greater equality and make the people better off.

There is a great deal of talk of socialism and those who call themselves socialists either lean towards violence or demand that socialism should be ushered in by law. They want to remove the disparity between the rich and the poor by passing a law. We need clear thinking in this matter. Socialism is fully

123. See fn 119 in this section.



acceptable to me and I want that there should be complete socialism in India. But I am equally aware that these things cannot be done either by passing laws or by shouting slogans. The people of the country have to achieve socialism one day by raising themselves up; socialism cannot be brought down to each one of them. In my opinion, there can be no socialism in a poor country. This is poverty all around in the country today. Are we going to distribute poverty among the people? Therefore, it is essential to increase our capacity to produce wealth. By wealth I do not mean gold and silver which are tools of trade. Anything that is produced from land and industries and from people's skills and labour is wealth. Only then can we usher in socialism.

And for socialism to survive it is essential that the people behave responsibly. Nowadays there is requirement of discipline in every country, every society, because without it there can be no organisation and the society will fall apart. Any country or society exists because of discipline. Now, discipline is of two kinds: one which is imposed from above at the point of a gun or with a lathi, a discipline imposed by government, and the second is that which is inborn in a society or an individual. So no country can do without discipline. Mahatma Gandhi had taught us self-discipline and it is obvious that that is extremely important in an independent country. When the country was under British rule, there was enforced discipline. Now, in a socialist society, there is maximum freedom available to its members. But they are also required to exercise utmost self-discipline. Socialism cannot be brought about by shouting slogans or creating chaos. It requires great discipline. The alternative is enforced discipline. Take the communist countries, for instance. I am not criticising them. I would only like to say that there is enforced discipline there and it is imposed from above. They do good work and have progressed a great deal but the discipline is not voluntary. At least I would like self-discipline in our country and society and no imposition of discipline by the government.

I am pointing this out to you because I find all kinds of fissiparous tendencies at work in India which can disrupt the society and weaken us. There are differences of opinion and views. There should be differences of opinion and views, but one thing that must always be borne in mind is the importance of unity in the country. Provincialism, linguistic chauvinism, communalism, casteism, etc., tear the country apart. There have been great men in India during the past thousands of years, and there have also been very brave men. But one weakness among us has always been that of disunity and lack of mutual harmony and cooperation. So we have always remained weak. There is no dearth of courage or valour in India. So the question is whether we have learnt a lesson from history or not. If we fail to understand the importance of unity and continue to pull in different directions, we will become weak and other problems will crop

up. So I repeat once again that we should eradicate casteism and communalism completely from the country. Casteism has weakened us greatly in the past. How can casteism be allowed to exist if we wish to bring about socialism and democracy in India? Casteism is absolutely wrong and irrelevant in this age.

Well, let us leave this matter aside for a moment. But we want to bring about socialism in India and do so peacefully. You may ask, "Why peacefully?" The answer is that in the modern times, if anyone takes a step in the wrong direction, towards violence, anywhere in the world, but particularly in India, that spark of violence can ignite a flame that may engulf the whole country. All our work will come to a standstill. We have taken up big projects like the five-year plans and what not. So violence will be particularly harmful in our country. Agitations and movements are all very well. But the moment there is a leaning towards violence, it will ignite a spark which will damage the country and its freedom.

Those of you who are young may not remember what happened during British rule and what did not. You are living in changed times. Perhaps you may think that now that we have got freedom, we need not worry anymore. But we cannot afford to be complacent. When the people of a country get complacent, that country becomes weak. But there should be no complacency because that will weaken us. So you must bear it in mind that we have to make progress. But it cannot be done by magic or by shouting slogans or by some law. What we need is hard work on land and in factories in order to increase production as it is happening in China. In China, a tremendous amount of work is being done. Leave aside the question of socialism and other things; the main thing is that they are working extremely hard. I don't know how many holidays we have in a year in India. In China, they have even given up their weekly holiday. I think now they get one day off every ten days. I do not want our people to work so hard. But it is obvious that we cannot bring about socialism or any other ism without hard work.

There are often strikes and lockouts in our factories. I understand that it is a very powerful weapon in the hands of our workers and I do not wish them to give it up. I have had a long association with workers' organisations. Because of this weapon of strikes and hartals, these organisations became powerful. But at the same time, I will also say that resort to strikes on every issue neither makes a trade union strong nor does it yield results. At a time like this, when every hour of labour is precious, anyone who puts an obstacle in the way of our progress, whether it is the mill owner or the worker, causes untold harm. Recently there was a port strike.<sup>124</sup> As a result, the country suffered a loss of—

124. See fn 120 in this section.



I do not remember the exact figure—about thirty to forty crores of rupees. The much needed exports were affected. When we are competing in international trade, if there are obstacles in the country we are bound to lose markets, for the competition is tough. Therefore, every one of us must think twice before using the weapon in their hand as to what our duty is. If we use it to fight among ourselves, it will cause harm to the country as well as the people.

Then, take satyagraha. Satyagraha is a great concept. But now satyagraha is undertaken for every little thing and processions are taken out at the slightest pretext. That is not real satyagraha. I am prepared to accept that sometimes the demands may be justified, but whether they are justified or not, a wrong action at a time like this which is likely to cause harm to India is most improper. Hardly ten years have gone by since Independence and I think that we have made great progress in this short period and laid a strong foundation. But if in the years ahead we do not work hard, it will cause great harm. Even otherwise, it requires a great deal of hard work for a poor country like ours to progress and once the progress starts, it will continue on its own momentum.

Now the Second Five Year Plan is going on. After three years, the Third Plan will start and I hope it will put us firmly on the path of progress. But these are not things which can be merely put down on paper. It requires organisation and hard work on the part of the people. There is often a debate over this and some people, both in India and abroad, advise us to cut our coat according to our cloth and what not. They feel that we have been getting into difficulties because we are too ambitious. They advise us to keep the Third Plan small. It is true that we have had to face some difficulties and we are grateful for the aid that we have got from other countries. But it is also true that India can advance only by the hard work of the people and not by going around with a begging bowl. Those who advise us to keep the Third Plan small and take time to stabilise ourselves simply do not understand what planning is all about. They do not understand the fundamental principles of planning. It is not a question of putting up a few hundred or a few thousand factories here and there. Planning is something different. Moreover, our population is increasing so rapidly that every year fifty, sixty, seventy lakh new people are added on, to be fed, clothed and housed. Production has to keep pace with the growing population and their needs.

Well, I am prepared to trim the Plan. But who is to look after the growing population of India? Either we take that into account or all progress will come to a standstill for the next ten to fifteen years. No, it is absurd. We cannot do this. We cannot afford to give up the Third Plan. It is not a matter of my personal opinion. It is a question of reality. It is a compulsion of events. The situation in the country is like that of a man on a bicycle. The moment you stop pedalling, you will either fall down or have to get off. When you are on it you

will have to keep going. So we cannot stop this process of planning. Many of our own people, whether they are big mill owners or professors, are highly capable people, but they have failed to understand the meaning of planning and advise us to slow down. Living in the narrow confines of their houses, they fail to see the complete picture of India, the needs of the people and what their thinking is. The river of India's progress cannot stop. You should keep this in mind and do something instead of sitting in your offices and maintaining dossiers which have no connection to reality. There are still more than two years for the Third Plan to start. It should be such that we move faster for it is absurd to think of stopping India's progress.

I want to draw your attention to one thing more. I told you that Parliament and the Congress have decided to adopt a socialistic pattern of society as our goal. At the same time, we have also said that we will move in that direction peacefully and in cooperation with others because we do not wish to cause harm to anyone, as far as possible. Our method is not of violence or the might of the gun and the lathi. Now, I see that gradually there is a harping on one theme in newspapers and books and the lectures that are delivered that we have been foolish in our enthusiasm in adopting socialism as our goal and that we should now move away from that position and towards private enterprise. Private enterprise is a very good thing in itself and I myself want that private entrepreneurs should have full freedom to develop. They must have initiative and incentives should be given to them. I agree. But I have a feeling that the constant criticisms of our public enterprises, whether they are in the States or under the Centre, that they run at a loss, and the demand for a careful examination into their working, etc., is, I suspect, largely from people who want the private sector to flourish. So they malign the public sector. As I said, I want both the public and the private sectors to flourish. But I want a couple of things more. For one thing, we are moving towards socialism and we shall continue to do so in spite of all obstacles. That in effect means the expansion of the public sector. It is essential that it should expand. If any obstacle comes in its way, it will be ruthlessly brushed off. This is quite clear.

Secondly, I would like to say that you are welcome to visit and see the public sector undertakings and point out their mistakes and shortcomings. Thousands of malpractices go on behind the scenes in the private sector which come to light sometimes when there is an investigation. These things are kept under curtains because there is no Parliament or any other supervising body to keep a check on such things. It is only when some big scandal erupts that the curtain is removed and then you come to know what had been going on. Big names are involved and court cases against them drag on for years. They engage famous lawyers and an injunction on an application from the High Court can keep the matter pending.



They make efforts to see that the law is not applied harshly. This is a strange situation, and we must try to understand the kind of things that go on behind the scenes because they seldom come to light. Strange moves of chess are played from behind the scenes, which is a dangerous thing.

So, anyhow, I have talked about various things. But everything that I said pertains to the situation that exists in India today. I want you to understand these things. As you know, I may live for a few years more at the most. I have had a long life and I have devoted my entire strength to the service of the nation and will continue to do so till my last breath. Then the reins will pass into your hands, the hands of our youth, when the older generation passes on. So, you must not build a wrong foundation, for you will have to pay a heavy price for it. It will create difficulties for all of you and for the country. Therefore, it is essential to lay the right foundation, to remember the principles, and to follow the right path. So, basically we should follow the path shown to us by Gandhiji and remember his principles.

Jai Hind.

[Translation ends]

## 8. Delhi University Convocation Address<sup>125</sup>

Mr Chancellor,<sup>126</sup> Mr Vice Chancellor<sup>127</sup> and Graduates,<sup>128</sup>

When I was asked to speak at this convocation today, the Vice Chancellor insisted that I should produce something in writing. I tried to resist that because if one writes, one is expected to be very profound. It is far easier to speak extempore and give some kind of semblance of profundity. But he has gone on insisting, and ultimately I surrendered. And so, Sir, with your permission, I shall read out something that I have inscribed.

It is always a pleasure to meet and address the new generation for in their minds and eyes, there is a glimpse of the future. For the new graduates an important phase of their life has ended and they step out into this complicated world of ours to play their part and to be actors in the great drama that is India today. And yet, I find some difficulty in saying anything which will really be in tune with their thinking. Many long years separate us and it was forty-eight

125. 6 December 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

126. S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President.

127. Dr V.K.R.V. Rao.

128. 2,527 students including 763 girls received degrees and 79 students received diplomas.

years ago, when I took my Degree at Cambridge in England.<sup>129</sup> These years have been full of change in the world and in India. People of my generation have witnessed vast changes and two world wars. They have also passed through a historic and exhilarating period in India's history, and been largely conditioned by their experiences during these years. We belong essentially to the Gandhi age in India, and it was the inestimable privilege of many of us to be closely associated with that great man, who fashioned us, as he did the millions of India. We saw India under foreign rule, we struggled against this and we triumphed under his magnificent leadership, and saw the dawn of freedom with all its glory and its aches and pains.

What does all this mean to you, young men and young women of a new generation? Is it just a story, one or the other of the numerous traditions that has built up India through the ages? Undoubtedly, Gandhiji is respected and revered by you and you think of him as one of the very few mighty men who have illumined our land and our people from time to time. But you have not had the emotional experience which my generation went through nor did you participate in that great struggle which led, through the unique methods which Gandhiji evolved, to India's freedom. You are children of free India, and take that freedom perhaps for granted. That itself divides these generations and it is not easy for me to put myself in tune with your thinking, as it must be difficult for you to put yourself in my place. Indeed, that is the fate of each successive generation and we must not be surprised at it or regret it. For if there was no change, there would be no progress and society would become static. The gap is wider when some major happenings take place which affect the life of a generation and of society as a whole. I have referred to our struggle for freedom and its powerful effect on the men and women of our generation. Apart from this, we have seen mighty changes in the world. There have been great world wars, great revolutions, and conflicts between rival political, economic, and social ideologies.

We have seen also something that is even more important—the tremendous advance made by science and technology in recent years; and that perhaps is the greatest revolution of all. I was a student of science at Cambridge<sup>130</sup> and I used to visit regularly the great science laboratories of that famous centre of learning. In those laboratories and in others, in Göttingen in Germany, in Paris, in Rome, in the United States of America, in the Soviet Union, and in many other places, a feverish search took place to understand the nature of the physical

129. Nehru had been at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1907-1910.

130. Nehru read Natural Sciences at Cambridge. It included Chemistry, Geology, Physics and Botany.



world. Something new had happened and this had opened out fresh and exciting vistas for the scientists. Science marches step by step, but Einstein had given it a new turn. When I studied Physics and Chemistry at Cambridge University, we had rather fixed ideas about nature and the physical world. Matter was supposed to be unchangeable in mass and capable of being moved by forces. The atom was the final indivisible piece of matter, and the picture of nature we had was of the world built with solid indestructible materials. Then came the development of electrical theory, in which a new type of force came in. Later came radioactivity and the atom ceased to be considered an indivisible unit of matter, but were supposed to be composed of protons, neutrons and electrons. Another step forward came with the transmutation of elements, the dream of the old alchemist, and that has led ultimately to the nuclear technology of today and the atom bomb.

Atomic physics has now changed completely the old conception of the laws of nature. Communications were powerfully affected by these advances in science and technology. We live today in the jet age, and even that is likely to be replaced before long by the use of atomic power. Space travel has already become a possibility to be considered. The advance in technology led first to the old crafts becoming more intricate; with the use of electricity a new type of change came. More and more, this new technology interfered with the relationship between nature and man. Step by step man penetrated into new realms. These tremendous changes in our environment, created by technological advance, changed our way of life and even affected our thinking.

In the past ages also changes took place, but the pace was relatively slow and man adjusted himself to new conditions. But in recent years, the pace of change has been amazingly swift and it has been difficult for human beings to adjust themselves to this ever-changing situation. They may make a superficial and external adjustment but the old rhythm of life has gone and there is lack of harmony which is reflected in our political struggles and economic conflicts.

The new situation that has arisen because of this pace of change has no analogy in history. Man has conquered the many ills he suffered from. He need no longer be a victim of poverty or hunger or disease if he takes advantage of modern science and technology. But in going far towards the conquest of the external world, he has come into conflict with himself. In adding to his knowledge of externals, he has lost grip of what he himself was. New problems and new questions arise, and we are reminded of the old injunction "Know thyself".

This process of change, through science and technology, is not complete all over the world, but it spreads everywhere. And as it spreads, the old gods or the old supreme values cease to have the same validity as before. Physics and

mathematics lead to new conceptions, which are hard to grasp, where matter disappears and all is energy. Almost one might say that the solid world dissolves into some mathematical concept or illusion, something perhaps approaching the concept of maya. It is not surprising that this should result in an uprooting of the present generation from its old standards and values and the search for something new. How can we come to terms with this new situation? While discarding the old mysteries we live at the edge of a new kind of mystery. The reaction of the people to this varies. A few are driven to deeper thought and inquiry and a search for ultimate values but most others, finding it too difficult to make any sense out of this confusion, relapse into cynicism and negative attitude, rejecting the old pattern and standards and evolving no new ones. This process has affected the western world much more than India, as the West has advanced much more in technology and its practical applications. But in India also, the beginnings of this are visible. Whether this is the result of the highly mechanised and industrial civilisation or merely of the rapidity of the change, I do not know. We labour to bring about a welfare state in India. In countries where such a state has been established, in so far as the material things of life are concerned, we see patterns of behaviour which shock the other generations. There is growing juvenile delinquency and a rejection of all set patterns and even of the basic national cultures. While on the one side we see tremendous advance, on the other we notice a disintegration of society because the cement of moral and ethical standards and patterns of behaviour gradually melts away.

Whether we like it or not, this industrial and machinised civilisation must necessarily come to India. That is the only way to get rid of the curse of poverty and to ensure higher standards of living. Even spiritual progress demands some measure of material well-being. In any event, we cannot stop or reverse the current of change which science and technology have brought about in great parts of the world. The question for us to consider is whether we can retain, in this process, some of the basic values to which humanity has attached great importance in the past. And whether the spiritual element in life, using the word in its wider sense, can be retained or augmented or will it fade away. Without that spiritual element, probably the disintegration of society will proceed in spite of all material advances.

The question is not whether we believe in God or gods but whether we believe in any ultimate values. The conception of God has differed in different stages of man's growth. But whatever it has been, it has represented the then conception of the ultimate value or reality. As man has grown, so has that conception changed and acquired new depths. But whatever that conception might be, it represents the ultimate or absolute, in that stage of society. A personal god gives place to an impersonal one and that gives place to something



else, which is deeper and which the normal mind cannot grasp. The Buddha, when asked, refused to define it because it was beyond the limits of language and one's powers of comprehension. It could only be realised in other ways. Some people call it, truth, and love and beauty, which to them represent the ultimate values. We have to get out of this three-dimensional world in order to realise what lies beyond. What ultimate values do we possess today? Without them we become superficial and trivial. And it is not through triviality that men and nations grow. It may be that out of this tremendous period of transition, a new equilibrium will be established and our highly mechanised society will throw up new standards and values, and a new base of civilisation and new conception of ultimate reality.

I have briefly discussed a question which is basic to our age, although perhaps in India it may not be considered as urgent as in some other countries. But whatever we may be, the impact of the modern world and the new technical civilisation of atomic energy and electronic machines, the possibilities of vast change and progress, as well as possibly of the destruction of humanity, confront us and create doubt and uncertainty about the future. I imagine that this is particularly so among the young who will have to face this new world that is growing up around us.

In this world, we see conflicts between great nations and ideologies, between capitalism, socialism and communism. And yet both the highly developed capitalist society of the United States of America and the new type of civilisation that is being built up in the Soviet Union are essentially based on the same factors—a high degree of industrialisation and machanisation. Their methods may differ, but even there the difference is not as great as is imagined. They are both devotees of the big machine. There is no such thing as a capitalistic Physics or a communist Chemistry, or a capitalist atomic bomb and a communist hydrogen bomb. It is the same science and technology which leads to these developments whether in the United States or in the Soviet Union. There are differences, of course, in many ways between the two countries. But the essential difference in the world today is between these highly industrialised communities and those that are not yet industrialised.

It is true that the type of society that is being built up in the Soviet Union is in many ways different from the older form of society which prevails in Western Europe and America. Probably, however, the similarities between the two are much greater than dissimilarities and they tend to come nearer to each other. Each society creates its own system of institutions and culture. Normally it would be a good thing for these various types of institutions and cultures to exist at the same time and to influence each other. The unfortunate fact today is that they are continuously in conflict and this prevents that process of gradual

assimilation which might otherwise take place. Even from the narrowest reasons of self-preservation and avoidance of this disastrous war, it has become necessary to have coexistence between different nations and ideologies. From the larger point of view of assimilation, that is even more necessary.

India, for all her chequered history, has adhered to the principle of tolerance and coexistence. Our foreign policy today is not some innovation since Independence, but is deeply rooted in our traditions and history. Indeed, without coexistence, India would itself disintegrate. We talk of things material and spiritual. And yet it is a little difficult to draw a line between them. Every great wave of human thought which has affected millions of human beings has something spiritual in it. The great revolutions, whether in the United States or France or Russia or China, would not have succeeded without a spiritual element which appealed to the deeper instincts of human beings. Social justice has always exercised an appeal to sensitive persons. The basic attraction of Marxism for millions of people was not, I think, its attempt at scientific theory but its passion for social justice. To that extent, therefore, it supplied a spiritual need. It appealed to many intellectuals for other reasons also. Unfortunately, to my thinking, it got tied up in its practice too much with the ways of violence and the suppression of the individual, even though this was supposed to be done for the common good.

I believe that the individual must have the freedom to grow, and I believe also that wrong means employed must necessarily produce wrong results. What in a particular context is wrong or right may be difficult to say, because life is not very logical and is much too complicated. But deliberately discarding means for ends can neither be right nor ultimately good for the individual or the group. We come back, therefore, to the question of standards and values, and unless we have these, all the material good that we may achieve may lead to conflicts of the soul and disintegration of the social group. It is true that many individuals have ideals and some of them have a social conscience. And these have played a considerable role in social progress. But it is also true that a society does not change itself substantially by the voluntary renunciation of its position by a privileged class. That privileged class is led to believe, as a group, that it is inherently right for it to have that position. It is only through pressures from the underprivileged that major reforms have been achieved. It is also true, I think, that the general character of social, political and intellectual life in a social group is determined by the productive resources of that group.

In India today, broadly speaking, our methods of production are old-fashioned and backward. This leads not only to economic backwardness, but also is a drag on our social and intellectual life. To say that it is necessary to adhere to the old methods, in order to maintain our own standards and values,



means that we must remain poor and backward, and then we can maintain those values. It is true that as we adopt higher techniques for productive and creative activities, these will affect our thinking and our lives. But it does not necessarily follow that this must lead to our discarding the spiritual and higher cultural values of life. We must not combine spirituality and culture with privilege on the one hand and poverty on the other. We must separate the basic values from the temporary and changing social or economic set-up in which we live. Indeed, it has become inevitable for us to fit in with the modern world of science and technology, and it will be dangerous for us to imagine that we can live apart from it. It will be equally dangerous for us to think that we should accept technology without those basic values which are of the essence of civilised man.

Religion and metaphysics have often been exploited for the protection of the privileged and an existing order. So also, all the economic theories are used to rationalise the dominant interest. We have, therefore, to think anew and our national plan must consider the long-term interests of the nation and the people. It should not be based merely on some calculation of immediate profit or in terms of cost. Education and health don't bring immediate profits and yet, from a national point of view, they are of the highest importance. We have accepted in India, as our objective, a socialistic pattern of society. That means not only an economic organisation, but something deeper than that which involves a way of thinking and living. The acquisitive society whose chief aim is profit making not only brings petty conflicts in its train, resulting sometimes in major conflicts, but is also opposed to the basic urge of modern man for social justice. In the world today, where we sit on each other's thresholds and constantly rub shoulders with each other, there can be no harmony except in cooperation.

If we are to work for socialism, we have to remember that there cannot be any real socialism in a backward and underdeveloped country. Socialism and communism were the children of the Industrial Revolution, which led to greater material resources. Socialism, therefore, is based on the growth of material resources as well as social justice and a cooperative method of living and working. That holds true in the national sense; internationally the world must necessarily go in that direction, unless major conflicts destroy it. There may be many ways to that goal, and it may be that the final picture itself may change. We should not try to impose our views or our ideas on others, because each country has to find its own path to progress.

There is such a thing as a national culture, with its deep roots in the nation's soil and in its history. To uproot a nation is to destroy the soul of that nation which made it a living entity through the ages. This is particularly true for a

country like India, whose roots go deep down and whose thoughts have enriched her and given her strength to overcome disaster, and survive even the danger that success brings. We inherit this whole past of India with its glory and its failures. We are part of it. We cannot and must not deny it, but can we live in that past? We have to live in the present and mould the future. That duty and high task are especially cast on the young men and women of today. They will have great burdens to carry and great difficulties to face. But they will also have the chance of high adventure and great living. Great living comes by attachment to great causes. They will have to fight the many evils that beset us and narrow us and make us unworthy of that adventure—the evils of religious conflict and bigotry, of provincialism, linguism, and casteism. There is no hope for us, if we allow these disruptive tendencies to influence our national life.

Above all, we shall have to work hard. For it is only through selfless work that anything worthwhile is achieved. And we shall have to work without fear and hatred and not succumb to a narrow nationalism, which is out of place in the world of today, and out of keeping with our high ideals. That was the lesson of Gandhiji. And it was by acting up to this, in some measure, that we achieved our freedom. It is by hard work and freedom from fear and hatred that we shall reach the next great goal in our nation's pilgrimage forward. There is, I believe, nothing so bad as fear and hatred. They belittle a man and a nation and make them small and petty-minded. India wants brave sons and daughters who will remember always their great heritage and, keeping firm to their principles, will always stretch out their hands in friendship to others.

Here we stand in Delhi city, the symbol of old India, and the new. It is not the narrow lanes and houses of Old Delhi or the wide spacious and rather pretentious buildings of New Delhi that count, but the spirit of this ancient city. For Delhi has been an epitome of India's history with its succession of glory and disaster, and with its great capacity to absorb many cultures and yet remain herself. It is a gem with many facets, some bright and some darkened by age, presenting the course of India's life and thought through the ages. Even the stones here whisper to our ears, of the ages of long ago and the air we breathe is full of the dust and fragrance of the past as also of the fresh and piercing winds of the present. We face the good and the bad of India in Delhi city, which has been the grave of many empires, and the nursery of a republic.

What a tremendous story is hers! The tradition of millennia of our history surrounds us at every step and the procession of innumerable generations passes by before our eyes. My own generation will join that procession and it will be then for you, young men and women, to be the standard bearers of all the good that we have lived for and that we seek. May it be given to you to face life's



problems with clear eyes, without fear and ill will?

Our ancient literature is full of magnificent thoughts which uplift us and which are as true today as they were thousands of years ago. It is your privilege to have as Chancellor a man of deep wisdom, and humanity, versed in the old law and the new. And you will learn much from him of this ancient but ever new wisdom. I am no scholar, but I have found much solace in times of troubles and difficulty from the wisdom of our own sages, as well from the great men of other countries. Many years ago, I read some lines in an old Greek play by Euripedes,<sup>131</sup> and they have stuck in my memory. I shall repeat them.

“What else is wisdom? What of man’s endeavour  
Or God’s high grace, so lovely and so great?  
To stand from fear set free, to breathe and wait;  
To hold a hand uplifted over Hate;  
And shall not Loveliness be loved for ever?”<sup>132</sup>

## 9. Future of Asian Democracy<sup>133</sup>

Mr President,<sup>134</sup> Your Excellencies,<sup>135</sup> Ladies and Gentlemen,  
I have gladly come here at your invitation, Sir, because the subject interests me, and I am sure that any serious discussion of it will be helpful, if not in solving any major problem, in opening out avenues of thought for us to consider. At the same time, I myself feel considerable difficulty in saying anything that may be considered of significance.

We have met here to talk about democracy at a rather peculiar time, which, from one point of view, may be considered suitable for it because many people are talking about this subject, and from another, unsuitable because of this very state of a certain doubt in the minds of people about democracy, and therefore

131. (C.484-406 B.C); Greek playwright; author of several plays including *Trojan Women*, *Electra* and *The Bacchae*.

132. From Euripides, *The Bacchae*, tr. Gilbert Murray, Harvard Classics, Vol. VIII, Part 8 (New York: P.F. Collier & Sons, 1911).

133. Speech inaugurating a two-day Symposium on Problems and Prospects of Democracy in Asian Countries, organised by the Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies in the Central Hall of Parliament House, New Delhi, 12 December 1958. JN Papers, NMML.

134. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, presided.

135. Ambassadors of the USA, Poland, Iraq and the UAR and the High Commissioner of Pakistan.

a certain lack of mental equilibrium in the minds of many people in regard to this subject.

The very first thing that strikes one is: when we talk of democracy, what exactly do we mean by it? We are apt, especially people like me, politicians and the like, to use big words, to treat them almost as slogans and not to think too much about the content of the word. Everybody does that, and they become standards and flags to be waved.

What exactly is democracy? Well, the word is an old one and it has something to do with the people at large, the masses at large and the demos. It means presumably the active association of the people in the political government of the country.

It took shape more with developments in England, in the United States, in the American Revolution and then in the French Revolution. Yet, it is well to remember that both in England and the United States, democracy, if by that is meant franchise, was strictly limited to a relatively few persons or a few classes, upper classes, and the others had no share in it. It is only very gradually that the others also had an increasing measure in that limited form of democracy, called voting for the government of the day. It was only, I believe, after the First World War and the Twenties that even in England adult franchise was extended to everybody, even if you take adult franchise to be the fulfilment of political democracy. It is hardly the fulfilment of democracy as a whole, although taken with other things it does bring the people into the picture.

Then there was the French Revolution with its slogans of liberty, equality and fraternity. Very good slogans, and yet, even the French Revolution was, if I may use the expression, slightly out of date. What I mean is that while the French Revolution was taking place, another and a major revolution was taking place in Western Europe, that is, the Industrial Revolution. The French Revolution did not think of this mighty revolution that was taking place all around it. After the French Revolution, for quite a considerable time, in the 19th Century, the French Revolution became a symbol of freedom, as to some extent, of course, it was. And there were, in 1848, the year of revolutions, and subsequently, revolutions in various parts of Europe to get rid of feudal and autocratic regimes. Meanwhile, there was this other revolution slowly taking place, the Industrial Revolution, which was bigger than any political revolution, in so far as it changed the lives of people.

And, gradually, another aspect of democracy, if you like, developed, which was more than political. People began thinking on economic terms, social terms and all that, everywhere, in varying degrees and in various forms. And the concept—I am not using the word in any technical or party sense—of social democracy came to influence people's mind more and more. The political aspect



of democracy, good in itself, was not adequate. The vote was useful in a sense to bring pressure on the government of the day or to change the government of the day. But the vote was only useful if it could be, firstly, freely used and not be under pressure, and, secondly, if it could be wisely used. Both were difficult. It was difficult to avoid pressures, like the pressure, let us say, of a landlord on his tenant; the tenant may have a vote, but the landlord will make it clear to him which way he must vote, otherwise he will get into trouble. Well, that would not be a free vote.

However, those gradual transitions took place, and one might say that the free vote, or the relatively free vote, came into being. Even that was not adequate, because economic problems pressed on people, and though they found they could be relieved—and they were relieved, in fact—by political methods, through Parliaments etc., sometimes, the process was slow. Other forms of exercising pressure for social and economic reform came. There were trade unions organised, and no doubt they helped in bettering the conditions of the working class; or the farmers could organise themselves, and they could exercise some pressure in that way.

My point is that the pure ideal of political democracy, important as it was, was by itself inadequate. It did not solve the problems, except sometimes indirectly, and after a considerable delay. And every country, even including, of course, those that had forms of political democracy subsisting in them, gradually moved, whatever the parties in power, towards some measure of social democracy. There were some more advanced parties laying greater stress on it than others; even the conservative parties in those countries had to accept that.

And today, in the wide world, whatever the form of government, it is admitted that this kind of social equality is an ideal to be aimed at, not absolute equality, but equality of opportunity. That is an essential part of democracy. Equality of voting was the first step, but that was not quite enough. That does not give equality of opportunity. So, movements in every country, however you might describe them, whatever they might be, actually aim at that; whether it is a country under a socialist or communist regime or a capitalist regime or a social democratic regime, in some form or the other, the ideal of social progress and equality is accepted. Methods differ, the idea of the state may differ, but this ideal is common. In fact, I should say that the dominating urge today in various forms is that of creating a measure of social equality. Of course, behind that lies economic problems and where the economic problems press on people greatly, they sometimes seek violent remedies.

At the present moment, democracy is—I won't say in bad repute—but certainly not in a very happy state. This is not a question of Asia or Africa. Outside Asia and Africa, the same trend is visible; it may be in different ways.

Why is that so? One naturally wonders: Is there something basically wrong about it in so far as it does not meet the needs or demands of the situation? It is not much good to talk of democracy or rather make use of the word "democracy" or to talk about some particular form of government as the best form, unalterable and something that cannot be criticised. We have to seek the basis of it. The basis, after all, is the development of the human being, of the individual as an individual, in groups and so on. Some people think that the individual should be stressed more and thereby the group will prosper; some think that the group must prosper and incidentally, necessarily, the individual will prosper with the group. Anyhow, whatever government one wants, it is the betterment of the human being that is involved, and in that betterment, the very first and obvious thing is material betterment—freedom from economic pressures, hunger, poverty and the like—because you cannot expect a person really to march ahead unless these economic pressures are removed.

Having done that, perhaps in regard to other aspects of improvement, opinions may not be exactly the same, or where they are almost the same, methods may be quite different. I presume nobody would deny, whatever his methods or faith may be, that we want the individual to grow in freedom in creativeness in various aspects apart from the material—mental, if you like, spiritual and the like—and to be creative, productive. Then, again, differences would arise as to what is the best way to reach them. Speaking for myself, in the ultimate analysis, I do not see any real progress unless the individual progresses and I do not see any individual progress unless a large measure of freedom for him is given to progress. Nobody can be given perfect freedom in an organised, complicated society. It has to be restricted to some extent, but the restriction may be a very limited one or an all-embracing one. It is a question of degree again, but I think the ideal must be the development of the individual and the group, with a measure of freedom to develop.

One can do many things without freedom. It is rather difficult to argue because we are ourselves conditioned by our own upbringing and training. But, I cannot think of the real growth of the individual without freedom for him to grow creatively.

Now, on the one side, people say we have freedom: a man can do what he likes—even wrongs within limits. But, Anatole France, I think, said somewhere something to the effect that law treats everyone alike. If a hungry person steals a loaf of bread he will be punished and sent to prison; if a millionaire steals a loaf of bread he will also be punished. No doubt, he would be punished. But, normally, a millionaire is not used to stealing a loaf of bread though he might be used to stealing in a big way—not a loaf of bread.

Political freedom under economic pressure is a very limited freedom; and,



therefore, one has to remove those economic pressures and all kinds of other pressures for the person to grow. How can creativeness come out of hunger and poverty, even though the man has got a vote? It does not normally come. Therefore, some people begin to lay stress on economic betterment even at the cost of political freedom. There again difficulties arise—obvious difficulties—because depriving a person of something very essentially necessary to his growth is bound to prevent that growth some time or other. He may come up to a certain dead level and do a job well. But if you want a higher type of human being to develop and to have the opportunities for development, that something is necessary, freedom—both political and economic.

That may be all right. But, then, we see that in spite of getting all these freedoms, new ills sprout up in society. It is not that we solve all problems of society. We can see how a person, who has that freedom, or a group, tends to go wrong. Why? I do not know. I have no answer to that question unless the mere fact of having the normal wants satisfied leaves a vacuum in your life which pushes one into wrong acts and evil courses just for the excitement of it. I do not know why? So, all these problems are difficulties which arise and which cannot be solved by some phrases.

Then, we have to go rather deeper down into the root of things which obviously involve some deeper principles or spiritual needs of the human being. If you create a vacuum something not good may fill that vacuum.

In the world today it appears that people in many countries, by whatever form of government they may be governed, and including the countries highly advanced in the democratic method, large numbers of people have lost anchorage, as you might say. And, there is a certain vacuum in their thinking or they float about rather aimlessly in search of something. What is that something that is not satisfied by our throwing a word or phrase at them? I am talking of people who are materially well off. Those who are not materially well off, of course, have an urge in them and that is for physical betterment of their standards plus something else. But those who are materially well off are in doubt and uncertainty. I am not for the moment talking about the tremendous oppressive fear which modern arms and possibility of wars has brought about. That is important too in creating this doubt and uncertainty about the future. What is good, many people may ask, about our taking all this trouble for this or that when one day some horrible catastrophe overwhelms us? So, let us have a good time and not bother about the future for the present. It is an extraordinary thing. This particular thing is perhaps not applicable to India so much. But in other countries, highly advanced countries, the youth of the country tend to become less and less interested in politics. Whether it is England or America or France or any of those highly advanced countries—I do not know enough about the communist

countries to be able to express an opinion—but it is a fact that they tend to become less politically interested. It is not that they become philosophers. Somehow that dynamic urge for the future is absent. Shock after shock, war and destruction and hatred and all that has upset things and in some extreme cases some peculiar type has emerged which is just violent for the sake of violence.

From all this it appears that we have to search diligently for the root cause of these ills. One cause, that is, a physical one, is want and poverty. That is obvious enough. Thus for a country like India or other countries situated like India, that is, underdeveloped or relatively underdeveloped, the course is clear in regard to that matter—to develop the country from the material point of view. But even there one has to think of developing it in that way, in a particular way. What type of institutions should we have so as to lose [sic] ourselves in our search for material progress—perhaps achieving it a little but otherwise losing much that is worth caring for in life?

All these difficulties arise. That, of course, is not merely the question of giving good advice. But what type of institutions promotes the good life or the way of good life? I am not merely referring to governmental institutions. Of course, governmental institutions are an important part of it. But there are other institutions too and they also govern the life of human beings tremendously and as you vary the institutions, you vary the trend of human life and thinking.

All this is important enough, normally speaking, but in a period of very rapid change, as we are living in today, they become much more important. What is the rapid change due to? No doubt many causes are there but, fundamentally, [it is] the technological and scientific advance which changes the life of human beings.

Take constitutions—political constitutions. In various countries, democratic countries, they vary. But basically the constitutions were drafted in the pre-industrial age. They have been amended and they have been changed no doubt but still sometimes they lag behind the present stage of the world and, good as they are, they are too slow-moving while the world changes rapidly and that creates crises and difficulties. The one thing that we must not get used to or take for granted is that any constitution has finally solved the problems of government when day by day the problems of government increase and become more complex and different.

Of course, one can adopt any constitution by slightly varying it or by convention and all that. That is what is being done in fact. Otherwise the constitutions would not work at all. But this fact—this tremendous change due to technological advance is a basic factor of the age, basic factor in regard to nations as such and a basic factor in regard to individuals as such. Well, it does



become more and more unrealistic to have, let us say, national boundaries when human beings move more and more through air travel and rush across continents in a day or two. When our constitutions were drawn up, in all countries, and our thinking was conditioned by them, nobody thought of air travel. There were definite frontiers and if you wanted to travel from one country to the other you had to cross frontiers. We do not cross any frontier now except in some ideological or theoretical way. When you are flying nobody crosses a frontier, and you are at the other end of the journey. Then the question of terrific speed comes in—some six hundred or eight hundred miles an hour. Where is the frontier then? How do you deal with it?

So, new problems cannot be met by old recipes, constitutional or other; and one will have to find gradually some new methods, new answers to these problems and new recipes to their solutions. That applies, perhaps, even more to the individual than to the nation, because individual life is uprooted by these rapid changes in technological advance and the new industrial civilisation. I cannot presume to offer any remedy for this except to say that, firmly believing as I do in individual worth, in the dignity of the individual, I do not want anything to be done which suppresses that dignity. I do not want anything to be done which stops the growth of the individual in all spheres—physical, mental and spiritual. And, yet, in a complex life you are all the time compelled to stop the individual from going the wrong way—he comes into conflict with somebody else.

This is a basic difficulty—on the one hand, the necessity for individual freedom and, on the other, necessity for, in the modern world, not only more centralisation but more and more orders, decrees, limitations and all that; otherwise a complex society could not function. How are you to combine these two things—centralisation on the one hand, and decentralisation and individual freedom on the other? I do not know of an answer except that we go on experimenting and gradually trying to find out what one can do.

Then, again, obviously, democracy is something deeper than a political form of government—voting, election etc. In the ultimate analysis, it is a manner of thinking, a manner of action, a manner of behaviour to your neighbour, a manner of behaviour to your adversary or your opponent. All that come in democracy. Therefore, if the inner content is absent and you are just given an outer shell, well, it may not be successful. Of course, even the outer shell will gradually help to bring out the inner content.

I believe in democracy, in democratic institutions; but I do not know whether I am prepared to say that the same type of democratic institution is suited to every country. It depends on so many factors there; but I would bring in a basic factor of the dignity of the individual and giving him opportunities of

growth, and preventing the reverse of this, that is, in political or economic institutions which give unlimited and un-removable power to groups. That is, I think, not a good thing, whether in the political field or the economic field.

But again, in the final analysis, you come back not to political terms, not to economic terms, but to some human terms or, if you like, spiritual terms. We want to produce a good life, a good individual. Of course, if all people are good, it does not matter what political institutions exist. They will work for the good of all, but all people are not good, and sometimes even if they want to be good, opportunity is lacking for them to be good. How can they be good if there is no opportunity coming to them? There again we go back to the individual being given that opportunity and also the institutions and forms of government being so organised as to encourage this aspect.

There are two broad approaches always to improve an individual or an environment. One might be called, very broadly, the religious approach or the spiritual approach of improving individuals, trying to improve individuals, and thereby hoping that that individual will improve others and the social group will improve. That is an individual approach. The other is the environmental approach, the institutional approach, the governmental approach, of improving the environment, and thereby improving the individuals there. Obviously both approaches are necessary. One is not enough. You have to approach the individual at the individual level, always trying to create an environment in which, broadly speaking, opportunities of growth are present and good flourishes and evil does not flourish.

Then, again, we may argue as to what is good and what is evil. People will differ. So, in this rather curious world of our today, all one can do really is to pose questions and it is only a very, very wise man or a very, very foolish man who will attempt to answer them. I am not very wise and I hope I am not very foolish! There it is.

There is another aspect of this question: What kind of human being do we want, because the basic objective must be to work up to it? We want, one may answer, a person embodying the good life. You ask what good life is. You come back to the same questions or, you may say, that you have to develop in a person—of course, physically you may take it for granted that he is all right—mentally and otherwise, the habits of cooperation, not conflict. Every school tries to do so, of course, with greater or lesser success at the most impressionable years of childhood—that the children should cooperate and play with others rather than quarrel with them. And yet, oddly enough, in later life, we cannot quite pursue that aim. We often lay stress on the quarrelsome aspects of human beings—ultimately, of course, the last quarrel of all being that which is represented by war and destruction. But before that too, many



other aspects of quarrelsomeness or lack of cooperation are encouraged, encouraged politically, encouraged economically.

Competition is good and yet competition may be bad when it becomes a question of knocking down the other person, or the other countr, just to step on him and rise on his shoulders.

That may be applied to economic matters also. One wants competition; one does not want a dead living. But if that turns into sheer acquisitiveness in an acquisitive society and making that the end and aim of existence, it does not produce the good life we are aiming at.

So, it is important as to what we consider should be the basic elements of the good life or the good citizen and surely those elements must be a certain neighbourly and cooperative behaviour, a certain creativeness, a certain spirit of adventure, a certain search for truth in all its aspects, whether scientific truth or any other truth, if possible a certain selflessness, not living for oneself completely, but for others, for the society, for the world, whatever it is. After all, the finest types have been those individuals who forgot themselves, who thought of others and who lived for others. That may be a high ideal, but when you formulate an objective, whether national, social or individual, at any rate, the ideal should be a high one and you try to work up to it. If the ideal itself is low, obviously you cannot go beyond that.

So, I have ventured to place before you odd thoughts about these various aspects on the question of democracy, because we are passing today, I believe, quite an extraordinarily exciting and fascinating period of change. I have not the faintest notion as to what it will lead to. One works for what one considers the right cause, not knowing exactly where one would land. All static character vanished from the world chiefly, I think, because of the technological and industrial advance and we seem to be on the verge of tremendous changes in the future. Whether they are due to atomic energy coming more into the picture of our lives or space travel and what not, we seem to be on the verge of tremendous discoveries and changes which will undoubtedly affect human beings and their lives, and the problems that we face today will again be superseded by new problems.

I hope that in your discussions, we shall have helped all of us in thinking about these problems and others that you might pose. As I said, if you can solve them, well and good; but, I do not expect such easy solutions. But whether we solve a problem or not, the search for solution, the interchange of ideas, of minds knocking against each other, which is the essence of democracy, is a very valuable thing. If you stop that interchange of ideas and put them in grooves of thought, whether in the field of religion or politics or economics or social life, you are trying to stop and to imprison something that grows.

Life grows; social forms of life grow, everything grows; nothing is static. If our thinking becomes static in any phase of activity, we branch off from the growing curve of life tangentially, which is not good for us. So, one of the virtues of a democratic way is this freedom of thought, freedom of discussion, an opportunity for the opposite view to be expressed fully and to be discussed and take the chance for the right view to prevail. It may not sometimes prevail; but presumably, if it is the right view ultimately it will prevail.

## 10. Panchayats and Cooperation<sup>136</sup>

बहिनो और भाइयो,

आप जानते हैं कि आज मैं यहाँ इस आपके ग्राम में आचार्य विनोबाजी<sup>137</sup> से मिलने आया हूँ। क्यों मिलने आया? कुछ मैंने सुना कि समाचार पत्र वाले इस खोज में हैं कि मैं क्यों इस समय मिलने आया? कौन सी छिपी बात हुई पर्दे के पीछे, क्या-क्या बातें निश्चय हों। तो मैं आपका भ्रम दूर किया चाहता हूँ। कोई छिपी बात हमारे आपस में नहीं हो रही है। जो बात हुई वह खुले मैदान में हो सकती थी। हाँ, खुले मैदान में बैठके बातें करने में कठिनाई होती है। और इस समय मेरा आना भी यहाँ कोई अभी निश्चित नहीं हुआ। कई महीने हुए ये विचार हुआ था, जैसे कि अक्सर होता है, कि मुझे आचार्य विनोबाजी से मिलने का मौका मिले। कोई विशेष बात नहीं। बातें तो बहुत हैं देश की जो उनसे करनी होती हैं, कभी-कभी मिलने की इच्छा होती है और जब-जब मिलता हूँ तो मुझे तो उससे बहुत लाभ होता है। इसलिए, लेकिन अब विनोबाजी आप जानते हैं ग्रामों की पदयात्रा करते हैं। उनके पास पहुँचना भी कठिन हो जाता है। कभी-कभी उनके पास पहुँचने का अधिक समय लगे, तो मुश्किल हो जाता है उनको पकड़ना। इसलिए मैंने इस बात को पूछा था बहुत महिने हुए कि कब ऐसी जगह आते हैं वे जहाँ मेरी भी जल्दी से पहुँच हो सके। तो यह मालूम हुआ कि यहाँ गुजरात में, अहमदाबाद के पास आ रहे हैं तो यह निश्चय हुआ कि मैं भी आ जाऊँ और इसमें उनसे मिलना, आना-जाना एक-डेढ़ दिन में हो जाएगा। इसलिए मैं आया इस समय। कुछ बातें हुई, कुछ और भी होंगी, और विशेषकर ऐसी बातें, ऐसे प्रश्नों पर जो उनको बहुत प्रिय हैं—ग्रामदान, भूदान, शान्ति सेना<sup>138</sup> और देश के कुछ सवाल।

136. Speech at a public meeting, Gangad (37 miles from Ahmedabad), 17 December 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

137. Social reform leader and follower of Mahatma Gandhi; launched the Bhoodan (land gift) movement in India in 1951. He addressed the gathering before Nehru.

138. Shanti Sena, a voluntary group of social activists called constructive workers, organised on Gandhian ideals by Vinoba Bhave.



तो मैं सोचता था, उनसे बातें करते हुए भी और बाद में भी यहाँ बैठे हुए, कि आजकल की दुनिया में, पश्चिम के देशों में, बड़ी चर्चा है—आप जानते हैं atom bomb और नये-नये हथियार हैं जिससे सारी दुनिया का नाश हो सकता है। और बड़े-बड़े देश बड़े जोरों से उन सारे हथियारों को बनाते जाते हैं, जमा करते हैं। और कभी ऐसा होए कि वो चल जाए कोई हथियार तो फिर कोई उसको रोक नहीं सकता। सारी दुनिया करीब-करीब भस्म हो जाए। तो एक तरफ तो ये चित्र है हमारी आजकल की दुनिया का सशस्त्र होना, और शस्त्र बढ़ते जाते हैं, इतने बढ़ गये हैं कि मनुष्य दबता जाता है, उनके बोझ से दब गया है।

दूसरी तरफ एक चित्र विनोबाजी का कि वो बरसों से एक-एक गाँव, भारतभर की पदयात्रा भारतभर की कर रहे हैं। मालूम नहीं कई लाख मील चल चुके हैं। पता नहीं है मुझे, एक-एक गाँव में जाते हैं, मिलते हैं लोगों से, कुछ उनको समझाते हैं, प्रार्थना करते हैं, और कदम बढ़ा के दूसरे गाँव में जाते हैं। विचार कीजिए आप—कैसे ये दो चित्र हैं? एक ओर संसार का, एक विनोबाजी का। मैंने जानकर कहा विनोबाजी का चित्र, मैंने नहीं कहा पूरीतरफ से भारत का चित्र, हालाँकि भारत के विनोबाजी हैं और इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि भारत ही ऐसे महापुरुषों को पैदा कर सकता है।

तो ये एक तरह से मेरे सामने दुनिया की दो शक्तियों के निशान हो जाते हैं। एक शक्ति सशस्त्र जो कि ज़बरदस्ती लोगों को दबाये, देशों को दबाये और ज़बरदस्ती उनसे कहे कि इस रास्ते पे चलो और इसपे न चलो। और दूसरी ये भारत के एक सुपुत्र की, कि वो यहाँ के जो करोड़ों ग्रामीण जनता है, यूँ तो सारी जनता, लेकिन विशेषकर ग्रामीण जनता में फिरें, वैसे ही रहें, और उनको शान्ति का और सेवा करने का यह सबक सिखायें। सारी दुनिया में और हर काम में, हमेशा दो बड़ी शक्तियाँ होती हैं जो इधर-उधर खींचती हैं, एक पीछे एक आगे। हमारे देश में भी, कोई विदेश जाने की जरूरत नहीं है, काफी ऐसी बातें हैं, ऐसी शक्तियाँ हैं, जो हमको पीछे खींचती हैं, जो हमको दबाती हैं, जो आपस में फूट पैदा कराती हैं, लड़ाई कराती हैं, वो हैं। दूसरी शक्तियाँ हैं जो हममें मेल कराती हैं। बाद में ये इतिहास हमें बतायेगा कि किस शक्ति की जीत हुई इस देश में। हाँ, मैं समझता हूँ, मेरी आशा है, कि अच्छी शक्तियाँ जो एकता को बढ़ाती हैं, जो हमारे देश की शक्ति को अधिक करती हैं, वो जीतेंगी और हमारे देश की जनता आगे बढ़ेगी। उसके दुःख हल्के-हल्के दूर होंगे। लेकिन यह रास्ता, यह मार्ग कठिन है। और कठिन है इसलिए नहीं कि कोई दूसरा देश हमारे रास्ते में आता है। कठिन है हमारी दुर्बलता से, हमारे आपस के द्वेष से, आपस के फूट से और सबमें बड़ी कठिनाई होती है जो अपनी दुर्बलता से पैदा हो, दूसरे देश से नहीं।

तो हमारे देश में भी आप देखें ये बातें चल रही हैं, अच्छी और बुरी, साथ-साथ, और आशा करें कि जीत हो लेकिन आशा करने से तो नहीं होता। निश्चय करें कि हम अपनी शक्ति किस तरफ डालें। विनोबाजी ये भूदान की यात्रा में वर्षों हुए चले और चलते जाते हैं। भूदान का फिर ग्रामदान हो गया। ग्रामदान में सफलता भी उन्हें मिली। लेकिन जैसे आपको उन्होंने कहा अगर दस-पाँच हजार ग्राम उन्हें मिल जाएँ तो वो देश के सारे पाँच लाख ग्रामों

का तो छोटा-सा हिस्सा है, लेकिन फिर भी जो मिलें, चाहे कितने ही कम हों, वो एक अच्छे काम के लिए मिलें। और उससे एक अच्छी हवा देश में पैदा होती है। वायुमण्डल अच्छा बनता है। औरों पर असर होता है। क्योंकि बात यह है हमारे जैसे देश में जहाँ अधिकतर किसान, कृषक, रहते हैं, सबमें बड़ा सवाल जमीन का होता है। यूँ तो देश के बहुत प्रश्न हैं, देश दरिद्र है, गरीब है, रोज़गार नहीं है बहुतों के लिए, और कठिनाइयाँ बहुत हैं, और हमें कठिनाइयों को दूर करने के लिए सब तरफ काम करना है। हमें जमीन की तरफ काम करना है, जमीन में क्या उपज होती है। हमें कारख़ाने बनाने हैं, ग्रामोद्योग करना है, पचासों काम करने हैं। लेकिन फिर भी सबमें बड़ा काम देश में जमीन से संबंध रखता है, क्योंकि हमारे अधिकतर लोग ग्रामों में रहते हैं, जमीन पर रहते हैं, शहरों में भी रहते हैं, इसीलिए। और एक और भी बात कि—सबमें पहला और आवश्यक काम—जमीन से पैदा होता है गल्ला, इत्यादि, जो कुछ पैदा होता है खाने का सामान, क्योंकि देश में सबमें पहले खाने का प्रबंध सबों के लिए होना चाहिए। कपड़ों का होना चाहिए, घर रहने का होना चाहिए, ये आवश्यक चीज़ें हैं। पढ़ाई का होना चाहिए, स्वास्थ्य का होना चाहिए और काम करने का मौका हर एक को मिलना चाहिए। ये आवश्यक चीज़ें हैं सब लोगों के लिए। तो बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न हैं।

इसलिए आपने सुना होगा बड़ी योजनाएँ बनीं, पंचवर्षीय योजना। इन्हीं बातों पर विचार करें और प्रश्नों को हल करें। एकदम से नहीं, एक योजना बनी, दूसरी है, अब तीसरी बननी शुरू होगी, चौथी होगी, क्योंकि सारे देश को और इतने असंख्य पुरुषों को संभालने के लिए समय चाहिए और समय इसलिए कि असल में उनको संभालना है अपने आपको। कोई दूसरा थोड़े ही संभालता है आकर देश को। अगर आपको संभालना है तो आप संभालेंगे अपने को, मैं थोड़े ही आपको संभालूँगा। इस तरह से यह बहुत बड़े काम हैं उठाना देश को, सैकड़ों वर्षों से हम कैसे रहे? हम बंद रहे, या तो परदेश ने हमारे ऊपर हुकूमत की। या हमारे यहाँ दुर्बलता, कमज़ोरी आ गई, हमारे रिवाज ख़राब हो गये बहुत कुछ। अब भी हमारे बहुत कुछ पुराने रिवाज हैं जो हमको दबाते हैं, हमारी स्त्रियों को जिन्होंने दबाया है, जो हमसे फ़िज़ूल खर्च कराते हैं। जो बहुत कुछ हमारा समय नष्ट हो जाता है गलत बातों में। बहुत सारी बातें हैं, जिससे हमें निकलना है। तो कैसे निकलें इन बातों से? विचार करने की बात है। और देश क्यों हमसे अच्छे हों, खुशहाल हों? क्यों समाज की हालत, और देशों की, अच्छी हो, अधिकतर कम से कम रहन-सहन में? हमारे लोग भोले हैं। हमारे लोग कोई मूर्ख नहीं हैं। हमारे लोग भी काम करते हैं। क्यों हम पीछे हों? तो विचार करने की बात हो गयी है कि नहीं? क्यों? आप खेत में काम करते हैं। आपके सुन्दर खेत हैं। क्यों आप खेत में जितना पैदा करते हैं उनसे, और देशों में दुगना-तिगुना पैदा हो? चीन, जापान, अमेरिका और कहाँ-कहाँ वह तो एक एकड़ जमीन में जितना आप पैदा करते हैं वहाँ उसका दुगना-तिगुना पैदा करते हैं। तो दुगना-तिगुना धन है उनके पास। आप पैदा करें आपका लाभ हो, देश का लाभ हो, सबका लाभ हो, सबका हो। क्या बात क्या हो गयी है? कोई बात छिपी हुई नहीं है। हम देख सकते हैं क्या-क्या हुआ और उसको हम संभाल सकते हैं लेकिन



संभाल इसी तरह से सकते हैं कि आप लोग संभालें। मैं नहीं संभाल सकता आपके यहाँ आके। हाँ, आपसे सलाह कर सकता हूँ। बात कर सकता हूँ, यह और बात है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि हमें खेती के अलावा और बहुत काम-धंधे करने हैं ग्रामों में, ग्रामोद्योग का काम बहुत हो सकता है, वही आप लोग करें जिससे आपकी कमाई हो। आपकी आवश्यकता की चीजें आप पैदा करें। बहुत हो सकता है, कारखाने हो सकते हैं छोटे-बड़े, ग्राम के बाहर भी। हज़ारों बातें हो सकती हैं और होंगी और हो रही हैं, जिससे हम इस देश की दरिद्रता की बीमारी को दूर करें और स्वस्थ करें। क्योंकि जिस देश में गरीबी है वो बीमार देश है। जिस देश में रोज़गार सभी को नहीं मिलता, वो बीमार देश है। स्वास्थ्य उसका अच्छा नहीं है। स्वास्थ्य अच्छा करने के लिए हर एक को काम मिलना चाहिए, चाहे जमीन पर, चाहे किसी उद्योग में। इसीलिए यह सब पंचवर्षीय योजना इत्यादि हैं। अब मैं आपको सभी योजना समझा नहीं सकता इस समय। लंबी चीज है। लेकिन आपको समझना है और विशेषकर आपको समझना है कि जमीन पर क्या-क्या आपको करना है। मैं बिल्कुल सहमत हूँ विनोबाजी से कि जमीन, पृथ्वी, ऐसी चीज है, जो जनता की होनी चाहिए, जो पंचायत की होनी चाहिए, जिससे लोग सब लाभ उठायें। जितने जल्दी हो जाए अच्छा है। नहीं पूरी हो तो आधे रास्ते हम जाएँ कुछ करें। आजकल क्योंकि विनोबाजी के लिए तो बिल्कुल ठीक है कि जो ध्येय है उसको आपके सामने और देश के सामने रखें। लेकिन अगर आप ध्येय के ऊपर नहीं पहुँच सकें, तब कदम-कदम बढ़ते हैं।

और अब हमने निश्चय किया है कई बातें। एक तो ये कि हर गाँव में, आप जानते हैं, हर गाँव में पंचायत मज़बूत हो। और हर गाँव में सहकारी संघ हो, cooperative हो। Cooperative गुजरात में काफी हैं। लेकिन वो अधिकतर हैं पैसा लेन देन करने की, credit cooperative, और बढ़ी हैं वो। ठीक है पैसा देना होता है, credit देना होता है, लेकिन जब मैं सहकारी संघ की चर्चा करता हूँ तो मेरे मन में यह है कि आज से आप सहकारी संघ, आर्थिक काम सहकारी संघ के द्वारा हों, मिलकर हों। ख़ाली सहकारी संघ एक बैंक न हो लेकिन आपका सब बेचना, ख़रीदना, बीज लाना, fertiliser लाना, खाद लाना, पचास काम, औज़ार लाना, हल है, यह है, वह है, गाँव की है, सब बातें जितनी गाँव की हों सहकारी संघ के द्वारा हों, एक-एक गाँव की। मैं नहीं चाहता कि सहकारी संघ बीस गाँव का हो, इसलिए कि मैं चाहता हूँ आपका सहकारी संघ, एक गाँव का, एक बड़े परिवार की तरह काम करे। एक-दूसरे को आप जानते हैं। गाँव के रहने वालों को। दस बीस गाँव का हो तो आप जानते नहीं और फिर इसमें एकता नहीं होगी। एक-दूसरे को जानना और समझना। जैसे एक गाँव की एक पंचायत हो, एक सहकारी संघ हो। आप ही का हो, मैं नहीं चाहता इसमें कोई सरकारी अफसर हो। मैं इस बात को साफ़ किए चाहता हूँ कि सरकारी अफसर का हर जगह दख़ल न हो, आपकी सहायता करे, आपकी मदद करे, आपको बताए, आपकी सेवा करे, यह और बात है। लेकिन अधिकार आपका हो। पंचायत में अधिकार आपका हो। सहकारी संघ वहीं का हो।

मगर हो सकता है, बहुत हो सकता है, आप ख़राब बातें करेंगे। आप गलत बात करें, धोखा खाके गिर जाएँ। मुझे ये स्वीकार है कि आप गलत बात करें, क्योंकि मैं चाहता हूँ आप सीखें सही बात करना, अपने अभ्यास से। अफसरीयों के करने से कोई नहीं आती है। हमारा देश कभी नहीं बढ़ेगा जब तक हमारी जनता अपने पाँव पर, टांग पर, नहीं खड़ी होती और अपने बाहुबल से काम नहीं करती। औरों के तरफ देखकर नहीं होता। इसलिए सारे अपने देश की जो यहाँ एक प्रजातंत्र है, आजकल जनता का राज, लेकिन जनता का राज जिसकी जड़ हो मज़बूत, देश की पंचायत। देश में सहकारी संघ हों गाँव-गाँव में। एक-एक गाँव में पंचायत और सहकारी संघ और एक अच्छा विद्यालय हो। सब आप देश का सब बना सकते हैं। ऊपर दिल्ली में और बम्बई में और कहाँ-कहाँ बड़ी सभाएँ हैं, माना विधानसभा, लोकसभा और क्या-क्या, और ठीक है, लेकिन ऊपर से कोई प्रजातंत्र प्रबंध ठीक नहीं होता, नीचे से ऊपर बनता है। आप मकान को ऊपर से नहीं बनाते हैं। पहले नीचे से बनाते हैं। जमीन के नीचे बुनियाद डालते हैं, उसके ऊपर मकान बनता है, इसलिए प्रजातंत्र मज़बूत जभी होता है जब ग्रामों में उसकी पहुँच हो, ग्रामों में उनका अधिकार हो। पंचायत द्वारा, सहकारी संघ द्वारा, और स्कूल हो लोगों को पढ़ाने को। इस बात को आप समझें।

अच्छा, मैंने कहा सहकारी संघ हो ग्राम में, और जितने वहाँ के किसान के काम हैं वह काम करें। और सारे गाँव के लोग चाहें उनके पास जमीन हो या न हो, वह सब सहकारी संघ के सदस्य होंगे। आजकल सहकारी संघ में वो ही लोग होते हैं जिसके पास पैसा हो अधिक। और जिन लोगों को सबमें अधिक आवश्यकता है सहकारी संघ की, वो ही नहीं हो सकते। यह बात गलत है। सबको होना है। किस तरह से वो अलग बात है? यह सब विचार करने की बात है। अच्छा आप जमीन पर काम करते हैं। मैंने आपसे कहा सब आप जमीन के जो-जो आपके काम हैं अगर आप वो सहकारी संघ द्वारा करें तो आपको आसानी हो। एक काम मिलकर, दस आदमी मिलकर करें, पचास आदमी करें, उनको सरलता होती है ख़रीदने में, बीज में, खाद में, जो भी कुछ हो, आसानी होती है। नहीं तो एक आदमी दब जाता है। उसको कर्ज़ा लेना होता है। हमारे किसी बनिये की दुकान से कर्ज़ा ले, फंस जाए, वो ठीक नहीं है। तो सब सहकारी संघ से लें। अच्छा एक कदम और है और असली बड़ा कदम वो, कि आपकी जो जमीनें हैं ग्राम की, उस पर मिलकर काम हो, मिलकर खेती हो। वो सहकारी संघ की ओर से आप लोगों का आपका हिस्सा तो अलग-अलग रहेगा, लेकिन मिलकर खेती हो। अपने हिस्से से हिसाब से आप उसे बाँट लें बाद में। इससे काम कहीं अच्छा होगा और आप को अधिक मिलेगा और सहकारी संघ को बचा रहेगा, यानी ग्राम को बचेगा, यानी सारे समाज को कुछ न कुछ बचेगा। सब तरफ से लाभ होता है मिलकर काम करने से, जिसे कि कहते हैं joint farming, cooperative farming, मिलकर खेती करना जमीन पर, फिर बाँट लेना। विनोबाजी तो कहेंगे कि सारी जमीन गाँव की है बाँटना क्या? सबों की है। वो बात ठीक है, मैं मानता हूँ। लेकिन मैं कदम आपको बता रहा हूँ। मैं इस समय वो नहीं कह सकता सारे देश से। बाद में जब समय आये करे जो करने को



तैयार हो तो मुझे बड़ी खुशी है।

तो ये बात, पहली बात, कि आप लोग यह सहकारी संघ बनाएँ ऐसे कामों के लिए, बेचना, खरीदना, लाना, लेन-देन जो कुछ है उस काम के लिए। दूसरी बात आप खेती मिलकर करें, यानी जमीन अपनी, लेकिन हिस्सा मिला दें, जो कुछ हो। और मिलकर करें। इससे बड़ा लाभ है। और देशों में हुआ है। क्योंकि सारे लोग मिलकर काम करते हैं, जल्दी होता है, अच्छा होता है। और आपने कुछ सोचा है कि कितनी जमीन आप नष्ट करते हैं खेतों के बीच में? दो आदमियों के बीच में गज दो गज जमीन नष्ट हो जाती है। बिल्कुल जाया हो जाती है, किसी काम की नहीं। वो भी आ जायेगी, उसका भी हिस्सा आपको मिलेगा। यह सब होना चाहिए। और जो आपकी जमीन से पैदा होता है उसको आप निश्चय करके उसका एक दसवाँ हिस्सा गाँव के समाज को दे दें। यानी अपने को दे दें। गाँव की उन्नति के लिए वो रहे। इस ढंग से हमें चलना चाहिए और मेहनत करनी चाहिए क्योंकि बगैर मेहनत के कुछ नहीं होता।

हमारे यहाँ हमारे पढ़े-लिखे नवयुवक बड़ी बहस करते हैं, इस नीति पे चलें या उस नीति पर चलें। ठीक है उनका बहस करना। लेकिन कोई नीति पे आप चलें वो बहस से नहीं चलते हैं वो परिश्रम से चलते हैं। नीति कुछ हो, उसके पीछे परिश्रम है। चाहे आप जाएँ ऐसे देश जैसा अमेरिका है। बड़ा धनी देश है, और वह कहलाता है पूँजीवादी देश। या आप जाएँ रूस जो साम्यवादी देश है। या जर्मनी जाएँ जो पूँजीवादी है। जापान जाएँ जो पूँजीवादी है। चीन जाएँ जो साम्यवादी है। अलग-अलग नीति हुई न? लेकिन हर देश में काम होता है परिश्रम से, और मेहनत से। वो नीति है परिश्रम की। जहाँ परिश्रम नहीं है, जहाँ एकता नहीं है, आप चाहे पूँजीवादी हों, चाहे कोई वाद हो, आपका देश नहीं बढ़ता। तो सब में बड़ा काम तो यह है कि हम मिलकर जो निश्चय करें उसको जोरों से करें। आप यहाँ गुजरात में तो, और भारत के मुकाबले में गुजरात की हालत कुछ भली है। यहाँ के किसानों की भी कुछ भली हालत है। और जगह तो कहीं ज्यादा दरिद्रता है। लेकिन आखिर आप और हम, सब जगह मिल के भारत होता है। सब जगह हमें सीखना है।

अभी, हमने एक और बात का निश्चय किया है। आप जानते हैं कभी-कभी यहाँ कई बरस से अक्सर गल्ले की कमी हो जाती है कुछ-कुछ। कमी थोड़ी होती है लेकिन धूमधाम बहुत होती है। उसके दाम बढ़ जाते हैं दुकानों में। और काफी कठिनाई जनता को होती है। खाने के दाम बढ़ जाएँ। इसलिए पहला सवाल यह है कि हम काफी पैदा करें देश में जिससे सारे देश के चालीस करोड़ लोगों को खाने का काफी हो, काफी से अधिक हो। चाहे कोई समय पर वर्षा न हो, चाहे कोई तूफान आये। फिर भी हमारे पास काफी सबके लिए खाने को हो। और इतना हम पैदा करें जिससे हम बाहर भेज सकें और उसकी एवज़ में वहाँ से कारखाना, मशीन, इत्यादि ले आयें तब काम चले। हम बढ़ें। अभी पिछले साल आप जानते हैं दो बरस से हमें बाहर से इतना मंगाना पड़ा है गल्ला, करोड़ों, सैकड़ों-करोड़ों रुपयों का। एक गरीब देश हमारा और इतना पैसा हमें बाहर भेजना पड़ा है। यह तो पहली बात, अपने

गल्ले की पैदावार को बढ़ायें और खूब बढ़ायें, जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा हमारे यहाँ पैदा होता है, और देशों में उससे दुगना-चौगुना पैदा होता है एक एकड़ में। और हमारे यहाँ कहीं-कहीं उसका दुगना-चौगुना होता है। तो कोई वजह नहीं कि हम न करें। क्यों न करें? हमने निश्चय किया है कि आप जो किसान, कृषक पैदा करते हैं वो मंडियों में जाकर बेचते हैं, और वहाँ से थोक व्यापारी को बेचते हैं, थोक व्यापारी छोटे व्यापारी को बेचते हैं, और वहाँ से फिर खरीदार लेते हैं। तीन कदम हो जाते हैं। और तीन कदम में दाम बढ़ते जाते हैं उसके। और कभी-कभी जिस तरह से बढ़ाते जाते हैं, बिल्कुल अनुचित हो जाता है। देखा किसी व्यापारी ने, कुछ हवा है कमी की, उसने दाम बढ़ा दिये। ज़रा बाज़ार में थोड़ी देर कम हुए तो दाम बढ़ा दिया। तो हमने निश्चय किया है थोक व्यापार जो है, मंडी में जो आप बेचते हैं, उसको अब सरकारी तौर पर हो।<sup>139</sup> यानी किस ढंग से हो, वो तो आप से नहीं कह सकता, उसका निश्चय करना है। असल में सबमें अच्छा एक सहकारी संघ द्वारा हो जाए तो बहुत सरल हो जाए। छोटे सहकारी संघ और उसके ऊपर बड़े होंगे। और मैंने आपसे कहा था ग्राम्य सहकारी संघ और cooperative उसके बाद सात-आठ, दस गाँव का एक बड़ा, एक उन सब गाँवों का सहकारी संघ मिलकर एक बड़ा हो, जिसकी शक्ति अधिक होगी कई काम करने की। तो यह जो ठीक व्यापार करें हम अगर, जब सहकारी संघ बन जाए, तो बहुत ही सरल हो जाए ऊपर से नीचे तक। उसका लाभ हो वो जनता को जाए, किसी और को नहीं। अभी तक तो यह कुछ बने नहीं। इस साल यह हो रहा है। पुराने थोक व्यापारी, ये उन्हीं के द्वारा हम करवायेंगे। लेकिन वो सरकार के शासन के agent हो जाएँगे, प्रतिनिधि हो जाएँगे। करेंगे वो, लेकिन उस दाम पे कुछ खरीदना होगा, बेचना होगा जो उनसे कहा जाए। जाहिर है उसमें उनका कुछ लाभ कम होगा। लेकिन अधिक लाभ उनका नहीं, कि बढ़ा दें।

तो ये तो एक कदम है। मुझे विश्वास है कि यह आप पसंद करेंगे। क्योंकि उसमें दोनों तरफ लाभ हो। एक किसान को जो पैदा करता है उसको मिले और जो खरीदता है खाने के लिए उसको, और बीच के सिलसिले निकल जाएँ। तो ये दो-चार मोटी-मोटी बातें मैंने आपसे कहीं जिनका आपसे संबंध है, देशभर के किसानों के साथ संबंध है, देशभर की जनता से संबंध है। और इसको आज आप समझ लें, औरों को समझायें और फिर यह बैठ जाए हमारे गाँव में यह। तो मुझे इस बात का पूरा विश्वास है कि हमारे देश की तरक्की बहुत तेजी से होगी और जो देश बढ़े हुए हैं हम उनको पकड़ लें। इस बात में इस समाज का कल्याण कितना होता है, यह बात।

सवाल तो बहुत और हैं, बहुत सारे हैं, उद्योग के हैं आपके गाँव में। उद्योग में आपके गाँव में क्या-क्या पैदा होता है? जो चीज आपके गाँव में पैदा होती हो, जहाँ तक बन पड़े

139. The decision was taken at a meeting of the National Development Council held on 8 Nov. 1958.



उसका उद्योग वहीं हो, तो अच्छा है। हाँ, सबका नहीं हो सकता, और जगह हो। छोटे-छोटे उद्योग बिजली के द्वारा हों। छोटे-छोटे कारखाने खुलें गाँव में और गाँव के पास, क्योंकि यह अच्छी बात नहीं कि लोग गाँव छोड़कर बड़े शहरों में जाते हैं। और गाँव उजाड़ हो जाए और शहर में रोज़गार न मिले और मारे-मारे फिरें इधर-उधर, यह बात अच्छी नहीं। इस तरह से हमें करना है। गाँव में रहकर करें और शहर में रहकर करें लेकिन कुछ न कुछ करें।

यह नक्शे बहुत बड़े हैं। आपको समय मिले तो आप पंचवर्षीय योजना देखें। उसमें आपको समझ में आयेगा कि आपका क्या भाग है। अब दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना, दो ढाई बरस हो चुके, दो बरस और समझो, अभी से हम विचार करें कि वो [तीसरी] कैसी हो। क्योंकि उसको बनाने में हम सब लोगों की सलाह लेना चाहते हैं। और सलाह से बननी चाहिए क्योंकि आप लोगों को उसको करना है। यह जो पंचवर्षीय योजना बनती है यह कोई सरकार के करने से नहीं होती। सरकार का काम थोड़ा होता है। जनता को समझना है, जनता को काम करना है। यह भी आप याद रखें, कि पंचवर्षीय योजना या जमीन का मैंने आपसे कहा पंचायत बनाना और सहकारी संघ बनाना, इसको हम कोई एक, किसी एक पार्टी का या एक दल का काम नहीं समझते। यह सबों का, सब दलों का है। क्योंकि जनता का काम है। हम एक-दूसरे से लड़ें, पार्टीबाजी करें, दलबंदी करें, तो ठीक नहीं है।

आप जानते हैं कि मेरा संबंध तो पैतालिस वर्ष से कांग्रेस से है। सारे मेरे जीवन से बंधी हुई है यह कांग्रेस की संस्था और मुझे उसका बहुत, क्या कहूँ, खुशी है कि यह मेरा संबंध रहा और रहेगा। तो यह तो नहीं, लेकिन जो हमें बड़े काम देश में करने है, वो हमें मिलकर करने हैं, चाहे कोई आपका दल हो, कुछ हो। इससे बड़ा काम क्या है कि पंचवर्षीय योजना, सारे देश को उठाना। उसमें लोगों की अलग-अलग राय हो, ठीक है अलग राय। सबों की एक राय नहीं होती। अलग राय रखें, बहस करें, समझायें। लेकिन अलग राय भी रखें तो सौ में समझो नब्बे फीसदी अलग राय नहीं है, दस फीसदी है। प्रतिशत दस है अलग-अलग। खैर दस को छोड़ दो, नब्बे में तो साथ काम करें, दस में न करें हम। सब मिलकर करना है। मैं नहीं चाहता कि इसमें हम अपनी दलबंदी लायें।

अब आप देखें तो अभी कुछ रोज़ से हम विचार कर रहे हैं, हमारे देश के सामने बड़ी कठिन समस्याएँ हैं। क्यों है कठिन समस्या? इसलिये कि हम आगे बढ़ने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। अगर वहीं हम जमे रहते, बैठे रहते, तब समस्या तो कठिन थी, देश दरिद्र था, गरीब था, लेकिन नई-नई कठिनाई नहीं आती। लेकिन जब एक दफे हम बढ़ने लगते हैं तब नये-नये प्रश्न उठते हैं। बड़े-बड़े कारखाने लोहे के और किसके-किसके बन रहे हैं, खर्चा होता है। खर्चा गरीब देश को निकालना पड़ता है। हाँ, अब वह लोहे के कारखाने बन जाएँ और जब और बड़े-बड़े कारखाने बन जाएँ तब उनसे लाभ होगा। लेकिन पहले कई वर्ष तो खर्चा ही खर्चा हो जाता है। मगर दो बरस बाद में हमारे लोहे के कारखानों से बड़ा लाभ होगा। लेकिन पहले तो खर्चा ही खर्चा है। उसका बहुत बोझा होता है। मैं समझता हूँ दो वर्ष बाद से हमारे उन लोहे के कारखानों से बड़ा लाभ होगा। हमारी river valley schemes

की योजनाएँ हैं, इससे बहुत लाभ होगा। ठीक है, इस समय नहीं कर सकते।

आपके प्रदेश में आपने सुना होगा यहाँ, बहुत दूर नहीं है यहाँ से, तेल निकला है सौराष्ट्र के कोने में। और अभी मैं नहीं कह सकता कितना तेल होगा। इसे नापा तौला तो नहीं है, लेकिन निकला जरूर है और आशा है कि काफी निकले वहाँ से। काफी निकले तो उससे देश को बहुत लाभ होगा। काफी निकले तो—देश में हम सौ करोड़ रुपयों का तेल आजकल बाहर से लेते हैं। विचार करो, सौ करोड़। तो अगर काफी निकले तो सौ करोड़ का लाभ तो उससे ही हो जायेगा देश को और फिर लोगों को रोज़गार मिलेगा। पहले हमें खर्चा करना पड़ता है, पहले बड़ा खर्चा होता है। इस तरह से यह बात बहुत बड़ी है। तेल के लिए हमारा बड़ा खर्चा हो रहा है, मालूम नहीं कितने, तीस से चालीस करोड़ उसकी जाँच करने में खर्च करने पड़ते हैं। क्या करें, बड़ी कठिनाई से मिलता है पैसा। न करें तो मिलता नहीं हमें। एक-एक करोड़ का तो एक-एक drill आता है, सोचो तुम, छेद करने के लिए। यह तो हाल है। तो इसके माने यह है कि परिश्रम करना पड़ता है, कमर कसनी होती है, बड़ा जोर लगाना होता है। तब बाद में लाभ होता है। यह समय कमर कसने का है, लाभ का नहीं।

उधर क्या होता है? चारों तरफ से इस बात का जोर होता है, तनख़्वाह बढ़ाओ, मजदूरी बढ़ाओ, लाभ बढ़ाओ, dividend बढ़ाओ, हर तरफ से, हर एक अपनी जेब को देखके बढ़ाना चाहता है। तो मैं तो कुछ समझता हूँ कि बहुत सारे हमारे जो कम तनख़्वाह वाले हैं उनकी तनख़्वाहें बढ़नी चाहिए, ठीक है। लेकिन यह आप याद रखें, बढ़ने के माने क्या होते हैं इस समय? बढ़ने के माने यह होते हैं कि हमारे पास जो थोड़ा सा पैसा है यह देश की योजनाओं के लिए, वो सारा रुपया ग़ायब हो जाता है तनख़्वाहों में, तो कुछ बचता नहीं कुछ। यानी हमें investment की जरूरत है, रुपया लगाने की। जो नहीं बचता, खर्च हो जाता है। आप जानते हैं इस साल tax बढ़े कई, अधिकतर ऊपर वाले लोगों के काफी बढ़े tax। लेकिन उसी के साथ-साथ खर्चा भी बढ़ गया, तनख़्वाहें ज़्यादा देनी पड़ती हैं। कोई commission तय कर देता है तनख़्वाहें वो देते हैं खुशी से, लेकिन वो ग़ायब हो जाता है। तो हमें कुछ बरस तक ज़रा रोकथाम करनी है, ज़रा कुछ कठिनाई उठानी है। हमें यह बहुत लम्बे-चौड़े dividend, लाभ उठाना कारख़ानों से, मिलों से, लाभ उठाने का यह अनुचित है ऐसे मौके पर। उसी तरह तनख़्वाह बढ़ाने का अनुचित है हालाँकि उनको हक है बढ़वाने का, लेकिन इस समय सारा पैसा हमें योजनाओं के बढ़ाने में लगाना है। उसके बाद अधिक आयेगा, हर चीज़ होगी। तब तनख़्वाहें, मजदूरी, वगैरह बढ़ेंगी।

और एक और बात है। आप जितना दे सकते हैं, अधिक से अधिक, उसमें दे सकते हैं पैसा, क्या कहते हैं उसको, savings में, डाकखाने में जमा करते हैं। वो तो आपका पैसा रहता है, किसी का नहीं हो सकता। आपको सूद भी मिलता है। उसको भी करें, क्योंकि पैसा भी लगा सकते हैं देश की तरक्की के काम में। ये चन्द बातें मैंने आपको कहीं। बहुत बातें हैं। क्योंकि देश की कहानी तो लंबी है।

बहुत दिनों बाद मैं गुजरात के इस हिस्से में आया और आप सब लोगों को देखकर और



आपके प्रेम को देखकर खुशी हुई है। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ आपसे, सारे देश से, लेकिन इस समय मैं आपके सामने हूँ, कि ज़रा इस समय देश की समस्याएँ समझकर आप उसमें एकता रखें, आपस में झगड़े बंद करें। जो भी कुछ हो, चाहे आप सही भी हों, तब भी झगड़ा न करें। क्योंकि सबमें पहले हमारी एक लड़ाई है, कोई और लड़ाई नहीं, वो दरिद्रता से लड़ाई है इस देश की, बेरोज़गारी से लड़ाई है। इसको हमें जीतना है अपनी एकता से, अपने परिश्रम से, अपने सहयोग से। ये बातें करनी हैं, यह आप करें। इस सिलसिले में आप जानते हैं विनोबाजी ने शान्ति सेना को कहा। बहुत अच्छी चीज़ है। चुने हुए लोग उसमें आ सकते हैं। क्योंकि एक तो वो काम करते हैं, परिश्रम करते हैं, दूसरे अगर कहीं झगड़ा हो तो उनके बीच में जाना होता है। और एक वीर पुरुष—उसका बड़ा असर होता है। तो मैं आशा करता हूँ वो भी बात फैलेगी।

और एक बात आप याद रखें। आजकल की दुनिया, जिससे मैंने शुरु किया था, वो कैसी है? एटम बमों की दुनिया है। अजीब दुनिया है, कोई दुर्बल कौम, दुर्बल देश नहीं रह सकता इसमें। तो हमारे पास तो atom bomb है नहीं और न हम बनाएँगे। हम अपना धन उसमें नष्ट नहीं करेंगे, हम उस रास्ते को गलत समझकर नहीं चलेंगे। लेकिन फिर भी दुर्बल हम नहीं रह सकते। अगर हम दुर्बल हैं तो हम नष्ट हो जाएँगे, नाश हमारा हो जाएगा। शक्ति ख़ाली atom bomb से नहीं आती, शक्ति दिल की होती है, दिमाग़ की होती है, परिश्रम की होती है, एकता की होती है। उसी शक्ति को बना के महात्मा गांधी के नीचे देश में एक शक्ति आयी थी जिससे स्वराज हमें मिला। अब जो हमारे सामने काम है वो स्वराज के लेने से भी कठिन है। चालीस करोड़ आदमी आगे ले जाना, उठाना है, उनकी शक्ति से। तो उसमें तो बहुत जरूरत है हम अपने को मज़बूत करें, तगड़ा करें, और कोई भी। अगर बाहर से, दूसरी दुनिया से, कोई भी भय की बात हो, ख़तरा हो, तो उसको हम बग़ैर डरे सामना करें। मैं नहीं चाहता कि हमारे देश में कोई लोग किसी बात से डरें। डर से कोई फ़ायदा नहीं होता, डर से दुर्बल हो जाते हैं। और डरने की कोई बात नहीं। हम अपने में विश्वास करें, आगे बढ़ें, तो डरना किससे?

तो इस ढंग से हमें चलना है। और इस ढंग से चलने में, मैं कोई अलग-अलग प्रदेशों का, अलग-अलग तो मैं कोई नहीं करता। मैं पैदा हुआ उत्तर प्रदेश में, लेकिन सारे भारत के प्रदेश मेरे प्रदेश हो गये। तो उनमें मैं ऊँच नीच क्या करूँ, सब मेरे हैं। लेकिन इतना तो मुझे अवश्य याद आता है कि यहाँ गुजरात से, यहाँ पास में सौराष्ट्र से, गांधीजी निकले थे जिन्होंने भारत में महान् क्रांतिकारी काम किए, शान्ति से किये, भारत को आज़ादी दी, स्वराज्य दिया, भारत को बदला, और जड़ डाली भारत की तरक्की की। लेकिन ख़ाली भारत में नहीं, सारी दुनिया में उन्होंने एक सबक फैलाया, एक मिसाल रखी। ये बड़ी बातें हैं। एक माने में गुजरात की और भी ज़िम्मेदारी है उन बातों को करने की।

[Translation begins]

Sisters and brothers,

As you know, I have come to your village to meet Acharya Vinoba Bhaveji,<sup>140</sup> Why have I come? I have heard that some news reporters are trying to find out why I have come to meet him at this time and what secret decisions are likely to be taken behind closed doors. I want to remove your misapprehensions. No secret talks are taking place between us. Whatever we discussed could also be done openly. The only thing is that it is not convenient to have the talks in an open field. It occurred to me some months ago, as it often happens, that I should avail myself of an opportunity to meet Acharya Vinobaji. There was no special matter to discuss, but there are innumerable things about the country to talk with him about. Occasionally I have an urge to meet him, and whenever I meet him I benefit a great deal.

But, as you know, Vinobaji travels in the villages on foot and it is difficult to reach him sometimes; it also takes a long time to reach him. So it becomes difficult to catch him. Therefore, I had asked him several months ago when he will reach a place which will be easy of access. I was told that he was reaching some place near Ahmedabad, here in Gujarat, and it was decided that I should also come so that I could meet him and go back within a day or so. So I am here today. We have talked a little and will do so again, especially about the problems dear to his heart, like gramdan, bhoodan, Shanti Sena<sup>141</sup> and some other national problems.

During my talks with him and later as I sat here, I have been thinking about the nuclear weapons which can destroy the world and the arsenals that the great powers of the West are building up. If even one of the atom bombs is exploded, there will be no stopping or looking back. The whole world will be destroyed. So, on the one hand, there is this picture before us of a world armed to the teeth and mankind groaning under its weight.

On the other hand is the picture of what Vinobaji is doing. He has been travelling to every village in India on foot. I do not know how many lakhs of miles he has covered. I think he goes to each village, meets people, explains his ideas to them and moves on to the next village. Just think how diametrically opposed these two pictures are, the modern world and the world of Vinobaji. I have deliberately said the world of Vinobaji and not of India though Vinobaji belongs to India and there is no doubt that only India can produce such great men.

140. See fn 137 in this section.

141. See fn 138 in this section.



These are, in a sense, symbols of the two forces operating in the world today. One is the force of arms which is used to suppress peoples and nations and to coerce them to follow certain paths; and the second is that of this noble son of India who moves among the millions of people in rural India with his message of peace and selfless service. In any task anywhere in the world there are two great forces which operate, one pulling forward and one backward. You do not have to go out of the country to see this phenomenon. In our own country there are forces which drag us down, suppress us and create disunity among us. There are other forces which unite us. History will judge which of them wins ultimately in this country. I hope that the forces of unity and strength will win and the people of India will progress very far. It is, however, a difficult path not because some other country is standing in our path. The difficulties arise out of our own weaknesses, like disunity and mutual bitterness.

So, as you see, there is a tug of war in our own country between the forces of good and evil and let's hope that the former will win. But hoping doesn't produce any results. We must decide which way we should pit our strength. Vinobaji has been going on his bhoodan travels for years. Bhoodan then became gramdan which has also succeeded very well. But, as he told you, even if he gets five to ten thousand villages, they will constitute only a very small part of the five lakhs villages in India. But, however little they may be, they should be for some good cause and this creates a good atmosphere in the country. It has an impact on others. India being largely an agricultural country, the biggest problem is of land. There are also other big problems, like poverty and unemployment, and we have to work towards alleviation of the people's sufferings. We must improve agricultural production, put up industries, big and small, and village industries, and do a thousand other things. But the biggest task in the country is undoubtedly connected with the question of land because the majority of our people live in villages, on land. And the foremost and most important task before us is to increase food production. We must become self-sufficient in food. Then people must have clothes to wear, houses to live in, education and health care facilities, and everyone must have the opportunity to work. These are essential for everyone in the country.

You must have heard of the five-year plans which are aimed at solving these problems. But it cannot be done immediately. The First Plan is over, the Second is on and the Third one is being drawn up. It takes time to make arrangements for such a huge population and time is required because, in fact, the people have to help themselves. You yourselves have to manage your affairs; it is not for me to manage your affairs. So there are great tasks to be done. We remained under foreign rule for centuries and have consequently become weak. Our traditions and customs have become hidebound. Even now there are many customs which suppress women and force us to spend uselessly on rituals. Much of our time is

wasted in useless things. All this has to go. How is it to be done? Why are other countries so rich and progressive while we are backward? Our people are by no means stupid. We are hard working too. Why then do we remain backward? We have beautiful land. Why do other countries produce double or treble of what we produce here? The average yield per acre in China, Japan, the United States and elsewhere is double or treble of what it is in India. So they are wealthier than us. If we double or treble our production, we all will stand to gain. There is nothing secret in all this. You can see what has happened and what can be done to control the situation. But it can be done only by the people themselves. I cannot do it for you.

Secondly, there are many other avenues of work open in the villages apart from agriculture. There are village industries and crafts, etc., which can produce goods and earn you money. Thousands of things can be done, and are being done, to cure the ills of poverty in the country and to make it a healthy and prosperous one. A country where everyone does not get employment is a sick country. To make it healthy, everyone should be able to get jobs, on land and in industries, for which we have taken up the five-year plans, etc. I cannot go into all the details just now. But you must understand what you have to do, especially on land. I am absolutely in agreement with Vinobaji that land is something which should belong to the people, to the panchayat, so that everyone may benefit. The sooner it is like that, the better it will be. If not, then we must try to go half way. So it is proper that we should keep our goals before us and even if it is not possible to reach them immediately, we can move in that direction step by step.

Now, we have taken a number of decisions. One is, as you know, that the panchayat should be strengthened in every village. Secondly, there should be a cooperative society in every village. There are many cooperative societies in Gujarat but most of them are credit cooperatives. These are large cooperatives and meant to give credits. But when I say cooperative, I mean an organisation through which people work. It should be an instrument of economic tasks—and not merely a credit-giving bank. It should handle tasks like buying seeds and fertilisers, providing good ploughs and other implements and undertaking the sale of the produce as well. All these things should be done through the cooperative society. I do not want the cooperative societies to be very large because I want that each one of them should function as one large family, with all the members familiar with one another. In larger cooperatives things become impersonal and there can be no proper understanding among the members. Just like the panchayat, each village should have its own cooperative society. I do not want government officials to run them. I want to make it quite clear that there should be no official interference at each step. Officials may help you; that is a different matter. But it should be under your control. The panchayat should also be under your control.



While running the cooperatives and the panchayats, it is possible that you may make mistakes, stumble and fall occasionally, but it will be acceptable to me because I want you to learn to do the right thing from your own experience. You cannot learn if officials are running the show. India cannot progress until the people learn to stand on their own feet and become self-reliant. You cannot progress by copying others or looking to others for help. The basis of democracy should be the panchayat and the cooperative society. Every village should have a panchayat, a cooperative society and a good school. We have the Vidhan Sabha and the Lok Sabha and what not in Delhi and Bombay and in other States. But the foundations of democracy have to be laid from below and not from the top. You cannot build a house from the top. You have to first lay the foundations under the ground and then build a house on top. Therefore, democracy can have strong foundations only when it is spread out in the villages through the panchayat and the cooperative society and the village school. You must understand this clearly.

Well I said that in every village there should be a cooperative, and all villagers, whether they have land or not, should be in it. Nowadays only the rich farmers are in cooperative societies and the ones who need them most are not in them. This is wrong. Everyone should be a member. How it is done is a different matter. As I told you, it will be easier if you do all the work connected with land through the cooperative society. A job which is done jointly by ten to fifty persons becomes easier. Buying of seeds and fertilisers, etc., becomes easier. Otherwise each individual groans under the weight of loans that he has taken. It is not advisable to get into the clutches of money lenders. Another important step to be taken which will be of real value is that farming should be done on a cooperative basis. The villagers will continue to own the land but the work will be done cooperatively. That is, all villagers will pool their land and cultivate it together. This ensures better quality of work and increase in your earnings. The cooperative will have some profits and some will be left over for the village society as well. In this way, everybody stands to gain. This is known as joint farming, cooperative farming. This means cultivating the land cooperatively and then dividing the profits. Vinobaji will say that the land belongs to the whole village, so where is the question of dividing the profits? That is perfectly all right. But I am merely pointing out the steps that have to be taken. At this time I cannot ask the entire country to go for it. Later sometime those who are prepared to adopt it may do so. I will be very happy.

So this is the first thing, that a cooperative society should be formed which can help you with the buying and selling. Secondly, farming should be done on a cooperative basis. That is extremely beneficial. It has been done in other countries. When many people work together, the work gets done faster and the quality is

better. Have you ever thought how much land is wasted between the smallholdings? Between two pieces of land, at least a yard or two is wasted. All that can be brought under cultivation. You can divide the produce among yourselves and give one-tenth of it to the village society, that is, to yourselves. This is how we must work and work hard because without that, nothing is possible.

There are generally great debates among our educated youth about the ideology to be followed and it is right that they should do so. But whatever ideology you may follow has to be backed by hard work. Whether you go to a capitalist country like the United States, Germany or Japan or a communist one like the Soviet Union or China, the ideologies are different but you will find that they work very, very hard. So, the policy is one of hard work. Where there is no hard work or unity, whether you are capitalist or something else, the country cannot progress. So the most important thing is to come to a decision and implement it with dedication. In your Gujarat, the situation is much better compared to the rest of the country. The farmers here are more prosperous. In other places, you find them living in a deep mire of poverty. But, ultimately, all of us together make India and everyone has to progress.

We have recently taken yet another decision. As you know, for the last few years, there has often been shortage of foodgrains in the country. The shortage might be marginal but there is a great deal of noise about it. Prices go up and the people have to suffer. Therefore, the first thing that we have decided is to increase food production so that all the forty crores in India have enough to eat. In fact, there must be a surplus so that even in the years when there is a shortfall, we may have enough to eat. We must produce so much that we can export foodgrains and import machines for our industries and other essential items. As you know, only last year we had to import enormous amounts of foodgrains worth millions of rupees. It was a great burden on a poor country like India and we had to pay in precious foreign exchange. So it is essential to increase food production. As I told you, the average yield per acre of land in other countries is twice or even four times of what it is in India. There is no reason for us not to increase our production. At the moment the sale of foodgrains takes place in three stages: the farmer sells in the grain market from where the wholesale dealer purchases it and sells to the retail merchant who in turn sells it to the consumer. In this process, the prices go up and sometimes they go too high. The moment the traders find there is a shortage, they increase the prices. This kind of profiteering is absolutely wrong. So we have decided that the wholesale trade should be conducted in a cooperative manner.<sup>142</sup> I cannot tell you exactly how it is going to be done. That remains to be decided. Actually, when a chain of cooperative

142. See fn 139 in this section.



societies is established, things will become easy. First, there will be a village cooperative society and then a larger one covering seven to ten villages which can deal with more matters. So trade will become easier by this method and the people will share in the profits. This has not been done so far. It is being done this year. We will use the existing wholesale traders to function as government agents. But they will have to buy and sell at rates fixed by us. It is obvious that the profits might be less. But profiteering will be curbed.

So this is one step which I am sure all of you will like because it will benefit both the farmer-producer and the consumer. I have told you about some broad things which concern everyone all over the country. You must explain it to others and everybody in the villages should understand these things. So I am sure there will be rapid progress and we will soon be able to catch up with the advanced countries. The main thing is, to what extent the society benefits from these measures.

The problems are innumerable. You must have industries in your village. As far as possible, you must have industries in which you can utilise the raw material that is produced in your own village. It is true that it is not always possible. Electricity can be utilised to run small industries in the villages which will provide employment because otherwise villagers leave their houses and migrate to the cities. It is not a good thing that the villages should be deserted and those migrating to the cities have to face the problem of unemployment there. There must be avenues of employment in the cities as well as the villages.

There are many plans for all this. If you have the time, please take a look at the Five Year Plan which will give you an idea of what your role ought to be. Now, two or two and a half years of the Second Plan have gone by and a little more than two years are left. We must think about the next Plan from now onwards because we want it to be drawn up in consultation with the people. After all, you will have to implement it. The five-year plans are not official documents but belong to the people and have to be implemented by them. Now, we have started the schemes of forming cooperative societies and panchayats, etc. But we do not consider these schemes as belonging to any particular party. They belong to all the parties because they are the work of the people. It is not right that we should indulge in partyism and groupism.

As you know, my association with the Congress dates back to almost 45 years. My entire life has been linked to the Congress organisation and will continue to be so. But the national tasks have to be done by mutual cooperation. There may be differences of opinion because everybody cannot hold exactly the same views. But there should not be complete divergence. If there is a consensus of opinion among the majority, the work will go on smoothly. I do not want groupism to come into all this.

So, you see a great deal of thought has been given to the problems before the nation during the last few days. The problems arise because we are trying to progress. If we had continued to maintain the status quo, there would have been no new problems except the old ones of poverty. But the moment we try to progress, new problems crop up. We are putting up big industries and steel plants and what not which require money. Our poor country has to find the money. Once the steel plants and other industries start production, the people will benefit. But in the initial years, there is only expenditure to be incurred. After a couple of years, we will benefit greatly from the steel plants. But at the moment, they are casting an enormous burden on the nation. The same thing applies to our river valley schemes. These will also bring a lot of benefit to the people though not immediately.

You may have heard that oil has been discovered in your State, in a corner of Saurashtra, not very far from here. I cannot tell you how much it will be in quantity, for it has not been calculated. But it has surely been found and more is likely to be found. This will be of great benefit to the nation. At the moment we are importing oil from outside to the tune of Rs 100 crores. Just imagine what a large amount that is. If enough oil is discovered, it will mean a saving for the country and also more employment to the people. But we have to invest a great deal in the beginning. We are spending a large amount on oil. I do not know exactly but 30 to 40 crores of rupees have to be spent merely on prospecting. If we do not invest in all this, we can never produce oil. Each drilling machine costs a crore of rupees. This is the situation and so we have to work hard, tighten our belts and concentrate our entire attention on these tasks. This is the time to tighten our belts and not to relax.

But what happens on the other side? There is always a demand for more wages and salaries and higher dividends. Each one is bothered about his own personal profit. I do feel that those who are paid very low salaries should be given more. But you must remember what the consequences of such an increase are likely to be. It means cutting into the meagre resources available at the moment for the country's development activities. Therefore, we need investments for which it is necessary to save. As you know, taxes have been increased in the last year or two for the higher income group. But, at the same time, we have had to pay more by way of wages and salaries. Some commission decides these things; we gladly give those salaries; but the money disappears. So we must learn to restrain ourselves for a few years and to shoulder more burdens. It is improper to expect big dividends and to ask for a wage hike at a time like this. Though they have every right to demand, we need every rupee for investment in our development activities. That will mean a larger amount of goods and bigger wages and dividends later.



There is one thing more. I would like you to invest as much as you can in the post office savings account and other things. Your capital remains intact, you get interest and the money is utilised for national tasks. So I have told you a few things. The story of a nation is never ending.

I have come to this part of Gujarat after a long time and I am happy to receive your warm and affectionate welcome. But I have come here to tell you that you should understand the problems that confront us today and maintain unity among yourselves. Please do not indulge in violence, irrespective of what the problem is. There is only one battle to be fought and that is against the poverty and unemployment in the country. We can win this battle only by unity, cooperation and hard work. In this connection, you must have heard Vinobaji's suggestion about a Shanti Sena which is an excellent thing. It is meant not only for special tasks but also to act as mediators in case of a quarrel or dispute. I hope this idea will catch on.

You must remember the kind of world that we live in today. It is the world of the atom bombs. It is a strange world in which there is no place for the weak. It is true that we do not possess the atom bomb; nor are we going to squander our resources in trying to produce them. We shall not follow that path because we think it is wrong. But, at the same time, we cannot afford to remain weak because we will be destroyed. Power does not come merely from the atom bomb. It comes from the heart and mind and from hard work and unity. It is this kind of strength which Mahatma Gandhi generated among the people which led us to freedom. The tasks before us now are even more difficult for they involve the uplift of forty crores of people. It is extremely important to make ourselves strong and united and prepare ourselves to face any danger from outside fearlessly. I do not want that in India people should be afraid of anything because fear makes one weak. There is nothing to be afraid of. If we have self-confidence and move forward, then why should we be afraid of anybody?

So this is how we must act. In this, there is no question of thinking in terms of various States. I was born in Uttar Pradesh, but all the States of India have become my own. I make no distinction between them. All of them are mine. But I am certainly reminded powerfully of the fact that Gandhiji came from Gujarat, from the nearby region of Saurashtra, and he did great revolutionary things peacefully and led India towards freedom. He transformed India and laid the foundations of her progress. He taught his lessons not only to India but to the whole world. He set an example. These are great things and, in a sense, Gujarat has a greater responsibility to devote itself to them.

[Translation ends]

## 11. Allahabad University Convocation Address<sup>143</sup>

Mr Chancellor,<sup>144</sup> Mr Vice Chancellor,<sup>145</sup> Members of the University, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am happy and feel privileged to be here on this occasion and to join in this celebration of the seventieth birthday of this University.<sup>146</sup> I did not have the opportunity and the privilege of studying at this University, but many years ago, you were good enough to invite me to join your fraternity, and so in a sense, and in a close sense, I am one of you. But, whether I have studied in this University or not, I was born and bred, to a considerable extent, under the shadow of this University. And so, I have felt always very near to this University and have taken, naturally, a great deal of interest in it.

A little while ago one of the eminent persons who brought a message of greetings from a foreign University<sup>147</sup> talked about the biblical span of years in connection with the seventy years of this University. And that reminded me that this University and I are almost of the same age. But I have the advantage over the University by being one year younger! Well, seventy years may be a considerable period; it depends how you measure things, by what kind of yardstick, and yet seventy years is not a long period in history, and more especially in the history of India.

It is true that you do not measure anything vital or important by mere stretch of time but rather with the content of that time, what has happened in that time, what has been achieved. Life is not merely a succession of years for the individual or for the University. It is something much deeper to make it worthwhile. This University and others in India, relatively young as they are, may be considered as babes and children in the lap of Mother India with her immemorial story. And during those long stretches of time, Mother India has lit many lamps which have continued to shed lustre throughout the ages and have

143. At the special convocation to celebrate the 70th anniversary of Allahabad University, Allahabad, 21 December 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

144. V.V. Giri, Governor of Uttar Pradesh and Chancellor of the University, presided.

145. Dr Shri Ranjan.

146. As part of the celebrations, honorary degrees were conferred on Dr Zakir Husain, Governor of Bihar; C.D. Deshmukh, Chairman, of the University Grants Commission; Maithilisharan Gupta, Hindi poet and scholar; Smt. Hansa Mehta, former Vice-Chancellor of Baroda University; Homi J. Bhabha, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Lord Edgar Douglas Adrian, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, Prof. N.N. Bogolyubov, the Soviet theoretical physicist; Prof. Satyendra Nath Bose, Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati University; and Sudhi Ranjan Das, Chief Justice of India.

147. Lord Edgar Douglas Adrian of the University of Cambridge.



resisted strong winds that tried to put them out. So, even though your University may be young, only seventy years old, it is built on a much older tradition which goes far, far back. Standing in this city of Allahabad or Prayag, my mind goes back, inevitably, to another great centre of learning which existed here long ages ago. Not far from this place is the Bharadwaj Ashram.<sup>148</sup> And perhaps you of the University of Allahabad might be justified, to some extent, in considering yourselves as the successors and inheritors of that great seat of learning which existed not far from this particular spot.

So, the ages go by, traditions survive and some people with a passion for what they call logic sometimes argue in a narrow way about the truth or historical veracity of a tradition. That is right, of course. Historians should do that. But remember this: a tradition which is widely held is a powerful truth in itself, whether it has a historical background or not. A thought or a tradition which has affected millions and millions of people through the ages itself becomes something in the nature of truth. Would you have it? It may matter to a historian but does it matter very much after all, from a wider point of view, if the Mahabharata war took place or the Ramayana story took place. What does matter is that these, the great epics that enshrine the traditions that have flown from them and which have affected millions and millions of people, and affect them today, is the truth, whatever the historical veracity, or not, of it.

So, people are moulded, whole generations are moulded by these traditions and what we are today in India have been moulded by a great variety of tradition of thinking and so many other things that have happened through the ages and have received light, even though perhaps our eyes may have often been closed to it, from those lamps lit long, long ago. We have to nurture those lamps. That is a duty which we owe not only to past generations but much more so to ourselves. That is true. And yet one cannot live always merely by the light of lamps lit long ago. Each generation, if it has to be worthwhile, has to light its own lamps. Thus humanity progresses and goes on, and the moment that a generation forgets or becomes incapable of lighting the lamp which it ought to do then that generation becomes decadent or at any rate it loses creativeness. It only slavishly copies what has been done in the past and, however good the original, a copy is never to be preferred.

We who live in the present day, what are our obligations, especially in India? Most of you young men and women, who have taken your degrees, will begin to face life's problems from now on. What a curious world we live in! And I often wonder how this world must appear to the young man or the

148. The Bharadwaj Ashram, opposite Anand Bhawan, Allahabad, claimed as the ashram of Bharadwaj, the Vedic sage. There is a branch in Haridwar also.

young woman coming out of a university, coming out of a certain sheltered existence into this disturbed and disturbing world. I cannot put myself in your place. It is bad enough to be in my own place. Nevertheless, it is rather extraordinary, the world we live in, and I do not know what would be the best symbol of this age, because it has many facets about it; there are so many aspects of it. But still, I think it would not be untrue to say that the basic symbol of today is the hydrogen bomb and, if you like, those long distance missiles and rockets. They are symbols in two ways, and in effect politics, statesmanship, call it what you like, is powerfully affected by this; the relationship of states is powerfully affected by the presence of this hydrogen bomb and other tremendous weapons. We live in apprehension and fear as to where we might be led to. We live also in hope. For the hydrogen bomb or nuclear, thermonuclear weapons and many others, all products of science and technology, all representing a tremendous advance in human thinking because it is a tremendous advance and, therefore, by virtue of that advance, bringing nearer to you—and to everybody in the wide world—the possibility of great advance, the possibility of solving practically all the problems that affect us in the material field. There is that tremendous avenue opened out, perhaps for the first time in human history, the possibility of solving the problems that flow from poverty, from lack of resources, from so many things, and at the same time, the other aspect also, for the first time in human history, of total destruction not only of civilisation but perhaps of life itself. And that is the strange picture that presents itself in the world today, in the world in which the young graduates of Allahabad and other universities venture for. How are we to deal with it is the biggest problem of the day. I cannot answer that question, but I want to point out to you some of the many aspects of that question. One obviously is that this child, call it monster or call it what you will, of science, can only be understood or ultimately controlled by science. In fact, science and all its progeny have played and are playing and will no doubt play a tremendous part in human existence.

So we have to use methods of science and we have to lay great stress, therefore, on learning the ways and the temper of science. The ways of science, yes! But I add the temper of science too, because if you have not got that temper of science then you have not properly benefited by it or understood it. We have to solve this problem by understanding and utilising science.

Then the second aspect is the economic approach or economic policy that we adopt in dealing with the problems of the nation or of the world. Primarily we are concerned with our nation. Therefore, we have two things, science and economic policy. Economic policy affects our day-to-day life on primary things. Are those two enough? They certainly have covered a large distance and yet,



perhaps, they are not enough and something else has to be added. I do not know how to describe that something else. Perhaps, I may call it an ethical content, an ethical approach. I cannot advance any reasons to say why an ethical approach is necessary except that I feel convinced that it is so. Because it is that ethical approach alone that is likely to convert that impersonal thing that is science or that something which has been produced by science; it is that ethical approach alone that is likely to give it a right direction. Otherwise, it may blunder into a wrong direction and into world disaster. We get these three things, and if you look at the picture again, you will see that if any of these three is lacking, you do not achieve much. Obviously, if science is lacking, that is, the knowledge of science and the application of science, then you do not go ahead at all. You become just the plaything of others, as we had been in the past. This world is a world of science more, almost, than anything else. That is true and, therefore, we have to honour science, understand what it is, and consider it, as it is indeed, fundamentally the search for truth.

Long, long years ago, India started on a search for truth, or ultimate reality, or call it what you will. Now, whether it is quite right for me to put these two searches on the same level, I do not know. But I think any kind of search for truth, for understanding, ultimately has a certain spiritual element in it. For me a true scientist today is, perhaps, more spiritual than a man who may call himself religious, and whose mind is limited by some religious values and does not go beyond it. So, long ago India started on her quest of truth and that quest was essentially, in its own way, a scientific quest. Naturally, when you deal with some levels of existence which appear to be beyond the known physical world, you cannot apply the known methods of science. But the point is, it has that element of science in it. There was that spirit, that questing spirit, and it is that questing spirit that has characterised science. There are all kinds of scientists, of course, as there are all kinds of other people. But the strength of science is that it is a search of truth in an objective way, and not being afraid of the consequences of that search. So we must have that and the moment you fall back in this march of science, you fall back completely. The whole world has become different because of science in the last 200 or 250 years, and the Industrial Revolution and all that has followed it. These 200 years or so have revolutionised the world, human beings and society, and everything, and made it completely different from what it was for thousands of years before that.

We in India, who have rather fallen back for various reasons, are trying to catch up and we cannot catch up without the aid of science and technology and without industrialisation. You must be clear about that. I find that many of us do not take the trouble to think clearly, and I am a little afraid sometimes of the confusion in our own thought. It seems to me perfectly clear that India

cannot make progress materially and if you do not make progress materially I do not think you make progress culturally or spiritually. You have to have certain material standards before a nation goes far ahead in the cultural or spiritual spheres. So India cannot progress materially without the aid of science and technology. That is patent. And you see that it is through science and technology that the countries that are supposed to be prosperous today have progressed.

I should like to draw your attention to another aspect—whether we progress or not, something else goes on happening. Population goes on increasing. People are born and people die. And as, fortunately, we have made some progress in recent years in India in delaying mortality, in better health conditions, in the conquest of disease, the death rate has notably fallen, resulting in the survival rate going up and the population increases at a fast pace. Naturally the burden on your resources is increasing and even to keep where you are, you have to run. Remember it. Even to retain the position you have got now, because of this increase of population, you have to march fast to keep pace with something that will otherwise overwhelm you.

What is to be done? First, as I said, we have to use science and technology. But how we are to use it and what policies, what other policies we are to pursue? That leads one to economic policies. And economic policies are to be seen in the new context of the world, in the new context of India as she is today. It is not much good thinking of some economic policy which may have been very good for India a thousand years ago or two thousand years ago. Apart from every other reason, the population is probably hundreds of times what it was a thousand years ago in India. The whole background then was different: plenty of land, plenty of food to eat and cows to milk and what not. But the position becomes fundamentally different now. It is no good taking some principle from a thousand years ago and trying to apply it now, because conditions are different. Of course, high principles are applicable always, some basic principles. Nor is it any good for us to try to understand our problem by the present-day problems of highly industrialised societies. We can learn from them. We must learn from them, because they have blazed the trail and we have to learn from them. But the problems of developed industrialised nations are different from the problems of underdeveloped nations, although we can learn from them. Therefore, the type of economic policy that we have to develop has to be related first to the problems of underdeveloped nations; secondly, to the peculiar problems of India as she is today, and, of course, we have always to keep in mind the rapid increase in population because that is intimately connected with the problems of resources, etc. That is the context in which you have to see this and seeing it in that context you come back to the third



element which I mentioned and which I call the ethical approach.

I do not know if it is necessary to use any arguments, but surely man is something more than a person eating and drinking and copulating and bringing out children; something more than that. After all, man is something more than the material things that surround him. At any rate, therefore, an Indian should challenge that proposition, whatever others might do. And I am not putting forward that challenge as a man of religion because I am not a man of religion in the narrow sense of the word. But surely there are certain values which are beyond material values. Take anything. Take art. How do you measure art? You may measure it, of course, by the price somebody pays for a picture. But that is rather debasing art. But there is no material standard to measure it. You measure it by certain sensations it may produce in you, pleasurable or other. How do you measure beauty? You cannot measure it. Above all, how do you measure truth? What is truth? The question has certain values, cultural, spiritual, which are obviously deeper than the physical or material things. But having said that, I should like to warn you of the danger, the trap, in which we often fall in India. We talk piously and pompously of the spirituality of India, and having said that imagine that we are of the elect and the select, and, therefore, we need do nothing except to bask under this spirituality. That, I feel, is a dangerous way of thinking, and of deluding oneself. Of course, India has a strong store of spirituality. But you and I are not spiritual because India has had it in the past. And by repeating some mantras or some phrases you do not become spiritual. Surely, spirituality is something deeper than recitation of some phrases and slogans. In life, therefore, do not talk so much about your spirituality or anybody else's. If you attach value to it, try to develop it yourself. If there is some meaning in that it will come out of you without your talking about it.

Again, I am not referring to this matter in a narrow way, but something deeper. In all these words that one uses one tends to narrow the meaning, to limit it. I do not want to limit it. But it seems to me quite clear that unless there is an ethical approach, or call it spiritual, all these other elements that we have, scientific, technological and economic theory and all that, important and essential as they are, yet something is lacking in them; and that again leads me to think of something that Gandhiji used to say and repeat again and again— "means and ends". Means are not only as important but, as he said, more important than ends. The way you function, the way you seek your goal is most important. That seems obvious enough in a way, and yet I am not sure that most people accept that statement about means and ends, that is, that it is not enough for you to aim right, to have a good objective, but the means, the methods you employ to gain that objective, must also be good. Or else, indeed, you do not reach that objective or reach it in a distorted way. That is again where the

ethical element comes in. I believe firmly, as I believe most of the laws of science—although even apparently the laws of science appear to change nowadays—I do believe firmly in cause and effect in the domain of human conduct, that is, good action has good results, bad action has bad results. It may not follow immediately but it has, I think, fixity of a scientific truth. You cannot escape it whatever form it may take, however long it may take and, therefore, if the means are wrong they are bound to pervert the end, and that prevents you from reaching the end.

What then are we to do about it? In the world today, I began by saying that the hydrogen bomb dominates life, dominates politics, dominates foreign policy and domestic policy, and yet that hydrogen bomb is something of infinite value to humanity which can be used to solve the material problems of humanity at least. In a sense, anybody can see now that war is just pure nonsense. It is pure nonsense. Everybody recognises it. All the great statesmen of every country recognise that, because that is absolutely clear for two reasons. One reason is very obvious, the other may not be thought of. Everyone recognises that real war today with these tremendous weapons would mean such vast destruction. There can be no winner and it may well end in total destruction of life on the planet. After all, even the great military conquerors of the past had some objective in view. They wanted to gain something; they wanted to gain territory; they wanted to gain human beings to rule over. They wanted to gain wealth. They wanted to gain fame. Some objective they had. Now, it can almost be shown that war does not lead to any of these gains. Then what do you have wars for unless you are completely mad? Just for the sake of sheer destruction? Well, politicians, bad as they are, are not completely mad. They have, after all, to think of certain consequences. The odd thing is that while it is realised by every person, I mean to say, in spite of this cold war whether you go to any country, West or East, England, France, the United States, Soviet Union, everybody recognises that: Oh, nuclear war is ruled out. Then they come back to something else. Perhaps there might be, what they call, a smaller war with tactical weapons. But what is this tactical weapon? The tactical weapon is also a nuclear weapon, but on a smaller scale. We used to talk about conventional weapons and nuclear weapons—conventional weapons being the other weapons which are not nuclear. But now the line between conventional weapons and nuclear weapons becomes thinner and thinner and many of these smaller conventional weapons are really nuclear weapons. Anyhow, to imagine that we must avoid the big war but we might indulge in a small war seems rather curious and illogical. Once any such small war begins in which the powers having the nuclear weapons are involved, it will inevitably lead to the use of the bigger weapon, and then it is an all-out war, all over the world. We in India are



determined not to be dragged into a war, but, remember, whether we are dragged in or not, if a big nuclear war takes place, everybody suffers, every country suffers, the atmosphere is vitiated; all kinds of consequences flow, apart from the direct damage. Therefore, a small war is also absurd and leads to the big war and leads to something which nobody wants.

If that is so why then this cold war, a curious thing that occupies the minds and activities of many very eminent men today? What is cold war? Having, developing a war psychosis, an atmosphere of war and hatred and without actively shooting at each other, that is, always keeping on the brink of war, hoping that you will not topple over into the pit. Is it a wise thing? First of all, living on the brink is a dangerous matter. Many accidents may happen. Even without your wishing it, you may be thrown overboard. Secondly, this kind of living all the time in hatred and anger surely cannot be good for the individual or for any group or community. I do think that fear and hatred are probably the worst things in the world. Almost everything else is preferable to fear and hatred; it may distort and limit a person and a community or a nation. And the cold war is the essence of fear and hatred deliberately being encouraged by various types of state action. And the state is very powerful today in the means of propaganda and all that. So it is very illogical.

As I said, first of all, war is ruled out because it does not lead to any of the results that you aim at. Secondly, basically the reasons that led to war in past ages were to get something, to acquire wealth or territory. Well, you can acquire that wealth, not territory, perhaps, but you can acquire that wealth by peaceful methods far more easily today, through the means of science and technology. That is, what could not be achieved in the past, except at the expense of somebody else or some other nation or community or individual, and what, therefore, led to war, can be achieved today by peaceful methods and by the wise use of scientific methods and technology and exploitation of resources.

Therefore, for both reasons, positive and negative, the continuation of this war mentality seems to be quite wrong. Of course, we cannot do things by magic and even utilising all these resources placed at our disposal by science will take time but not very long, and you can do it, maybe in a generation, maybe in more than a generation. What is that in the history of a nation, or in progress? But the progress is fairly rapid after you manage to cross a certain barrier which stops an underdeveloped country from going ahead.

I do not know if I have succeeded in placing before you these simple ideas in a logical way but they seem to me quite simple, and the only thing against this kind of thing is fear, apprehension, distrust. I do not suggest, because it is not possible except for saints, that everyone should rid himself of this fear and hatred and rely on the goodness of everybody else or every other country. No

politician can play that role even though he may admire it. He cannot take risks. An individual may take risks, but that individual cannot take too great risks on behalf of others, on behalf of the community or the nation. That individual has to ensure the security of that nation and, whether he suffers from fear or not, he has to be vigilant. So I do not expect people to become angels suddenly, but I do wish, I would like them to move in the right direction, however slowly. The right direction means that while we are vigilant and while we are taking such steps as we consider necessary for our security, for our freedom, nevertheless, our actions, our words and what we write should be something that does not encourage fear and hatred, but discourages that. Today you see that there is a deliberate attempt to run down the adversary, to run down the potential enemy, to paint him or the country as black as possible. I submit that while every individual and every country has the right to hold to its opinion, and must and should hold to its opinion and not, certainly not, give up any principle it holds dear, it is not right for it to go about defaming the other country and its opinions and such principles that the other country holds.

Having been brought up in a certain tradition in India—not only I but all of us—perhaps it is easier for us in India, in such matters, to be tolerant of various opinions. Our entire background, religious or other, is one of tolerance; in fact, if I may go further, of not caring very much what the other fellow does, if you go to the religious background, not caring how the other person thinks, how he seeks his way to God or to the ultimate reality. It is open to anybody to do what he likes, through any number of ways: “I do not want to come in the way”, that is the normal old Indian background. Whether it is good or bad I am not arguing, but it leads easily to the “live-and-let-live” attitude, to toleration, to coexistence of rival and varying and contradictory ways of life. We talk of coexistence today, and you have no doubt heard, on the political plane, talk of Panchsheel and five principles of coexistence. Then people point out that you talk about these matters, but do people live up to them? Do countries live up to them? That is a fair criticism and yet not a very valid one. You might as well say: What is the good of your talking about truth when many people lie? Maybe, but truth does not become untruth because so many people lie. Or the right way does not become the wrong way because some of us are feeling not strong enough to take the right way. Therefore, it is easy, looking at it from the philosophical background of India, for us to adapt ourselves to this coexistence policy. It may not be easy for others in the same way to that extent.

Previously this question might have been considered in a philosophical way. Today, it is not the question of some academic debate. There is no escape from it today, because the alternative to peaceful coexistence is unpeaceful war—unpeaceful is rather redundant—conflict, and conflict at a time when



the hydrogen bomb dominates the scene. So you are driven back. There is no choice left except peaceful coexistence, that is, putting up with ideas, countries, communities that you do not like. It is easy enough to put up with people you like and people you agree with. No difficulty arises. The question only arises when you do not like others, their views, when you consider others' views dangerous. Well, if you consider other views dangerous, protect yourself from them in the realm of thought, or in whatever other manner you choose, but do not think, do not imagine, in the context of the world today that you are going to suppress them. How are you going to suppress them? Suppressing means suppressing the nation holding them, and it is axiomatic that you cannot do that, because that means atomic war and destruction all over. So if you cannot suppress them, why go on nagging at them and thus creating ill will? Do not accept them, hold to the truth which you believe in, but also accept the basic fact that you cannot suppress the other fellow either as an individual believing in something or as a nation holding to some way of life and policy. Of course, you can and you should always try to convert the other fellow in a peaceful way, in a friendly way. A nation may try to convert the other by peaceful arguments, not by the modern type of aggressive propaganda which itself is hardly a process of conversion, but some kind of an oppressive approach.

Thus whether it is in our domestic policy or foreign policy, the approach should be a friendly one, even to those countries with whom we do not agree. To consider any country bad is itself bad. No country is wholly bad, as no individual is wholly bad, and for us to call others bad and imagining ourselves to be very virtuous, is nonsense. We have plenty of failings and the less we think of other people's failings the better. Let us try to mend our own. So in this world dominated by the hydrogen bomb and all that goes with it, we have to think in rather a new way. Each generation has to face new problems, much more so when a generation has to face a rapidly changing situation in the world.

In the last thirty, forty, fifty years, scientists, physicists, and especially mathematicians, have changed the entire conception of the physical world. When I studied science at Cambridge in England, we had certain set ideas put before us, neatly labelled everything, and not very difficult to understand, but soon after I left, a series of discoveries, adventures, started with Einstein and others which upset every theory; if not every theory, many of the basic theories held by science, and physicists and mathematics came into the picture in a big way. And all this, of course, has led to all this splitting of the atom and the transmutation of elements. What in the old days the alchemist used to dream about has taken place in modern science. And ultimately we have atomic energy and the like; we have the Sputniks and the Explorers rushing about in space. It

is an astounding change and, therefore, the problems you face today are different, and all your text books which were written before are, in a sense, out of date. You may learn something from them, of course, but you have to be very up to date if you follow what is happening in science or what has happened almost in any other branch of thought, except, perhaps, some basic things like philosophy.

Therefore, you face a world where there is probably going to be a new industrial revolution. The old Industrial Revolution has not completed itself all over the world. It has affected chiefly the United States and large parts of Europe and bits of Asia, like Japan. We are trying to catch up in India and some other countries are too. There are large parts of the world like Africa and parts of Asia which have not been industrialised in terms of the Industrial Revolution. Meanwhile, though the old one has not exhausted itself and has not spread out everywhere, a new industrial revolution seems to hover in the distance due chiefly to atomic energy and atomic power.

Now, forget the bomb. I am not talking about the bomb now; I am talking about this great mighty atomic power, which can be used for peaceful purposes as power. Power is the most important thing that the development of science gave to man: steam power, electric power. It is a tremendous thing that has really revolutionised everything, the Industrial Revolution itself. Power from atomic energy is produced even now, but there are arguments as to whether it is economical or not, and it is said that under certain circumstances even now it can be economical. In some other circumstances it might cost a little more. We need not to go into this argument. The point is that there can be no doubt that in the future—whether that future is ten years or twenty years, I cannot say—some form of atomic power is going to be the chief agency to be used and, further, that the sources of that are not limited at all as the sources of coal and petroleum and hydroelectric power—there are just unlimited quantities of that we will be able to get. So, we are, in a sense, on the verge of a new industrial revolution. And we in India have to face two, the old Industrial Revolution and the new, at the same time. In fact, all this is leading up to such a great change in, what is called, civilisation that one might well say that gradually and slowly, a new civilisation is taking shape, provided it is not extinguished by a sudden disaster.

Now, think of this tremendous age of opportunity that you young men and young women are going to live in. It is an amazing change for any person with the spirit of adventure, of daring, with ability to strike out and go ahead, not against somebody but generally to increase human knowledge, opportunity, and help in the material betterment and the cultural and spiritual betterment of his fellow men. The whole world is in ferment. I want you, young men especially,



to realise that and get out of your ruts and grooves of thought, because I find that not many people, oddly enough, realise this tremendously exciting thing, that is, the world today. It is odd. They live in the world. All these vastly exciting things happen, and yet, almost like water on a duck's back, it does not seem to affect them, the way they do not even notice these big things. At any rate, if they notice them it does not affect their thinking, and it is their thinking power that has to be affected, because, after all, the younger generation today will be the generation in control of the destinies of India soon, a few years later. And we will have to carry this enormous burden which requires a great deal of ability, hard work, thinking capacity and understanding the world as it is, and not thinking of some bygone age and living in that.

How are you preparing yourself mentally? How? I am not, for the moment, thinking about the courses you have in this University. Presumably you learn something from them. But it is the mental outlook and that temper of science that I am thinking of. Do not imagine that because you have got your degree, you have finished your education. You may have learnt much from your University, but a University only sets you on the path of knowledge and you have to persevere yourselves. You have many things to do in India, tremendous things. And there are many ways of looking at it. One is to feel rather overwhelmed at the magnitude of these great tasks; the other is to feel excited that you have got to do some big things, and to welcome it. I do not know what your approach is. I hope it is the latter and if it is the latter, you will not lose yourself in the trivial things of life, in trivial conflicts and difficulties which make you trivial. And if a nation thinks too much of trivial things, that nation becomes trivial.

We have many things to do in India. How are we to do them? Well, we plan. We try to plan wisely. We may be lacking in perfect wisdom. I suppose, we do. But we plan. Here again planning, that is, wise planning has become an essential ingredient certainly of Indian life and, I would say, of other countries' lives too. But I am not concerned with other countries. It is an absolute ingredient. I find some people talking still, to my amazement, as if planning was a nuisance, as if it was an interference with the natural flow of human life. There is not much natural flow of life if you see the millions of India, and the conditions in which they live in. If that is somebody's idea of the natural flow of human life, well, it is not mine. It is most unnatural and degrading for human beings to live as scores of millions in India live. Anyhow, there is no place for argument, and I am not arguing. But I repeat the three things that: we must take advantage of science and technology; we must plan wisely and purposefully to increase our resources and to use them to best advantage; and, thirdly, we have to keep this ethical background in view.

Essentially all these three things should be taught to you in the course of your education in the University. I saw a report in this morning's papers that Dr Deshmukh laid stress on education in his address yesterday.<sup>149</sup> Quite rightly I think. It is through education alone that you prepare the ground for progress, prepare your mind and your body. Progress is not something that comes out of a factory, it does not! It is the factory that comes out of your mind, not your mind out of a factory. Patently, therefore, the basis of progress is education. Education, again, of both types: the wider spread of basic education, which everybody should share; and opportunities of the highest type of education for those who are capable of absorbing it. I have no doubt about that. I cannot say how many years it will take, what it should be next year or in the next five years. Any money wisely spent on that can never be wasted. It will bear fruit. If you talk about industrialisation, what do you mean by that? You mean big factories, iron and steel plants, and all that going up. Yes, who puts them up? You ask some experts from foreign countries to put them up. Yes, because we cannot do so today, they put them up. Who runs them? Are foreigners going to run them? Obviously, our own people; obviously, you have to train them, and to train them in India so that they may make those plants and machines, and run them. You must realise this that you may put up an iron and steel plant in five years' time but you require fifteen years or more to train the man who will run that plant. So the highly specialised training to human beings is essential and important. So you cannot industrialise the country without the wide spread of education at all levels; that is basic. You find in all industrialised communities education is inevitably found not so much for the love of education but because of the necessities of the situation.

Well, I hope, Mr Chancellor, that I have not taken up too much of the time of this great congregation. But may I say, with all respect, that even though I come back to Allahabad rather infrequently, maybe two or three days in a year, I feel happy to come back and see many old friends, old faces and old landmarks!

So, I wish this University well. It has produced many many notable and outstanding men in the past. May it produce even greater people in the future!

149. In his convocation address at Allahabad University on 20 Dec. 1958, C.D. Deshmukh, Chairman, University Grants Commission, asked for better educational funding.



## 12. Visva-Bharati University Convocation Address<sup>150</sup>

Mr Vice Chancellor<sup>151</sup> and Governor,<sup>152</sup> Teachers, Graduates and Members of Visva-Bharati.

I have been coming here year after year<sup>153</sup> on this occasion and every time it is an act of pilgrimage for me to come here, to tread the ground which was trodden by Gurudeva and to imbibe somewhat the atmosphere which Gurudeva breathed and indeed produced here. So this visit of mine to the Convocation of Visva-Bharati or indeed to any other function at Santiniketan stands apart in my mind from any other activity I may indulge in. So I am happy to be here and to see faces of young men and young women and to wonder at the same time what they are going to take away with them from their stay at Visva-Bharati because, after all, the important thing is what you have learnt here and what you carry away with you to give to others. Yesterday, at that ceremony where the foundation stone was laid for Bichitra Rabindra Sadan, we had some very beautiful hymns, invocations from the Vedas.<sup>154</sup> And today, in the course of this convocation programme, there have also been invocations read out to you and your responses and advice repeated from words used ages ago, but which even today sound beautiful and something that is of great depth. Now, is this not an odd thing in this world today, this rapidly changing world, when practically the whole nature of man is in a sense being affected by these changes, when the whole of the physical world appears in quite a different guise to us?

When I was a student like you at a University and studied science there, we had some conception of the physical world which was rather definite and in these years since then that conception has completely changed and science has gone ahead, and then all kinds of things have changed our ideas of physical world, and goes on doing that with science and technology producing more and more new things and new powers for human beings to use. I do believe that we stand probably on the threshold of a new civilisation. Of course, civilisation is ever changing; it has something of the old and something of the new. It changed greatly with the coming of the Industrial Revolution and it will

150. Santiniketan, 24 December 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Nehru was the Chancellor of the University.

151. Satyendra Nath Bose.

152. Padmaja Naidu.

153. Nehru delivered the convocation address of the University on 23 Dec. 1957. See SWJN/SS/40/pp. 226-238.

154. Nehru laid the foundation stone of the Bichitra Rabindra Sadan at Santiniketan on 23 Dec. 1958. For Nehru's speech on the occasion, see item 236.

change, I think, and is changing greatly with the coming of all kinds of new powers of which you hear so much—atomic energy and its horrible product, the atomic bomb.

Now, on the one side, we have this tremendous change going on and, on the other side, we have those invocations and verses from the Vedas being recited by you. That invocation and those verses seem to me as true today as ever they were thousands of years ago. What does that show? It shows that those verses deal with something permanent; they have some semblance of eternity about them, about the message they convey, which does not change with the changing world, or with the fresh discoveries about physical world or about the advance of science or technology, because they deal with human being, his spirit, his soul, what he is. It is well that we are reminded of that, because in this world today all of us and the world itself is being swept away in certain directions which are sometimes good and sometimes bad. You know that today in the world, although you may talk about peace and shanti here, there is little peace in the world, little of the essence of peaceful behaviour in the world. The world is full of tension, full of quarrels which are not resolved and full of preparation for war, although no one wants war, although everyone knows that war today will be too terrible to contemplate. How have we got entangled in this way? In the responses that you have made, you have declared your faith, you have affirmed your ideal, you have said we are of the faith that truth is one and undivided, though diverse may be the ways leading there unto. Through separate paths pilgrims from various lands arrive at the same shrine of truth. You have affirmed that ideal and if that ideal was accepted by the entire world, then there would be little trouble in the world. But it is not accepted. And people imagine that a portion of truth that they have got is the only truth and nobody else has a share in it unless he falls into line with you. And so all over the world you find these conflicts of each group imagining that it possesses the truth and not the others and not realising that truth is too big a thing to be possessed by any one group.

You have heard, no doubt, that we talk sometimes of coexistence in our foreign policy or even in our internal life, national life. In India there is a great variety of people; in the world of course there is a greater variety and yet in India we hold that we are one nation in spite of that variety and we try to keep that variety, not to suppress it, because it adds to the richness and diversity of life in India. We have to hold to the unity also. India was held together in the past, insofar as it was held together, because of this tolerance of others, because of this unity and recognising diversity at the same time, because of not trying to impose her will on others who may think differently, and that is the essence of tolerance. That lesson is taught in other parts of the world too. But as we



see today at least, it is not always acted upon and therefore when a person says that there should be coexistence in the world, people are astonished, surprised. How can there be coexistence when, according to some people, the forces of evil are ranged against the forces of right? And yet it is perfectly true that unless there is coexistence in the world, this world will perish.

How does all this apply to you, young graduates who have taken your degrees? It is well that you realise the kind of world you live in, the kind of world you are going to face now when you leave this University and face the problems of the day—they are difficult problems, because the world is a difficult place to live in at present, because the world is a changing place. And when there is a change, you cannot get into a rut. You have to be wide awake, you have to keep pace with the change, understand it, push it, maybe divert it sometimes in directions you consider right. It is a difficult world, maybe sometimes a dangerous world, but an exciting world and a worthwhile world for a man or a woman to face. It is not much good any individual having a soft life, which saps your body and mind and makes you just a limp, inert piece of matter. A person who is worthwhile must be physically worthwhile, mentally worthwhile and spiritually worthwhile and prepared to face difficulties and problems and to work big mountains without complaining and at the same time keeping to one's ideals, because if you have no ideals then you will have no anchorage.

Now, there are many universities in India, great big universities, the biggest of all, Calcutta, is not far from here where apparently hundreds of thousands of people go and study. There are other universities, big universities, but Visva-Bharati obviously is unlike other universities in India, and although it has been recognised as a university under a special Act,<sup>155</sup> it is still different. It was meant to be different when it was founded and I am not quite sure in my mind if Gurudeva would have liked this University being made subject of an Act of Parliament and being limited and confined by that Act of Parliament. I am not at all sure, because if you want certain advantages that flow from parliamentary recognition, you lose some advantages too which you possessed previously. However, that is not a question before us, because this decision was taken some years ago. But even when this decision was taken, stress was laid that Visva-Bharati should retain its special character and should not become just a pale and perhaps rather unsuccessful copy of the bigger universities in India. There will be no particular point in Visva-Bharati being, let us say, a very, very small edition of Calcutta here. Calcutta is big enough to absorb you; if it has a

155. The Visva-Bharati Act of 1951.

hundred thousand people, it can absorb a few thousand more without much effort. Therefore, the whole object of Visva-Bharati functioning is because of its special character, because it gives, it attempts to give something special to its students. That something special is not perhaps, shall I say, that it gives them much higher scientific training or in some other subjects too. It may not be higher intellectual training; in some subjects it may be higher intellectual training. Nevertheless it is supposed to give something special which moulds a person, his thinking and his habits.

A person who has been to Visva-Bharati or Santiniketan should carry the stamp of this institution wherever he or she goes. How far is that so now? I heard the other day that some things, not very important in themselves, but which struck me as very remarkable and very distressing in Visva-Bharati or in Santiniketan occurring here, something in the nature of strikes, something in the nature of hartals and hunger strikes and all that. I was astonished that this kind of disease has entered the Visva-Bharati. I am not entering into the merits of any question, whether a person who indulges in this has a grievance, a legitimate grievance, or not; he may have it or may not have it. But where the atmosphere of any university is troubled by these things, there is something wrong somewhere. Where the relationship of teacher and pupil is broken in a sense, there is no intimacy, there is no communion of mind and spirit, then that university is not functioning as it should. That applies to every university and I fear that if you apply that standard, few universities are functioning as they should. But in regard to Visva-Bharati, that is much more necessary than other universities. In other universities, there are vast numbers of boys and girls and it is really difficult just because of numbers to develop that intimate touch between teacher and pupil. But in Visva-Bharati, you do not and you should not go in for numbers, just adding to your numbers. You go in for some quality, I take it. And here the relationship between teacher and pupil should be of the most intimate kind, as indeed is envisaged in all the invocations and responses that you have made. It is a peculiar relationship, which has been honoured throughout the ages and in India perhaps even more than other countries.

What exactly is a university—a place of learning, a place of passing examinations and the like, or what you would like to call it? A university ultimately is not a big building, a big culture hall and the like. A university essentially is the communion of a teacher with his pupils. Nothing else matters, whether you have a building or not. If there is a teacher and if there are pupils, that is the real university. Two, three days ago, I was in Allahabad and the Allahabad University was celebrating its seventy years of existence.<sup>156</sup> It struck me there that right

156. For Nehru's convocation address on that occasion, see item 11.



near that place was the ancient site of an ancient university, the Bharadwaj Ashram, which is supposed to have existed almost in mythological times. I believe it did exist historically long ago, I don't know, two thousand, three thousand years ago, or more. And I spoke to those people in Allahabad University of the Bharadwaj Ashram<sup>157</sup> as a contrast with the modern trend in universities—and yet something that is at the back perhaps of our minds still, because, after all, we have grown out of that in these thousands of years. Nobody in those days, I take it, talked of fine buildings for universities, Bharadwaj or anyone else. But they were always thinking of the communion of the teacher with the taught, of questions and answers, of exploring, of searching for truth by questions and answers and so on and so forth. You talk about the Upanishads. What are the Upanishads? What does that mean? I believe it means sitting near one another, the teacher and pupils sitting near one another and asking questions for enlightenment and thus gradually trying to find out what truth is. But you see the tradition, the ancient tradition of India of searching for the truth in a more or less scientific, logical way, not accepting anything for granted because somebody else says so, but searching for oneself to find out for oneself, because only then is it worthwhile. If you accept something blindfolded, and then you have not grasped it, you have not understood it; it is not much use to you; you may pass an examination perhaps by repeating it but it does not do much good. Now, that is the old Indian tradition and maybe in other countries too.

I can't say that I am very happy at all the educational effort becoming—just going round and round in a process of examinations. Examinations are useful, I am not against them; at least, I do not know what else you can put in their place. But still I am unhappy that this contact, communion between the teacher and the taught is becoming less in India partly because numbers overwhelm it. But whatever it may be, in the rest of India, surely in Visva-Bharati, it must subsist. Otherwise there is no particular value left in Visva-Bharati; you only become a small edition of the bigger universities of India. I hope, therefore, that this particular point will be kept in mind, because you are surrounded by currents of life which possibly all the time try to upset your ways—currents in other universities, all that is happening. You have to be on your guard always not to be swept away, to keep to the ideal that you proclaim, keep to the message that Gurudeva gave which, mind you, is not a message, an exclusive message, but is a message which affects your mind and spirit and tells you how to look at the world, and how to behave towards others. It is a message of peace, and repeatedly peace comes up again and again in all those ancient invocations that you recite, goodwill to other men. How simple and

157. See item 11, here p. 159.

ordinary and rather prosaic this language is and yet it is no platitude when you look at the world today, and it is no platitude when you read these Sanskrit verses, because they are vital, they are full of life, they mean something, not platitudes being mumbled by us without understanding them. And we see how utterly important they are in the world today where there is this conflict and preparation for war and all that.

On the one hand, we have this tremendous advance in science and technology. It is good for humanity because for the first time in human history human beings can solve their problems, their material problems, and there is no doubt about it. Science and technology today, wisely used, can solve every material problem of the world and put an end to poverty and put an end to the lack of the necessary things of life and so many other things. It may take some time, of course; it does not do it by magic. But within an appreciable time, not too long, it can solve the problems, the material problems of the world. Note I go on repeating the material problems. The material problems do not exhaust the problems of humanity; there are other problems too. For that, you have to make a different approach. Anyhow, material problems are of high importance. If you do not solve material problems—you are hungry and thirsty and starved—well, it is not particularly easy for you or for anyone to advance culturally or even spiritually. There are certain material backgrounds that are essential for an individual and for a country. So modern science and technology has the power to solve every material problem of the world, I say. Partly, it has solved those problems materially in the rich developed countries of the world. And it can solve them in the undeveloped countries. Maybe it might take twenty years, thirty years, forty years—I don't know how long it will take; but it can do that, probably much sooner than people imagine, provided of course all the energy of the world is not spent in preparing for self-destruction, the vast sums of money and energy that is spent in this race of armament and all that. So, on the one side, for the first time in history, science and technology have placed this enormous power in men's hands to get rid of the old curse of poverty and all that comes out of it. At the same time, science and technology have put in man's hands great powers, which can be used for ill purposes, for self-destructive purposes and so we stand on the brink of disaster all the time; one does not know. The curious thing is that this standing on the brink should take place when in a sense the world could march easily to prosperity and higher standards than have ever been dreamt of before. That is the curious paradox of the age today.

Now, what is science and what is technology? I remember last year I was told something about scientific classes being introduced here in Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, and I commended that to you. I said, yes, this is world of science



and I hope that this type of education will be attended to here. I hope so still. I do not quite know how far it has proceeded here. But while science has made this tremendous progress, at the same time one sees that unless science is controlled by something else, it may lead to disaster. Science, in other words, has no soul. It is the human being that provides the soul or spirit to it. It is a magnificent thing, science, but it is the human brain which may utilise it for good or for bad, and so while you must develop science and the humanities and all that, you have to develop something else so as to control these great powers which an individual or a group may have. And it is that something else which comes up repeatedly in Gurudeva's messages or in the ideals that he set out for Visva-Bharati, and it is important, therefore, that you keep that in view, because, quite apart from the big armaments that are piling up in the world, there is some kind of conflict of the minds going on all over the world, and I am not for the moment referring to the conflicts, the so-called ideological conflicts on the economic plane or political plane. They are there, but something deeper still, which does not often come out into the open, but which deals with matters of great import and it is in regard to that deeper thing that I think Visva-Bharati should give you some help in finding yourself and thereby looking at other things in that perspective.

You are young and I have no doubt that you will see tremendous changes in the world. I have seen great changes in the last fifty or sixty years, tremendous changes. I have no doubt that the changes you will see will be much greater than I have seen because of these new powers, atomic energy and the like, coming in; of course, in other things. India is a free country and most of my life was spent in the processes leading to freedom except the last ten or eleven years. In the main, the world is changing because of this great advance, scientific and technological, which is changing the world completely. There was a big change with the Industrial Revolution many years ago, 200 to 250 years ago. It came in gradually. Now we in India are facing that industrial revolution and at the same time we and the rest of the world are facing another revolution of a bigger kind, bigger than the old Industrial Revolution, which will come in the next twenty to twenty-five years—atomic energy and all that—which will change the world. And if you and all of us do not keep abreast of all these things, we fall back and the world goes on because the world does not interest itself with the weak, weak of limb, weak of mind and heart; it simply passes on leaving them behind if they do not have the strength to face it. Therefore, you have to mould yourselves, adapt yourselves, think of what is happening, and not allow yourselves to get into a rut, and in doing this always keep in view the basic ideals which a human being or a community should have. That, I take it, is one of the lessons that Visva-Bharati teaches you and it is a very valuable lesson

and if you once have got it, then almost nothing that can happen in the world can shake you or frighten you.

I referred yesterday at that foundation-stone ceremony, certain verses that have been recited about fearlessness, abhaya. There is no greater quality and no greater gift from one to another than that of fearlessness, because within that comes almost everything that you can think of. Truth comes within that. It is through fear that we deviate from the truth. Beauty, everything that is worthwhile, comes with fearlessness. And the very great virtue of Gandhiji in India was that he found a country obsessed by fear, the tallest of us afraid, hiding our inner thoughts, not daring to talk about. And as for the poor peasant in India, he was afraid of everybody. He got kicks and cuffs from everybody. There was no friend of his in the wide world. Whether it was his landlord, whether it was the landlord's agent, whether it was the money lender, whether it was the lawyer or whether it was anybody, they all kicked and cuffed him. And Gandhiji, by some amazing thing, which almost seems like magic, infused a sense of fearlessness to some extent in these millions of India and almost overnight you saw the face of India changed; the back of India was straight, the head was high, even though the poverty of India continued and the misery of India continued. So remember this tremendous thing, the gift of abhaya, abhayadan which I hope that your life here, your teaching here gives you and you go out from here without fear, facing the world without flinching and not being frightened of any dangers that may confront you and remembering always that today more than at any time the world is one.

Gurudeva, of course, thought of that and made this institution, small as it was, an international institution. And long before Gurudeva, in the ages past, we talked, as you repeat in these invocations, of the oneness of the world even then. We think of ourselves as a nation and smaller entities and communities for some purposes. But if by thinking ourselves in that way we limit ourselves and build a prison around us, then we prevent our growth. The world is one, but in this world of atomic energy it becomes even more one. Freedom cannot be divided. If a war takes place, it is likely to affect everybody all over the world. So, I hope you will go out with firm ideals, with devotion, to what you have learnt and stated here today and with eyes that are clear and unafraid. And if that is so, then all will be well with you. And I hope it will be so.

I have something in mind which at the last moment I did not say. That is, our Vice Chancellor, as he himself has told you, this is his last convocation as Vice Chancellor.<sup>158</sup> Of course, we hope that even in other capacities he will

158. Satyendra Nath Bose, the Vice-Chancellor, resigned in Dec. 1958 and was appointed National Professor of Physics, a position he occupied until his death in 1974.



come and join these convocations and always help this institution with his wise advice and experience. You perhaps may know he is going. He is not going very far. He is going to work in the very special subject in which he has excelled so much in the past and which is so much after his heart. And that is scientific research and he has become the National Professor in Physics for this purpose and we wish him success in this. We are sorry, of course, to lose him here. But we realise that he cannot be very far and I am sure that we can always rely upon him for his advice and other kinds of assistance. I am sure all of you will wish him all success and good fortune in the great work he is undertaking.

Thank you.

### 13. Implement the Five-Year Plans<sup>159</sup>

भाइयो और बहिनो,

अभी आपसे हरेकृष्णजी महताब<sup>160</sup> ने कहा कि हमें आने में देर हो गयी, विलम्ब हो गया एक घंटा, तो आप क्षमा करेंगे, लेकिन उसमें हमारा अपराध बहुत कम था। क्योंकि मैं तो समय से भुवनेश्वर पहुँचा और समय से चला था, लेकिन रास्ते में और विशेषकर कटक नगर में यहाँ जो स्वागत हुआ उससे बहुत देर हो गयी। इस स्वागत के लिए और आपके प्रेम के लिए बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

थोड़े-थोड़े दिन बाद मैं यहाँ इस उड़ीसा प्रदेश में आता हूँ। प्रिय है मुझे यह प्रदेश कई बातों से। और मैं देखता हूँ जहाँ तक जल्दी में देखा जा सकता है कि यहाँ का हाल क्या है। जो हमारे साथी लोग हैं यहाँ, उनसे बातचीत करता हूँ। आपके क्या प्रश्न हैं यहाँ, क्या काम हो रहा है, कौन काम अच्छा होता है और कौन अच्छा नहीं होता, और विशेषकर स्वयं मैं देखता हूँ कि यहाँ का रूप क्या है। अब उसको तो आप अधिक जाने, जो यहाँ रहते हैं। लेकिन कुछ बाहर के आने वाले को दिखता है। और कुछ मैंने देखा जब-जब आता हूँ कि प्रदेश की और यहाँ की जनता की उन्नति होती जाती है। कटक नगर बढ़ता जा रहा है, भुवनेश्वर एक बड़ा नगर होता जाता है, सुन्दर नगर। और कुछ ग्रामों को भी देखने से मालूम होता है कि कुछ थोड़ा-थोड़ा हमारी ग्रामीण जनता जो है उसको भी कुछ लाभ हो रहा है। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि अभी बहुत कुछ नहीं हुआ और अभी हमें बहुत करना है, लेकिन फिर भी मुझे प्रसन्नता होती है, खुशी होती है देखकर जब-जब आऊँ कि पहले से कुछ अच्छा हाल है।

159. Speech at a public meeting, Cuttack, 31 Dec. 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

160. Chief Minister of Orissa.

आज मैं यहाँ आया, यह जो साल 1958 का था उसका यह अंतिम दिन है। अबसे आप समझो कोई चार घंटे के बाद यह साल का अन्त हो जाएगा और नया साल 1959 का आरम्भ होगा। तो आपके यहाँ प्रदेश में और आपके कटक नगरी में एक ऐसे समय आया जब साल का परिवर्तन होता है। यों तो सारे दिन एक से होते हैं लेकिन फिर भी जब एक यात्रा, एक साल का अन्त होता है, तब कुछ न कुछ ध्यान जाता है कि हमने इस साल में, इस वर्ष में क्या किया और जो नया वर्ष आ रहा है उसमें क्या हमें करना है? तो ऐसे समय पर मैं यहाँ कटक आया।

कटक तो एक प्राचीन नगर है, और उड़ीसा प्रदेश का सबसे बड़ा शहर है, नगर है। राजधानी आपकी भुवनेश्वर में नई बनी, और मैं समझता हूँ कि अच्छा हुआ। यह निश्चय हुआ कि भुवनेश्वर ही में वह बने और वहाँ एक नया नगर बना है और बढ़ता जाता है तेजी से। क्योंकि सारे प्रदेश के लिए वह केन्द्र अच्छा था और यह भी आप जानते हैं कि नगर तो वहाँ नया है भुवनेश्वर में, लेकिन वह स्थान बहुत प्राचीन है, सुन्दर है। तो अच्छी जगह बना। लेकिन चाहे राजधानी भुवनेश्वर में क्यों न जाए, कटक फिर भी इस प्रदेश का प्रथम नगर रहा है और रहेगा। तो यह कटक के निवासियों के ऊपर यह एक ज़िम्मेदारी है कि इस पुराने नगर को ठीक-ठीक चलाना अच्छी तरह से, और उसका और कारोबार बढ़े, सुन्दर हो।

तो आज जो मैं यहाँ आपके पास आया, तो मैं एक साहित्य अकादमी की एक सभा भुवनेश्वर में कल है, उसके लिए आया हूँ। लेकिन सच बात तो यह है कि वह तो एक बहाना हो गया मेरे लिए आने का। मेरी इच्छा थी कि कोई मौका मिले मुझे उड़ीसा प्रांत में आने का और आप लोगों से कुछ मिलने का। तो मैंने उस साहित्य अकादमी की सभा को स्वीकार किया आना। इसलिए कि यह मुझे आपसे मिलने का मौका मिले। और थोड़ी देर के लिए भी कटक में आऊँ और यहाँ आज रात को रहकर नये वर्ष का भी रूप देखूँ, कल सुबह जैसे आप सब देखेंगे।

अब पुराना वर्ष हमारा उसका अन्त हो रहा है। यह वर्ष हमारे लिए, देश के लिए और सारी दुनिया के लिए एक कठिन बरस था। अगर आप सारी दुनिया को लें तो बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न उठे जिससे कभी डर हुआ कि बड़ी लड़ाई दुनिया में नहीं हो जाए। लड़ाई तो नहीं हुई, लेकिन उसकी तैयारी बहुत चलती गयी और बड़ा रुपया और बड़े-बड़े देश हैं उसपे लगाते हैं। और वह आजकल लड़ाई क्या है आप जानते हैं? यह तो बड़ी भयानक चीज है, atom bomb, और उससे भी अधिक बड़ी चीज है जिससे सारे नगर एकदम से एक उनका अन्त हो जाए। एक बात अभी तक चलती जाती है, वह यही है atom bomb चलाया करते हैं लोग, उसका एक इम्तहान लेने के लिए चलाते तो दूर-दूर हैं, लेकिन उसका भी बहुत बुरा असर होता है। हवा, वायुमंडल बहुत ख़राब होता है, और बड़ी बीमारी उससे फैल सकती है। इसलिए हमारी राय यह रही कि यह atom bomb के जो इम्तहान हैं, tests हैं इनको नहीं करना चाहिए। हमने बड़े जोर से कहा और अब भी हम कहते हैं, क्योंकि जिस चीज से सारी संसार की हानि हो, जनता की, वह नहीं करनी चाहिए। लेकिन जो बड़े-बड़े देश



हैं वे इतने डरे हुए हैं एक-दूसरे से, और इतना उन्हें भय है कि दूसरा देश आगे न चला जाए, तो सब बड़े जोर से अपने बड़े-बड़े हथियार तैयार करते हैं, तेज करते हैं उनको। ऐसा तो हमारी आजकल की दुनिया है, संसार है।

हमारे देश में आप जानते हैं काम तो बहुत कुछ हुआ पिछले बरस में, इस बरस में, लेकिन उसी के साथ बहुत कठिनाइयाँ हुई और कई बातों में हमें बहुत हानि हुई देश में और बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न उठे। एक प्रश्न बड़ा प्रश्न है कि हमारी पिछली फसल भी सारे देश की ख़राब हो गयी और तीन साल से देश में यह फसल का ख़राब होना चलता आया है। इससे बड़ी देश की हानि हुई है। उससे बहुत नुकसान हुआ है देश को। तो उससे हमें खाने के पदार्थ की कमी हुई है। और देशों से मंगाना पड़ा और बड़ा रुपया हमारे देश से वहाँ गया। और आप सोचो कि हमारा देश यों ही गरीब देश है और गरीब देश को करोड़ों रुपये बाहर भेजना, तो इससे और हमारे ऊपर बोझा पड़ता है। तो अब हमें इस बात का पूरी तरह निश्चय कर लेना है कि हम अपने देश में खाने का सामान, चाहे वह धान है, चावल है, गेहूँ है, या जो कुछ हो, अधिक से अधिक पैदा करें कि हमें बाहर से नहीं मंगाना पड़े। बल्कि इतना हमारे यहाँ हो कि हम और देशों को भेजें और, और देशों को भेजकर उसकी एवज़ में हम और देशों से सामान मंगाएँ, कलें, मशीन, इत्यादि मंगाएँ। यह हमने निश्चय किया है और यह बात हो सकती है, यह नहीं कि कठिन है, क्योंकि हमारे देश में जो पैदा होता है एक एकड़ में उससे दुगुना और तिगुना और देशों में होता है। तो क्यों हमारे यहाँ कम हो? क्या हमारे कृषक लोग काम नहीं करते या जानते नहीं ठीक से करना? इस बात को हमें समझना है। अब दो-तीन बरस से इस बारे में काम हो रहा है। उसका फल हमें मिल रहा है और मेरा विचार है कि अब हमारे देश में पहले से अधिक पैदा होगा यह गल्ला, और सब सामान खाने का, और यह बोझा हमारे ऊपर से कम खाना होने का हट जाए। तो यह पहली चीज है हमारी। आपके यहाँ उड़ीसा प्रांत में तो आमतौर से चावल होता है, धान होता है, और अधिक होता है। और देश के हिस्सों में भी यहाँ से जाता है। यह तो बात अच्छी है। फिर भी आप उसको और भी पैदा कर सकते हैं, और अधिक हो सकता है, और इस बारे में मैं आपसे दो एक बातें फिर मैं बाद में कहूँगा।

लेकिन पहली बात तो यही है कि हमें अपने देश में अधिक से अधिक खेती से पैदा करना है सामान। जितना अधिक पैदा होगा उतनी ही हमारी शक्ति होगी कि हम और काम करें। और काम क्या हैं? कारख़ाने बनाएँ, जिससे लोगों को रोज़गार मिले, देश का धन बढ़े, जिससे हम लोगों की पढ़ाई का प्रबंध करें, लोगों के स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध करें। सारे देश में यह सब हो, और पचासों बातें करने की होती हैं, वह करें। उड़ीसा प्रदेश में कितनी बातें करने को हैं। एक मेरा विचार है कि जो भी कुछ किसी देश में कोई करे वह तभी ठीक हो सकता है जब जनता को पूरा सीखने का अवसर मिले। ख़ाली व्याख्यान देने से नहीं हो सकता या नारे उठाने से। इसलिए जनता की पढ़ाई बहुत ही आवश्यक है। बच्चों की तो है ही, एक-एक बच्चे की, लेकिन बड़ों की भी। इस समय बहुत सारे नये विद्यालय खुले हैं,

स्कूल खुले हैं। बात ठीक है। यहाँ भी खुले हैं। लेकिन अभी तक बहुत बच्चे जिनके पढ़ाई का प्रबंध नहीं है, जिनका शायद खाने का भी प्रबंध ठीक न हो, जिनको वस्त्रों का प्रबंध न हो, जिनको घर रहने का न हो, तो यह बात तो ठीक नहीं है। और मुझे इससे बड़ा दुख होता है जब मैं छोटे बच्चों को देखूँ। हमारे ग्राम के रहने वाले सुन्दर बच्चे होते हैं। सुन्दर बच्चे हैं मगर उनकी देखभाल ठीक नहीं होती और सबों की पढ़ाई नहीं होती। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारा यह बड़ा आवश्यक काम है कि हम एक-एक बच्चे को, चाहे लड़का हो चाहे लड़की हो, उसके ठीक पढ़ाई का प्रबंध करें, ठीक स्वास्थ्य का करें, वस्त्र का, रहने का।

हमारे देश का धन-दौलत क्या है? सोना, चाँदी धन-दौलत नहीं है। सोना-चाँदी व्यापारों की चीज हैं। व्यापारी लोग, साहूकार लोग उसको चलायें। सोना, चाँदी कोई खाता, पीता नहीं। हाँ, आभूषण उसके बन जाएँ। असल में देश की धन-दौलत होती है कि वहाँ की सीखी हुई जनता। यही तो धन-दौलत, सामान है। आप गल्ला पैदा करें वह धन है देश का। वह नया धन पैदा हुआ। आप कारखाने में चीज बनायें तो यह नयी चीज है लेकिन उसको कौन बनाता है? आप बनाते हैं। सीखे हुए लोग बनाते हैं। जो नहीं सीखे हैं, नहीं बनाते हैं। और जितना वह अधिक सीखें उतना ही अच्छा बनता है। इसलिए असली धन-दौलत देश की होती है वहाँ के सीखे हुए लोग। ताकत से सीखें, अगर सीखे नहीं हैं तो धन-दौलत नहीं है। लेकिन काम करना सीख जाते हैं, चाहे वह खेती का काम करें, चाहे कारखाने का करें, चाहे दुकान का करें, जो कुछ भी करें, सीखे हुए लोग देश को बढ़ाते हैं। ये धनी देश हैं, अमेरिका है, अंग्रेजों का देश है, जर्मनी है, रूस है, जापान है, ये देश बहुत आगे बढ़ गये हैं। कैसे बढ़े? उनको सोने की खान नहीं मिल गयी। वे इसलिए बढ़े कि वहाँ के लोगों ने सीखा। वहाँ के सारे बच्चों को पढ़ना पड़ता है, आवश्यक है, और बढ़े होकर और पढ़ते हैं तो सीखते हैं, काम करना सीखते हैं, अच्छी तरह से। खेती अधिक करते हैं, कारखाने चलाते हैं, तो इस तरह से वे अपने देश में धन पैदा करते हैं अपने परिश्रम से।

इसलिए हमारे यहाँ बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ हैं आप जानते हैं, पंचवर्षीय योजना, चाहे खेती हो, हमारी वह है विकास योजना, community block, इत्यादि। हमारे कारखाने हैं हमारे, बड़ी-बड़ी नदियों की योजनाएँ, जैसे आपके ही यहाँ हीराकुड है। हमारे यहाँ बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारखाने बन रहे हैं, जैसे उड़ीसा में राउरकेला का बड़ा भारी लोहे का कारखाना है। तो सब बातें ठीक हैं, आवश्यक हैं, होनी चाहिए। लेकिन उन सबों के पीछे क्या है? पैसा नहीं, पैसा तो छोटी सी चीज है, आदमी होता है, मनुष्य होता है, सीखा हुआ मनुष्य, जो पैसा पैदा कर सकता है, जो चीजें बनाता है।

आपके यहाँ राउरकेला में बड़ा लोहे का कारखाना बन रहा है और बड़ा रुपया, सौ-डेढ़ सौ करोड़ उसमें खर्च हो रहा है। समझो, यह गरीब देश। एक सौ करोड़ रुपये एक कारखाने में खर्च करें, कारखाना तो बन जाएगा और अभी शायद दो महीने में लोहा निकलना आरम्भ होगा और उसके कुछ दिन बाद और भी बढ़ेगा, और फिर बढ़े। आपके प्रदेश के लिए उससे बहुत लाभ होगा, और देश को होगा। वह तो ठीक है। लेकिन कारखाने बनने में तो चार वर्ष



लग जाएँगे। कितने? पाँच बरस? याद नहीं मुझको, लेकिन कारखाने को जो चलायेगा, वह कौन चलायेगा? क्या उसके लिए वहाँ जर्मनी से लोग मंगायेँगे? हमारे लोग चलायेँगे न। जो हमारे लोग चलायेँगे, वे जब ही चलायेँगे जब वे सीख लेंगे और सीखने में उनको बहुत वर्ष लगते हैं, क्योंकि बड़ा कठिन काम है। तो इसलिए हमें उनके सिखाने की तरफ ध्यान देना होता है कोई भी काम। इंजीनियरी हो। आजकल बड़ी योजनाएँ हैं जिसमें हर तरह के engineer हों, आवश्यक है उनको सिखाना पड़ता है। पाँच बरस, दस बरस तक, और वह भी सीखते हैं जब बहुत सारे लोग स्कूल कॉलेज में पढ़ते हैं।

कहा जाता है आजकल कि हमारे पढ़ाई का ढंग बहुत अच्छा नहीं है। हो सकता है, बात कुछ ठीक है। उसको हम संभालें। लेकिन यह बात समझ लेनी है हर एक को कि यह देश या उड़ीसा जभी आगे बढ़ेगा जब यहाँ पढ़ाई सारे में फैली होगी और कोई बच्चा ऐसा न हो जिसकी पढ़ाई का प्रबंध न हो। मैं तो कहूँ और एक बात, जो इस समय आपके लिए कठिन हो, आपके लिए कहता हूँ, आपके प्रदेश की government के लिए, लेकिन जो हमें करनी है कभी न कभी। वह यह कि हर स्कूल में, छोटे स्कूल में, जो प्राथमिक स्कूल हैं, बुनियादी स्कूल हैं, वहाँ बच्चों को एक खाने का प्रबंध होना चाहिए। एक हमारा बड़ा प्रांत है मद्रास का, जहाँ इस बात का प्रबंध हो गया है।<sup>161</sup> सब स्कूलों में छोटे बच्चों को एक अच्छा खाना मिलता है एक दफे का, दोपहर को दिन को स्कूल के बीच में। उससे बहुत लाभ हुआ है। उनका स्वास्थ्य अच्छा हुआ है, उनकी पढ़ाई अच्छी हो गयी है, उन्नति ज़्यादा करते हैं, तगड़े होते हैं।

ये बातें करनी हैं लेकिन कठिनाई यह है कि करनी तो हमें बहुत बातें हैं, लेकिन उसमें बहुत खर्चा होता है और पैसा इस वक्त है नहीं। इसलिए हल्के-हल्के चलना है। लेकिन फिर भी हमें शिक्षा की तरफ विशेष ध्यान देना है। मैंने एक बात कही थी कुछ दिन हुए कि तीन बातें हर ग्राम में हमारे होनी चाहिए। पहली बात—पंचायत। दूसरी बात—सहकारी संघ, cooperative, और तीसरी बात—स्कूल।<sup>162</sup> तीन बातें हमारे ग्रामों में होनी चाहिए। हर एक गाँव की जब जड़ मजबूत होती है तब प्रजातंत्र मजबूत होता है।

प्रजातंत्र खाली कुछ ऊपर की लोकसभा और विधानसभा से पूरा नहीं होता जब तक कि एक-एक गाँव में प्रजा के हाथ में कुछ न कुछ बागडोर न हो। और मैं चाहता हूँ पंचायत एक-एक गाँव में हो और पंचायत को अधिकार हो। यह नहीं कि उसको अधिकार नहीं दिया जाए और मैं चाहता हूँ कि पंचायत अगर कोई गलती भी करे तो तब भी उसको अधिकार मिलना चाहिए और अपनी ज़िम्मेदारी से काम करे, न कि बड़े अफसर आकर उसकी तरफ से करें। अफसर तो हैं जनता की सेवा करने के लिए लेकिन यह ठीक नहीं है कि वे करें

161. The scheme to provide free meals in elementary schools was inaugurated in July 1956. See fn 45 in this section.

162. A frequent theme in his speeches. see SWJN/SS/41/pp. 23, 32 and SWJN/SS/42/p. 9, the latest being his address to villagers at Gangad on 17 Dec. 1958, see item 10, here p. 153.

और जनता न करे। इसलिए पंचायत को अधिकार होना चाहिए। जहाँ-जहाँ पंचायत को अधिकार मिले हैं, कभी-कभी गलती होती है, लेकिन काम ज़्यादा मज़बूती से चला है। जब कभी देश में बड़े काम उठते हैं, बहुत बड़े, तो ये सरकारी हुकुम से नहीं हो सकते हैं। वह अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में, जब अंग्रेज़ी सरकार यहाँ रही, तब सरकार के बड़े काम तो कोई नहीं होते थे। सरकार कोई समाज का बड़ा काम नहीं करती थी। उसका बड़ा काम तो था कि पुलिस अच्छी हो, फौज अच्छी हो, इस तरह की बातें थीं—और कि tax जमा करें। अब अधिक से अधिक काम हो गये हमारे समाज को उठाने के, जनता को उठाने के, यानी हमारे देश में चालीस कोटि लोग हैं उन सबों को उठाने के। दो-चार आदमी की तो बात नहीं है कि आप मेरे पास आएँ कि हमें नौकरी दिला दें। नौकरी हो तो आप लें। लेकिन चालीस कोटि आदमियों को कौन नौकरी दिलाए? एक-दूसरे की नौकरी करें वह, तो अपने परिश्रम से बढ़ें। तो इसलिए जब चालीस करोड़ आदमी के बढ़ाने की बात होती है तो ऊपर की सरकार बहुत नहीं कर सकती। हाँ कर सकती है, कुछ सहायता दे सकती है, रास्ता दिखा सकती है और सेवा कर सकती है, लेकिन अन्त में जनता खुद उठ सकती है और कोई नहीं उठा सकता। अगर जनता में शक्ति नहीं है उठने की अपने परिश्रम से तो कौन कायदे कानून उठायेगा।

हम कहते हैं कि हम अपने देश में समाजवाद चाहते हैं, ठीक है। बाज़ लोग समझते हैं कि समाजवाद तो ऐसा है कि कोई कानून दिल्ली में बना दें, समाजवाद हो जाएगा। यह तो धोखा है। कानून की आवश्यकता है, वह ठीक है। लेकिन कानून से ख़ाली समाजवाद नहीं आयेगा। यह तो सारे हमें समाज का संगठन बदलना है, अपना ढंग बदलना है। जनता बदले और विशेषकर जनता के परिश्रम से आए। ख़ाली government के परिश्रम से नहीं। इसलिए आवश्यक हो जाता है सारी जनता को इस काम में लगाना। उसको मौका मिले, नीचे से ऊपर तक, तब तेज़ी से हम बढ़ें।

आप लोग सुनते होंगे कि बाज़ देशों में, जैसे चीन देश है, वहाँ भी बड़े जोर से काम हो रहा है और उन्नति होती है। क्यों? लोग बड़ी बहस करते हैं कि उनकी नीति ऐसी, और देशों की नीति किसी और तरह की है। वह अलग बात है। सच बात यह है कि वहाँ की जनता बड़े जोर से काम कर रही है। बहुत बड़ा देश चीन है। वे इतना अधिक काम कर रहे हैं, दिन-रात परिश्रम से देश बढ़ रहा है। कोई नारों से, जादू से नहीं। और जितना अधिक हमारे देश में परिश्रम होगा, उतना ही बढ़ेंगे। इसलिए मैं आवश्यक समझता हूँ कि जो मैंने आपसे कहा पंचायत, यह पंचायत गाँव में हो मज़बूत, उसको अधिकार हों। चाहे गलती भी करे, तो गलती हो जाए, कुछ हरज नहीं, लेकिन अधिकार हों। और उसके ऊपर ज़िम्मेदारी हो काम करने की, काम तरह-तरह के करने की। और शिक्षा की ज़िम्मेदारी हो, और बातों की, पंचायत उठाये। तो पंचायत तो एक चीज़ हुई।

दूसरी मैंने आपसे कहा सहकारी संघ। इसकी ओर भी मैं आपका विशेष ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि एक तो यह कि यह एक अच्छी चीज़ है, दूसरी यह कि इसी के द्वारा आप समाजवाद की ओर जा सकते हैं ठीक-ठीक, नहीं तो नहीं जाएँगे। कुछ सहकारी संघ



तो आपके प्रदेश में होवेंगे ही। और जगह भी हैं बहुत बरसों से। लेकिन उनमें दो बातें थीं। एक तो ख़ाली कुछ रुपया दिया करते थे किसानों को, औरों को। दूसरे यह कि वे बहुत सरकारी थे, लेकिन मैं जो सहकारी संघ कहता हूँ, पहले तो उसको सरकारी नहीं होना चाहिए। सरकारी सलाह मिले, सरकारी सहायता मिले, लेकिन वह संस्था सरकारी नहीं गिनी जानी चाहिए। और उसको भी बड़े-बड़े अफसरों को नहीं चलाना चाहिए। मैं जनता के ऊपर चाहता हूँ बोझा डाला जाए। और हाँ, सरकारी अफसरों की तरफ से सलाह हो, मदद हो। लेकिन जिम्मेदारी चलाने की सहकारी संघ के खुद लोगों को हो। दूसरे, यह मैं सहकारी संघ को बहुत बड़ा भी नहीं किया चाहता हूँ। बड़े सहकारी संघ में कुछ आसानी है, बात ठीक है। लेकिन बड़े करने में फिर उसके जो लोग सदस्य होते हैं, member, ये एक-दूसरे को जानते भी हैं? अगर एक ग्राम का हो तो एक-दूसरे को जानते हैं, कौन अच्छा आदमी कौन बुरा आदमी, और एक बड़ा परिवार सा हो जाता है। इससे शुरु-शुरु में कठिनाई हो क्योंकि अभ्यास नहीं है आपको, लेकिन एक दफे काम चलने लगे तो कहीं अच्छा चलेगा। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि सहकारी संघ गाँव के या पास-पास हों गाँव हो तो मिल जाएँ, कुछ हर्ज नहीं। छोटे हों, बड़े नहीं। इन छोटे सहकारी संघ को पाँच, सात, दस को मिलाकर एक बड़ा भी बन सकता है उसका जिसमें वे आपस में सलाह-मशवरा करें। दूसरी बात। लेकिन उसकी बुनियाद नीचे, ग्राम का सहकारी संघ। अच्छा, यह सहकारी संघ जो हो उसका काम ख़ाली रुपया देना नहीं, कर्जा देना, वह तो होगा ही। उसका काम होना चाहिए गाँव की उन्नति। उसका काम होना चाहिए गाँव की जितनी अधिक बातें हैं, सब बातों में वह देखभाल करें। यानी वह आर्थिक केन्द्र हो जाए गाँव का, economic centre हो गाँव का। दो बातें।

तीसरी बात, मैंने आपसे कहा स्कूल, विद्यालय आवश्यक हैं। उसी में से ठीक-ठीक लोग आके करेंगे काम, नहीं तो कैसे काम होगा? और स्कूल भी हमें अब तेजी से बढ़ाने हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि स्कूल के मकान हों। सब बातें ठीक हैं। लेकिन स्कूल का मकान हो चाहे न हो, स्कूल हो, चाहे बगैर मकान के हो। स्कूल के प्राथमिक माने यह हैं कि एक पढ़ाने वाला हो, शिक्षक हो, एक पढ़ने वाला हो, एक से अधिक हों, स्कूल हो गया। जहाँ अच्छा पढ़ाने वाला हो और पढ़ने वाले हों वहाँ स्कूल हो गया। उसका मकान हो या न हो। हम बगैर मकान के पढ़ायेंगे, पढ़ाने वाले। हमारे यहाँ बहुत रुपया मकानों पर खर्च होता है, मैं चाहता हूँ कम [हो]। मकान अच्छे होते हैं, समय आने पर हम बनायेंगे। मगर जितना रुपया हम मकानों पर खर्च करते हैं उतना रुपया हम स्कूल के मकानों में न करके स्कूल की पढ़ाई में करें। अधिक पढ़ने वाले हों, पढ़ाने वाले हों, सामान हो। तो मेरी सलाह तो आपको यह है, और यहाँ की सरकार को भी, कि वह बहुत अधिक न खर्चे स्कूल पर। जहाँ जनता बनाना चाहे बना ले। हाँ, एक बात है, कुछ न कुछ थोड़ा सा बनाना पड़ता है सामान रखने को, किताब, पत्र, नक्शे, इत्यादि रखने में, ठीक है। ज़रा सा एक कमरा बनाया और हल्के-हल्के बढ़ सकता है और अधिक। अधिकतर पढ़ाई पेड़ के नीचे हो, दरख़्त के नीचे हो। छुट्टियाँ ऐसी दी जाएँ जब वर्षा होती है, छुट्टी का समय हो। मेरा

मतलब तो यह है कि हमें आजकल विचार करना है कि कैसे तेजी से हम काम कर सकते हैं। एक गड्ढे में पड़के उसी में पड़े रहें, हमें यह ठीक नहीं है। और अंग्रेजी ज़माने में बहुत सारी बातें जो होती थीं उनके सामने, तो यह बात नहीं थी कि देश के सब लोग पढ़े लिखे हो जाएँ। हमारे सामने है कि जल्दी से जल्दी कोई बच्चा देश में न रहे जो स्कूल में नहीं है, लड़का, लड़की। यह आवश्यक है। मुझे बड़ी खुशी है कि यह बात बढ़ती जाती है।

मैंने आप से तीन बातें कही थीं, सब ग्रामों की हैं। एक तो पंचायत ग्राम की और एक ग्राम का सहकारी संघ और तीसरी ग्राम का स्कूल, और इन तीनों में आपके प्रदेश में सरकार मदद करेगी। लेकिन जहाँ तक बन पड़े बोझा ग्राम के लोगों को उठाना है। शुरु-शुरु में कठिनाई है तो अधिक मदद कर देगी, लेकिन हल्के-हल्के बढ़ें।

यह तो हुआ लेकिन हम देश में धन पैदा किया चाहते हैं। हम देश से दरिद्रता निकालना चाहते हैं। दरिद्रता कैसे निकले? कोई पैसा आकाश से नहीं गिर जाएगा, न वह जादू से आयेगा न कोई ज्योतिषी के पास जाने से आयेगा। परिश्रम से देश बढ़ते हैं। परिश्रम से पैदा करते हैं, परिश्रम चाहे जमीन पर, परिश्रम किसान करता है, कृषक, चाहे कारखाने में करता है, चाहे कारीगर करता है, परिश्रम से चीजें बनती हैं। और सीखे हुए आदमी के परिश्रम से अधिक पैदा होता है। जितने बड़े देश हैं, जो धनी देश हैं, काफी वहाँ परिश्रम लोग करते हैं। धनी हैं वे, लेकिन परिश्रम करके वे धनी हुए हैं, आराम करके नहीं। और हमें इस समय तो अधिक परिश्रम करना है क्योंकि हमें एक नया देश बनाना है। इससे कोई नहीं बच सकता है। तो पहले तो मैंने आपसे कहा खेती की बात। हमें अपनी खेती को अच्छा करना है, सीखना है नई-नई बातें उसमें करने के लिए। नये ढंग का हो हमारा हल, अच्छा बीज हो, अच्छी खाद हो, और बातें सीख के, जिससे जितना आप पैदा करते हैं जमीन से उसका दुगुना हो सकता है, तिगुना हो सकता है।

दूसरे उद्योग, कारखाने, सब उद्योग कई ढंग का होता है। एक तो बड़े कारखाने जैसे कि राउरकेला में बहुत बड़ा है। वह तो एक शहर का शहर है, नगर है। दूसरे बीच के होते हैं और तीसरे छोटे होते हैं ग्राम के, ग्रामोद्योग। तीनों को हमें करना है। खैर, बड़े कारखाने जो करें आप, अलग कोई बड़ा कारखाना कर नहीं सकते, वह तो सरकार ही चला सकती है। लेकिन बीच के कारखाने और विशेषकर छोटे, यह अवश्य कर सकते हैं। और हम चाहते हैं कि अधिक से अधिक लोग ये छोटे कारखाने तो बनायें और ग्रामोद्योग हों। आपके यहाँ कटक के पास मैं आ रहा था, तो मुझे दिखाया कि वह industrial estate जिसको कहते हैं वह यहाँ बना है। बहुत अच्छी चीज है। हम इसको बढ़ा रहे हैं। उसमें छोटे कारखाने अच्छी हालत में चलते हैं और इसको देश में कई सौ हज़ार किया चाहते हैं, जिससे लाखों ऐसे हो जाएँ। और फिर आएँ ग्रामोद्योग जो ग्राम में हो सकता है और जो कि किसान का परिवार कर सकता है। वह भी बहुत आवश्यक है। क्योंकि उससे किसान की आमदनी बढ़ेगी, उसके परिवार की, और देश का धन कुछ न कुछ बढ़ेगा। और उसके बहुत से धंधे हैं करने के,



एक काम तो नहीं है। एक तो आपने सुना होगा अम्बर चरखा,<sup>163</sup> उससे काफी उन्नति की है। और भी चीजें हैं। तो इन तीनों बातों को हमें करना है और इन सबके पीछे, हमें लोगों को सिखाना है। स्कूल का तो मैंने आपसे कहा, लेकिन उन पर engineer हों, और क्या हो, उनको क्या सिखाना है कि इन कामों को करें, क्योंकि अगर सीखेंगे नहीं तो ऐसे काम करने वाले होयेंगे नहीं। यह बड़ा काम है।

अब इसी के लिए ये योजनाएँ बनती हैं पंचवर्षीय योजना, five year plan बनता है। क्योंकि इस ढंग से इसका हम प्रबंध करें जिससे अधिक से अधिक लाभ हो, जल्दी से जल्दी हमें उसका फल मिले। अगर सब बातों को छोड़ दें और ख़ाली व्याख्यान दिया करें कि जो आदमी चाहे वह करे, तो कहीं लाभ होगा, कहीं हानि होगी। क्योंकि फिर हर एक आदमी जो करेगा वह इस बात को नहीं विचार करेगा कि इसका असर देश की आर्थिक स्थिति पर क्या होता है। वह तो सोचेगा कि भाई चलो हम दुकान खोल लें। मेरा लाभ होता है, मेरा कारख़ाना होता है, मैं खोलूँ ठीक है, लेकिन इससे बहुत ऐसी बातें होंगी जिससे देश का अधिक सामान नहीं है, तो सामान सब जाया हो जाता है। इसलिए योजनाएँ बनती हैं कि किस बात को हम पहले करें जिससे देश का भी लाभ हो, जनता का भी और जिससे रास्ता खुल जाए आगे बढ़ने का।

अब आप देखो हीराकुंड में एक बड़ी भारी नदी की योजना बनी, उससे पानी निकला नहरों में, उससे बिजली पैदा हुई। अब पानी खेतों में जाएगा और उससे बहुत लाभ होगा कृषकों को और जो बिजली पैदा हुई उससे कारख़ाने चलेंगे। तो यह लाभ हुआ हीराकुंड से कि बहुत सारे कारख़ाने चलेंगे क्योंकि कारख़ाने चलते हैं शक्ति से। शक्ति, कैसी शक्ति? आप काम करते हैं खेत में या नगर में, अपने बाहुबल से करते हैं आप, अपने एक मनुष्य की शक्ति से। लेकिन अब आप देखते हैं रेलगाड़ी चलती है। अब रेलगाड़ी की शक्ति तो बहुत है, वह कहाँ से आती है? एक मनुष्य के या सौ मनुष्य के या हजार मनुष्य की शक्ति से अधिक। कहाँ से आती है वह? वह आती है कि उसमें भाप से, पानी से जो भाप निकलती है उसकी शक्ति को पकड़ के पहिए चलाते हैं। बड़ी सरल बात है। आप भी कर सकते हैं सीखकर। लेकिन बड़ी शक्ति आ जाती है तो उस बड़ी शक्ति से भाप के हम कारख़ाने चलाते हैं। उधर बिजली की शक्ति है। आप बिजली को देखते हैं, आकाश में चमकती है, और आज नहीं लाखों वर्षों से चमकती आयी है और कुछ लोग उससे डरके पूजा करते थे। डर जाते थे उससे। हमारे लोग तो बहुत जल्दी डर के पूजा करने लगते हैं, यह नहीं कि उस बात को समझें क्या है। और लोग हुए, उन्होंने कहा कि बिजली की शक्ति को हमें समझना है, क्या है? तो उस पर विचार किया, सोचा समझा, उसको समझ गये। अब बिजली को अपने कारख़ाने में बनाते हैं और फिर हमारे लड़के स्कूल में सीखते हैं जाकर। कोई बड़ी

163. A spinning wheel, more efficient because of its four spindles, was invented in 1949 and later improved upon. Its average output of yarn was 16 hanks of 20 counts in eight hours.

बात तो नहीं है। तो बिजली की शक्ति बनने से महान् शक्ति हो जाती है, उससे भी पहिए चलते हैं, कारखाने चलते हैं।

तो आजकल की दुनिया में जिस देश के पास यह शक्ति अधिक है, चाहे भाप की हो, चाहे बिजली की हो, चाहे कोई और हो, चाहे अब यह नई आ गयी है जिससे यह atom bomb बना है। जिस देश के पास अधिक यह शक्ति है उस देश में अधिक काम चलता है, कारखाने चलते हैं, खेती अच्छी होती है। इसलिए हम हीराकुड में और कहाँ-कहाँ बिजली की शक्ति पैदा करते हैं और तार द्वारा ली जाती है। तो यहाँ देखते हैं बिजली की रोशनी आपके नगर में है, वह तो छोटा काम है उसका। असल चीज तो है बड़े-बड़े कारखाने चलाने का। तो अगर हम योजना बनायें, हम चाहें कि हमारे देश में काम खूब फैले और कारखाने बनें, तब हमें शक्ति की जरूरत हो जाती है, बिजली की शक्ति पैदा करने की। कोयले को जला कर उससे और दूसरी तरह की शक्ति पैदा करें।

दूसरी बात यह है जितने कारखाने हम बनायें—और कामों में भी आप जानते हैं लोहा बहुत चाहिए। बगैर लोहे के आजकल काम नहीं हो सकता। ग्रामोद्योग में लोहे की आवश्यकता होती है, और जो बड़ा कारखाना बनायें तो लोहा ही चाहिए। इसलिए लोहा पैदा करना है। इसलिए आवश्यक हो जाता है कि बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारखाने बनायें, जैसे राउरकेला में, भिलाई में, दुर्गापुर में, जमशेदपुर में, सब बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारखाने बने हैं, बन रहे हैं। इसको समझो कि एक बुनियाद डाली, नींव डाली नये भारत की, बिजली की शक्ति पैदा करके, नदियों की योजनाओं से, लोहे के कारखाने बनाके। फिर अभी तक तो इसमें खर्च ही हुआ है लेकिन बाद में उससे लाभ होता है, आपके प्रदेश को लाभ होगा, उससे धन पैदा होगा, कारखाने बनेंगे, रोज़गार मिलेगा लोगों को, तो इस तरह से देश तरक्की करेगा।

यह सब अपने आप ही तो हो नहीं जाएगा, योजना बनानी पड़ती है Five Year Plan, पंचवर्षीय प्लान, योजना बनी। अब पंचवर्षीय योजना में कभी कोई बात गलत हो जाती है, कभी कुछ, वह तो और बात है। और फिर हमें अभी पूरा अभ्यास तो है भी नहीं, कभी-कभी गलती हो जाती है। कोई बात हमारी काबू में नहीं रहती, वह तो और बात है। लेकिन बगैर योजना बनाये यह काम चलता नहीं। इसलिए आपको समझ लेना चाहिए योजना बनाने के मायने क्या हैं। योजना बनाने के यह माने नहीं कि एक कारखाना यहाँ, एक वहाँ, एक वहाँ, अलग-अलग कारखाने बनने लगें और कोई आदमी फहरिस्त लिखे हमें कि भई यह सब कारखाने नहीं चाहिए। यह सब कारखाने हमें नहीं चाहिए। यह सब योजना नहीं है, यह planning नहीं है। Planning कायदे से चलती है कि पहली बात ये करनी है, दूसरी बात ये करनी है, बुनियाद लगानी है फिर उसके बाद मकान बने। अब हम दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में हैं। थोड़े दिन में हमें तीसरे में जाना पड़ेगा, दो वर्ष बाद। अभी से हमें विचार करना पड़ रहा है कि क्या करेंगे। काम उसमें किस ढंग से हो क्योंकि इसमें बड़ा विचार करना होता है, बड़ी पेचीदा बात है कि कैसे चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को काम मिले, क्या-क्या करें? किस ढंग से कर सकते हैं, कितनी हमारी शक्ति है, कितना हमारे पास पैसा है, सब



का विचार करना पड़ता है। जितना अधिक पैसा आये उतना अधिक काम हो सकता है। उस पैसे से कारखाने खुलते हैं। और पैसा कहाँ से आता है? जनता से मिलता है। कहीं ओर से भी आता नहीं है। घूम के चक्कर वह हो जाता है। यह बातें आप समझेंगे, क्योंकि आप नहीं समझेंगे तो आप पूरा उसमें भाग नहीं ले सकेंगे, और आपका भाग लेना उसमें आवश्यक है।

मैंने अभी आपसे कहा था कि जो हमारी community block हैं, विकास योजना, विशेषकर यह हमारे ग्राम की जनता के लिए, क्योंकि हमारे देश में सौ में अस्सी आदमी तो ग्राम में रहते हैं। अगर वे लोग नहीं उठे तो देश नहीं उठेगा। इसलिए यह आवश्यक हो गया है। उनके उठने के माने यह हैं कि वे खुद उठें, वे स्वयं खुद उठें। मेरा मतलब यह है कि उनमें शक्ति आये, वे अपने पाँव पर खड़े हों। इसलिए मैंने आपसे ग्राम पंचायत, और बातों का कहा कि विकास योजना के block इसलिए बने। उनमें भी असल में सफलता पूरी हो जब गाँव के सब लोग उसमें हों। ख़ाली अफसरों से नहीं होता या ग्रामसेवक आ जाएँ। वह भी अपने आप नहीं कुछ विशेष कर सकते।

अब यहाँ इस बार आप जानते हैं अच्छी फसल हुई धान की, सारे देश में अच्छी हुई है। और उड़ीसा में तो होती है, वहाँ भी अच्छी हुई है। अब हमें इसका प्रबंध ऐसा करना है कि अब इस साल के बाद से हमारे देश में वह कठिनाई खाने के बारे में नहीं आये जो पहले आया करती थी, कभी-कभी आई, अब कभी न हो। हम चाहते हैं कि हम सरकारी गोदामों में बहुत सारा गल्ला रखें। कम से कम बीस लाख टन और एक टन में अट्ठाईस मन होता है। यह हम चावल के सरकारी गोदामों में रखेंगे और इसी तरह से गेहूँ को भी दस लाख [टन] रखें। दस लाख टन बहुत हो गया। तो इसको हमें जमा करके रखना है और यह फसल अच्छी है तो कर लेना है और बाद में कोई फसल ख़राब भी हो तो हमारे पास बहुत कुछ होगा। हम तो आशा करते हैं अब फसल ख़राब भी हो तो हमारे देश में अधिक पैदा होगा।

अब इसमें एक बड़ी बहस हो जाती है कि जिन प्रदेशों में जैसे उड़ीसा है, जैसे आन्ध्र है, जैसे कुछ हिस्सा है मध्य प्रदेश का, जहाँ अधिक पैदा होता है, आवश्यकता से अधिक, तब एक बहस होती है कि वहाँ से किस भाव से उनसे ख़रीदा जाए, लिया जाए, कितना रखें, कितना उनको अधिकार दें बेचने का। यह सब बहसें उठती हैं और जो व्यापारी लोग होते हैं वहाँ वे व्यापारी चाहते हैं कि अधिक से अधिक उनको लाभ हो। कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं। लेकिन हमें और आपको इस प्रश्न को देखना है, व्यापारी के लाभ के लिए नहीं, [बल्कि] किस तरह से देश का प्रश्न हल हो सकता है। व्यापारी के लाभ में हम इस सवाल को हल न कर सकें तो हमने ठीक सेवा नहीं की, न व्यापारियों ने की, न आपने, न हमने की। इसलिए इस बात को समझना है। यह सवाल उठा यहाँ कि हम धान का और चावल का क्या दाम दें। और इस बात का और भी उठा कि भई दाम ज़्यादा देना चाहिए, क्यों न दें। बड़े नगर जो होते हैं वहाँ तो कुछ रुपये वाले होते हैं और वे अधिक दाम दे देते हैं लेकिन अगर अलग इस तरह से हम वहाँ भेजें और आपका गल्ला वे पूरा खाने लगें तो फिर आपके यहाँ दाम बढ़ जाएँ। आम जनता के लिए हम जमा न कर सकें, और जमा करें तो उसके

इतने दाम देने पड़ें कि बहुत हानि हो देश को। तो ये बड़े पेंच के सवाल होते हैं। इसलिए दो बातों का विचार उसमें करना होता है। एक तो यह जो किसान पैदा करता है उसको ठीक दाम मिले, उसका लाभ हो। दूसरे यह जो लोग खाते हैं उसको, उनके ऊपर बोझ अधिक न पड़े। बीच में व्यापारी या वह जो मिल में हिसाब करते हैं, उन लोगों को भी वाजिब मिले। बात ठीक है। लेकिन यह बात बिल्कुल ठीक नहीं कि व्यापारी का लाभ हो और जनता की हानि हो। पिछले साल कुछ बहुत देश में यह बात फैली थी कि कुछ गल्ले की, धान की, चावल की, कमी हो गयी। कुछ कमी थी, लेकिन अधिक कमी नहीं थी। बात तो यह थी कि लोगों ने अपने यहाँ छिपा रखा था, अपने पास दबा रखा, व्यापारी लोगों ने, mill owner ने, और लोगों ने उसको रख छोड़ा। दाम बढ़ें, तब हम बेचें। बड़ी अनुचित बात थी, बेजा बात थी कि इस तरह से लाभ करने, फ़ायदा उठाने की कोशिश करें लोग और एक समाज के ऊपर बोझ डालें।

तो हमने अभी दो महीने हुए, जो बड़ी एक कमेटी है सारे देश की जिसमें मुख्यमंत्री, Chief Ministers हैं, और हमारी दिल्ली के भी मंत्री हैं, कुछ हमारी Planning Commission के लोग हैं, उसका नाम है National Development Council<sup>164</sup> वह जो मिली, उसने विचार करके यह निश्चय किया कि अब चावल का व्यापार, थोक का व्यापार, wholesale trade rice में,<sup>165</sup> इसको हम अपने हाथ में लें, यानी सरकारी हाथ में आये। यह जो थोक के व्यापारी हैं उनके हाथ में नहीं रहे। और दो वजहों से हमने इस बात का निश्चय किया। एक तो यह कि हमने देखा अजीब बात कि देश में कहीं कमी है, कहीं कुछ और उस कमी से लाभ उठाके ये बड़े व्यापारी दाम बढ़ाते हैं। बिल्कुल ठीक है। इससे ज्यादा आवश्यक क्या हो सकता है देश के लिए जैसे कि खाने का प्रश्न है, सब में आवश्यक है, और अगर हम उसके दाम को नहीं संभाल के रख सकें और इस पर और लोग जुआ खेलें, बढ़ाएँ, घटाएँ, अपने लाभ के लिए, तो यह जनता के लिए ठीक नहीं है।

तो पहला काम, प्राथमिक काम, देश की सरकार का होता है हर देश में कि वह जो खेती से पैदा होता है उसके दाम काबू में रखे। और यह कोई समाजवादी बात नहीं है, जो पूंजीवादी देश हैं वे भी करते हैं। लेकिन आश्चर्य की बात है कि हमने अब तक उसको नहीं किया। हमने ढील दे दी आशा करके कि बात संभलती जाए। तो बात नहीं संभली। तो अब इसलिए हमने इस बात को निश्चय किया कि थोक का व्यापार, चावल का, यह सरकार के कब्जे में होगा। और यह सरकार मुकर्रर करेगी दाम, निश्चय करेगी किस दाम पर लिया जाए, किस दाम पर थोक के व्यापारी बेचें।

एक और ऐसी बात के करने के माने थे कि यह तो कभी न कभी हमें करना ही था। समाज व समाजवाद की हम चर्चा करते हैं। समाजवाद में यह बात तो निश्चय है कि नहीं

164. The National Development Council was set up in 1952 with Prime Minister as its Chairman.

165. On 8 Nov. 1958.



हो सकती, और कुछ हो चाहे नहीं, कि यह इस तरह से खाने के सामान का व्यापार ऐसे लोगों के हाथ में हो जो दाम घटा-बढ़ा सकें। यह बात नहीं हो सकती। मैंने तो आपसे कहा पूंजीवाद के देश में भी नहीं हो सकती। आश्चर्य होता था लोगों को दूर-दूर से आके, यहाँ तक कि अमेरिका के पूंजीवादी देश हैं उनको भी आश्चर्य होता था, कि तुम लोग इतनी ढील देते हो इस खाने के प्रश्न के ऊपर और व्यापारी लोग दाम घटाते बढ़ाते जैसा चाहे करें। इसलिए यह निश्चय किया गया। फिर मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि यह थोक का व्यापार, चावल का, यह सरकार के हाथ में रहेगा। इसके माने क्या हैं? [...] सबमें अच्छा तो यह होता कि जब हमारे यहाँ सहकारी संघ सब जगह हो जाते, छोटे-बड़े सब जगह, तो सहकारी संघ खुद करता है उससे। सहकारी संघ किसानों का, कृषकों का होता, औरों का होता, तो बहुत आसानी से यह बात बनती। अभी यह पूरीतौर से नहीं है। तो हमें इसका प्रबंध करना है। हल्के-हल्के होता जाए और विशेषकर इस समय हम बहुत नहीं कर सकते। इसलिए यह निश्चय हुआ है कि जो थोक के व्यापारी थे उनमें से लोग सरकार के एजेंट बनाये जाएँ। लाइसेंस उन्हें मिलें, licence agent बनायें। वे सरकार की तरफ से खरीदें उसको, और जो सरकार का, उनको कहा जाए उतना सरकार को दे दें। उनके जमा करने को या जो कहा जाए करें। और जो उनके पास बचे उसको जो और जो छोटे व्यापारी हैं उनको दें जिस दाम में उनको बताया जाए।

इसमें शुरू-शुरू में कुछ न कुछ कठिनाई अवश्य होगी, क्योंकि पहले यह एक बड़ा काम है। इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि इस काम को करना है, पक्कीतौर से करना है, और जल्दी करना है। बहुत सारे लोग इसमें कुछ अप्रसन्न हैं। प्रसन्न नहीं हैं, कुछ व्यापारी भाई। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि वे इस बात को समझ लें कि हम कोई व्यापारियों की हानि नहीं चाहते हैं। लेकिन यह बात नहीं हो सकती कि खाने के सवाल में इसमें कोई ढील हो। यह पक्कीतौर से समझ लेना है। और कोई और बात हम नहीं सुनने को तैयार हैं इस बारे में। हाँ, कोई और बात हो। और यह बात बढ़ती जाए। तो मेरा मतलब यह है खाने की बात कब्जे में आयेगी। अगर व्यापारी भाई हमारे उसमें सहयोग पूरा करें तो उनका भी उसमें लाभ है और देश का भी लाभ है। कहीं नहीं करें, तब हमें और कोई प्रबंध करना पड़ेगा सख्ती से इस बारे में। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप समझ लें क्योंकि इस बारे में धोखा है, और विशेषकर ऐसे प्रदेश में, जैसे उड़ीसा का प्रदेश है जहाँ कि अधिक पैदा होता है और यह उसके अच्छे भाग्य हैं कि वह अधिक पैदा करते हैं। तो वे चाहते हैं कि क्यों न वे दाम बढ़ा दें अधिक, क्योंकि उन्हें कलकत्ते के बाज़ार में, बम्बई में मिल जाएँ, क्यों न करें। यह नहीं वे देखते कि कुछ व्यापारियों के लाभ से जो आम जनता जो यहाँ की है, उसकी हानि हो जाएगी।

सब बातें विचार करके इसलिए यह भी किया गया है कि भारत में कई टुकड़े किए जाएँ जिसके अन्दर व्यापारी चीज चल सकती है, बिक सकती है, उसके बाहर नहीं जाए। क्योंकि यह कठिनाई कि अगर हम ऐसा न करें तो दो-चार जो बड़े-बड़े नगर हैं भारत के, दो-चार, पाँच-सात, वो सब खेंच ले जाते हैं खाने का सामान, अधिक दाम देके, और दाम

सारे देश में बढ़ जाते हैं और जो गरीब जनता है उसको कठिनाई होती है। इसलिए हमने उसे ऐसा बना दिया। तो उसमें फिर क्या होता है फिर कुछ लोग, व्यापारी लोग, कुछ कायदे या कानून के विरोध में उसको छिपाके ले जाते हैं, smuggling करते हैं। यह बात गलत है। यह बात नहीं होनी चाहिए। और इसके रोकने के लिए पूरा प्रबंध सरकार को करना चाहिए। यहाँ तक तो अच्छा हो, अगर जो प्रदेश सरकार की सीमा हो उस पर खास विशेष प्रबंध हो। यहाँ तक कर दिया जाए कि मील, दो मील, तीन मील, चार मील कोई इधर न ले जा सके। इन सब तरकीबों से कुछ किसी न किसी को कठिनाई होती है। लेकिन जब हमें इन सब को बदलना है और इस काम को ठीक ढंग से जमाना है तब पुराने ढंग हमें बदलने पड़ेंगे। मैंने इसलिए कुछ आपको इस बात को समझाने की कोशिश की, क्योंकि इसमें हम पर बड़े दबाव पड़ते हैं, बड़े व्यापारी और छोटे व्यापारी, और फिर हम उसमें ढीले हो जाते हैं कभी-कभी। लेकिन उन्हें समझना है कि यह बात न उनके लिए अच्छी है, न जनता के लिए, न किसी के लिए।

तो मैंने आपसे शुरू में कहा था कि जब-जब मैं यहाँ उड़ीसा प्रदेश में आता हूँ तो मुझे कुछ खुशी होती है देखकर कि हालत अच्छी होती जाती है यहाँ की। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारी उन्नति और तेज हो। बहुत हल्के हो रही है। जल्दी हो। और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आपका हीराकुड का भी मामला ज़रा ढीला पड़ गया।<sup>166</sup> पानी आता है, पानी का पूरा प्रयोग नहीं होता है। यह होना चाहिए, उससे अधिक फायदा होगा। बिजली से कुछ पूरा होगा। उधर यह राउरकेला भी, वह अब पैदा करना शुरू करेंगे।<sup>167</sup> उधर मैं आशा करता हूँ यह जो community blocks हैं, उसके काम का भी फल अब जल्दी-जल्दी निकलेगा। फसल अच्छी हुई तो एक नक्शा अधिक अच्छा मालूम हो रहा है लेकिन जब ही जब आप लोग सब ज़ोरों से परिश्रम करें। समझो इस बात को, परिश्रम से, हम इस काम को करें।

आप जानते हैं मेरा संबंध चालीस वर्ष से ऊपर से पैंतालीस वर्ष से, कांग्रेस से है और मुझे कांग्रेस से प्रेम है—इतनी बड़ी संस्था जिसने गांधीजी के नीचे बहुत कुछ सीखा और भारत को स्वराज मिला कांग्रेस के संगठित काम से। लेकिन अब मैं समझता हूँ कि कांग्रेस को बड़े काम करने हैं देश में। अगर न हों तो उससे बड़ी हानि हो। लेकिन यह जो काम हमारा देश का है इस समय, जो वो काम है, योजना का, planning का, खाने का, यह कोई दल के काम तो नहीं हैं, कांग्रेस के। यह तो सारे देश के हैं, सब दलों के हैं। और मैं चाहता हूँ उसमें सबों का सहयोग हो। मैं नहीं चाहता कि उसका लाभ सिर्फ कांग्रेस को ही जाए, सब दलों को हो, सारे देश को हो। जो जो लाभ हो उसकी नेकनामी उसको मिले। तो यह सबों से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इस काम में, और बातों में, हमारी बहुत बातें हैं, उसमें बहस करें,

166. The Hirakud Dam across the Mahanadi river was to irrigate 6.7 lakh acres in Sambalpur and Bolangir districts in Orissa. By the end of Oct. 1958, only 2,41,983 acres had been irrigated. The deadline was Sept. 1959, but it was extended to Mar. 1960.

167. The first blast furnace of the Rourkela Steel Plant was commissioned on 3 Feb. 1959.



झगड़ा भी करें, लेकिन यह जो हमारे खाने का काम है, गल्ला पैदा करने का, और दूसरे, यह जो बड़ी योजना का, planning का, पंचवर्षीय योजना का काम है, किसी एक दल का नहीं है। यह सब दलों का है, सारी जनता का है, सभी को मिलकर इसको करना है। इसलिए दिल्ली में हमने ऐसी कमेटियाँ कुछ बनायी हैं सब दलों की। और मैं समझता हूँ, शायद आपके यहाँ भी होंगी जहाँ तक मुझे मालूम है। इसमें हम दलबंदी और बहस नहीं चाहते। हाँ, बातों में दो राय हो सकती हैं, तीन राय हो सकती हैं, वह और बात है। राय हो, बहस हो, लेकिन हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि सब मिलकर इस काम को करें, क्योंकि सभी का काम है, सारी जनता का है, किसी एक दल का नहीं विशेषकर।

मैं आपसे कहूँ कि मुझे फिक्र है जो हमारे आजकल के बच्चे हैं उनकी देखभाल ठीक हो, उठें, जो आज के बच्चे हैं वह कल का उड़ीसा होगा, कल का भारत होगा, और मैं चाहता हूँ, ख़ाली यही नहीं, और भी हो, बहुत कुछ प्रबंध हो। आज हम वहाँ से, भुवनेश्वर से, आ रहे थे तो हमारे साथ आपके गर्वनर थे<sup>168</sup> और आपके मुख्यमंत्री थे। और कुछ बातें हो रही थीं इसी बारे में, कुछ राजभवन के, इत्यादि के बारे में बातें हो रही थीं। भुवनेश्वर में है या बनने वाला है, यहाँ भी एक बहुत पुराना है। तो उन बातों से बात निकली कि यहाँ कटक का जो भवन है वह विशेष अच्छा है बच्चों के काम के लिए। अगर बच्चों के काम में वह लग सके ये बाद में, तो बहुत अच्छा होगा। कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है कि भवन फैले हुए सब जगह राजभवन हो। अलग-अलग काम उससे लिया जाए। हमारे गर्वनर को भी यह बात पसंद आई, गर्वनर साहिब को भी, मुख्यमंत्रीजी को भी। समय आये तो वहाँ चाहे बच्चों की देखभाल का, कोई बच्चों का अस्पताल हो या बच्चों के सिलसिले में कोई बात हो। जमीन पड़ी है। इस जमीन के कोने में एक हिस्सा हो जाए बच्चों के लिए, एक बाग हो, पार्क हो, बाल भवन हो, तरह-तरह की बातें हों, क्योंकि हर समाज को अपने बच्चों की फिक्र करनी चाहिए। यों तो सब माँ-बाप अपने बच्चों की फिक्र करते हैं। लेकिन माँ-बाप कभी-कभी अपने प्रेम से भी बच्चों को ख़राब करते हैं। ख़ाली प्रेम तो आवश्यक है, लेकिन प्रेम काफी नहीं है, समझ की भी आवश्यकता है। समझ के, सिखाने की जरूरत है। उनको मौका मिले सीखने का, ठीक-ठीक तगड़े हों, जिससे उनका मन ठीक रहे। इसलिए मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि देशभर में ऐसे अच्छे बाल भवन हों, गाँव-गाँव में हों, उनकी देखभाल हो, स्वास्थ्य और उनके पढ़ने की, उनके खेलकूद की, और इस तरह से हमारा नया भारत बने। [...]

168. Y.N. Sukthankar.

[Translation begins]

Sisters and brothers,

As Shri Harekrushna Mahtab<sup>169</sup> mentioned just now, we have been delayed by an hour in reaching here for which you must forgive us. But it was no fault of ours. I reached Bhubaneswar according to schedule but the reception here, in Cuttack in particular, and other meetings on the way took so long that we got delayed. I thank you for your warm welcome and the affection that you have showered upon me.

I visit this State of Orissa often. I am fond of this State for various reasons. I like to find out in the short time at my disposal about the situation in the State. I talk to my colleagues here about your problems and the work that is being done here. I try to find out which programmes are succeeding and which are not, and I myself see the shape of things here. You are, of course, the best judge, but an outsider can also see what is happening. From what I have seen on my various visits, this State and the people are progressing steadily. The city of Cuttack is growing, and Bhubaneswar is steadily developing into a bigger and more beautiful city. It is obvious that the people in the rural areas are also benefitting. I agree that a great deal still remains to be done. Yet I am happy to note that conditions have on the whole improved.

Today is the last day of 1958 and in about four hours the New Year, 1959, will begin. All days are the same and yet at the end of a year one's attention is drawn towards what has been done in the year which is coming to a close and what we must do in the coming one. I have come to Cuttack at a crucial moment like this.

Cuttack is an ancient city, the largest city of Orissa. In Bhubaneswar you have a new capital and I think it was a good decision. Bhubaneswar is growing rapidly and is very conveniently located for the whole State. As you know, the city has been newly built but the place is very ancient and beautiful. Yet Cuttack has been and will always remain the foremost city of Orissa. Therefore, a great responsibility vests in the citizens of Cuttack to maintain this ancient city well and contribute to its further progress.

I have come to Orissa for a meeting of the Sahitya Akademi to be held in Bhubaneswar tomorrow. But that was only an excuse which has enabled me to visit Orissa and meet all of you. That is why I agreed to attend the meeting of the Sahitya Akademi. I wanted especially to be in Cuttack tonight and usher in the New Year with you.

169. See fn 160 in this section.



The old year is on the wane. It has been a difficult year for India and the world. Complex international issues have cropped up, filling everyone with the grave fear that war may break out. War has been averted but preparations are going on all the time. The great powers spend enormous amounts on defence and armaments. As you know, modern warfare is terrible. Nuclear weapons can raze entire cities to the ground in minutes. Even the nuclear tests which are undertaken by the nuclear powers regularly pollute the atmosphere and can be hazardous to health. Therefore, we have been of the opinion that there should be a ban on nuclear tests. We have said repeatedly that anything which is harmful to humanity must be banned. But the great powers are so fearful of each other that they are constantly engaged in a deadly arms race. This is the world that we live in today.

As you know, a great deal has happened in India in the last one year. But, at the same time, there have been difficulties and problems. We have suffered great losses due to the failure of crops for three consecutive years. That has led to grave food shortages and we had to import foodgrains which is a drain on our foreign exchange reserves. India is already a poor country and can ill afford to spend such enormous sums of foreign exchange on importing foodgrains. It increases the burden on the nation. So we must make a determined bid to increase food production so that we do not need to import foodgrains. We can utilise that precious foreign exchange to buy much needed machinery and other essential goods. It can be done. There is no difficulty because at the moment the average yield per acre is one-half or one-fourth of what it is in other countries. Why should production be so low in India? It is not as though our farmers are not hard working. But they need technical know-how and improved seeds. We have been working on this for the last two to three years and are beginning to get results now. I feel that food production will increase more rapidly in the future. We want to tackle the problem of food and ensure self-sufficiency in this area as quickly as possible. This should be our first priority. Orissa is basically a rice-producing State. In fact, Orissa supplies rice to other parts of the country too which is a good thing. But production must be increased and it can be increased. I will come back to that later.

So our most urgent priority at the moment is to increase food production. The more foodgrains we produce, the greater will be our capacity to take up other tasks. We need to set up industries in order to produce new wealth in the country and provide employment to the people. We need resources to provide education and health care and other basic necessities of life to the people. A great deal needs to be done in Orissa too. I feel that for any programme to succeed, it is extremely important to educate the people. Shouting slogans or making speeches will not take us very far. Education is very important not only for children but for adults too. New schools are being opened all over the country, which is right.

But even now there are innumerable children all over India who do not get enough to eat or the opportunity for education or other basic necessities of life. This is not right and I feel sad to see the children in rural areas being neglected. There are beautiful little children in the villages and they are not being looked after or educated. I feel that it is our duty to make arrangements for every single child in India to enjoy the basic necessities of life, like food, clothes, housing, health care and education.

What is the wealth of a nation? It is not gold or silver, which are but tools of trade. You cannot consume gold or silver. You can wear them as ornaments. The real wealth of a nation is its trained people. The goods that we produce every year constitute wealth. It is the people with education and training who can produce new wealth from land and factories. The more educated and trained the people are, the more they can produce. Therefore, the real wealth of a nation is the educated, trained and skilled personnel of a country. Trained human beings can enhance the wealth of a nation in various ways. The countries in the West, like the United States, England, Germany and the Soviet Union, as well as Japan are extremely affluent and advanced, not because they own great gold mines but because the people in those countries are well trained. Every child in those countries has to attend school compulsorily and when they grow up they go for further studies and receive training in different vocations. Then they engage themselves in agriculture or work in factories. They have developed great technical know-how and expertise in agriculture and industries. So, they are able to produce great wealth in their countries by their hard work and effort.

You must have heard about our five-year plans and the National Extension Service, community blocks, river valley projects, etc. We are building huge steel plants like the one at Rourkela in Orissa. All these things are no doubt essential. But they have to be backed not only by resources but, more importantly, by trained and skilled personnel because it is human beings who produce goods and wealth.

The steel plant at Rourkela requires an enormous investment of a hundred to a hundred and fifty crore rupees. It is a very large sum for a poor country like India. The plant will go into production in a couple of months. It will continue to expand in the years to come. It will benefit the people of Orissa as well as the whole country for years to come. But the important thing is that while it may take four or five years to put up a steel plant, it is far more difficult to train human beings to run the plant. It takes years to train people. Shall we have people from Germany to run our plants? So, we have to lay great stress on training people for any task that we take up. We need a large number of engineers of every category. It takes nearly ten years to train a full-fledged engineer.



It is often felt that our educational system is not very good. It is possible that there is some truth in this criticism. We must try to improve the standards. Orissa or any other part of India can progress only through the spread of education. Arrangements must be made for every child in the country to be educated. There is one thing more which it is the duty of the State governments to do, though it may be difficult at the moment. We must make arrangements to provide midday meals to children in all primary, basic schools. Madras has already done this<sup>170</sup> and the children have benefitted greatly from the midday meal scheme. Their health has improved and so has their education. They are able to progress more quickly.

We must do this in every State. But the problem is that there are many things which need to be done. Everything requires large investments and we do not have the money at the moment. We will do everything gradually. But we must pay special attention to children's education. I had pointed out recently that three things are very essential for every village: a panchayat, a cooperative society and a school.<sup>171</sup> It is only when all these three things are present in every village that the firm foundations of democracy can be laid.

Democracy cannot function effectively merely by having a Parliament or State legislatures. The people must learn to hold the reins of power in their hands in every village. I want that there should be a panchayat in every village with greater autonomy. Even if the panchayats make mistakes they should be given powers. They should themselves shoulder responsibilities instead of looking to officials for every little thing. Officials are, of course, there to serve the people. But it is not right for the people to be dependent on officials for everything. The panchayats should be delegated wider powers. Wherever this has been done the work has been done effectively, in spite of occasional mistakes. Great national tasks cannot be done by governmental fiats. During the days of British rule the government's functions were limited to maintenance of law and order, defence and collection of revenues. It did not undertake any great social tasks. Today, we have the task of uplifting forty crores of human beings. It is not a question of a handful of people. We cannot provide jobs for everyone. If there are jobs available, you can certainly get those jobs. But who can provide jobs to forty crores of people? Well, they may serve one another. The people must learn to stand on their own feet and work hard. The government cannot handle the task of uplifting forty crores of people. It can help the people a little and it can pave the way. But ultimately it is the people who must work

170. See fn 161 in this section.

171. See fn 162 in this section.

hard for their own betterment. If they lack the will to do so, no laws can help.

We want to have socialism in our country. Well, it is good to have this goal. Some people seem to think that it can be achieved by passing some laws in Delhi. They are mistaken. Laws are no doubt necessary. But socialism cannot be established by passing laws. It can be done only by changing the entire social organisation and our life style. The people must change themselves and work hard. The government cannot do it alone. Therefore, it is very important to involve the entire population in this task. They must be given the opportunity to progress rapidly.

We often hear of the rapid strides that countries like China are taking. Why? There are great debates on ideological differences. But that apart, the fact of the matter is that the people of China are hard working. China, which is a large country, is progressing very quickly by the sweat and toil of the people. There is no magic formula for progress. The harder we work the faster we too will progress. That is why I feel that panchayats are extremely important. The village panchayats must be given wide powers. It does not matter even if they make mistakes. They must learn to shoulder responsibilities. They must be given the responsibility of administration of the village as well as education and other tasks.

Secondly, as I said, every village must have a cooperative society. I want to draw your attention to it because, first, it is a very good thing; and, two, it is only through cooperatives that we can move towards the goal of socialism. There are cooperative societies in every State. But so far they have been functioning only as credit societies for farmers. Secondly, most of them are government cooperatives. When I talk about cooperatives, I do not want them to be government agencies. The government can certainly help. But they must not be purely government bodies run by officials. I want that the burden should fall on the people. They can seek the advice and guidance of officials. But the responsibility of running the cooperatives must rest with the people themselves. Secondly, I do not want these cooperatives to be very large in size. I agree that there are certain advantages in large cooperatives. But then the members are virtual strangers to one another. If there is a cooperative in every village, the members will know one another well and it becomes like one large family. There may be difficulties in this initially because of lack of experience. But once it gets off the ground, it will function well. That is why I lay stress on small village cooperatives. Five or ten village cooperatives can form a larger group and seek guidance and counsel from one another. But the basic unit must be the village cooperative. It must not confine itself to giving loans and credit but take up tasks of development in the village. It must take up as many areas of work as possible and become an economic centre of the village.



The third thing that I mentioned is having a school in every village. Unless the children are educated we cannot progress. So we have to speedily set up more schools. There must, of course, be school buildings wherever possible. But I am prepared to accept that a school may be started even without a building. Wherever there is a teacher and one or more students, the necessary elements of a school are present. Wherever there is a good teacher and some students, there is a school. A school can function even without a building. Well, teachers will teach even if there is no building. We spend too much money on buildings. I want less money to be spent. Buildings for schools are certainly desirable and we shall construct them at the appropriate time. We should rather spend the money required for school buildings on school education, so that there are more students, more teachers and there is more of teaching equipment. My advice to you and to your State Government is that they must not spend too much money on school buildings. Leave it to the people to put them up wherever they can. Some space is necessary to store books, blackboards, maps, etc., for which one small room will suffice. It can be expanded later on. Most of the teaching should be done under the trees. Holidays can coincide with the rainy season. What I mean to say is that we must think of ways and means of getting the work done as quickly as possible. It is not right to continue to remain in a rut. The British were not concerned that everyone in India should be educated. We want to see to it at the earliest that in India not a single child, boy or girl, is deprived of the opportunity to go to school. This is essential. I am glad to say that education is spreading.

So, as I said, three things are very essential for every village—a panchayat, a cooperative society and a school. The State Government will help you in getting all these three things. But the main burden must be borne by the people themselves. If there are difficulties initially, the State Government will provide more help. But they should steadily move in that direction.

But the most urgent task before us is to produce new wealth because we want to eradicate poverty from the country. How is it to be done? Money will not fall from the heavens. Nor can we get it by consulting astrologers or by magic. Nations progress through hard work and the sweat and toil of farmers working in their fields or workers in factories. New wealth is created by the hard work of skilled and trained human beings. The affluent countries of the West have amassed wealth through their hard labour, not by living a life of ease. We have to work very hard because we are engaged in the task of building a new India. None of us can escape from hard work today. Our first priority should be to improve agricultural production by adopting new techniques and good ploughs, seeds, fertilisers, etc. We can double our production by doing this.

Secondly, we need industries. Industries can be of many kinds. One is heavy industry, like the steel plant in Rourkela. Rourkela is a huge township. Then there are medium industries and the third is small scale industry like village industries. We must expand all the three. The heavy industries would naturally have to be in the public sector. But the medium and small industries can be in the private sector. We want more and more people to go in for small industries. As I was coming here, I was shown the industrial estate which has been built near Cuttack. It is a very good thing. We are expanding the small industries sector. We want thousands of them to come up all over the country. Village industries should also be given a boost and farmers' families can take up such activity. That will enable them to supplement their income and the national wealth will increase in the process. There are many such industries. You may have heard about the Ambar Charkha.<sup>172</sup> There are other similar things. So we have to give a boost to all three types of industries. But that requires education and training. We must ensure the spread of basic education as well as higher education, scientific and technical education. We need engineers in large numbers. And unless people are trained, they will not be competent enough to do the jobs.

We have started the five-year plans with all these goals in mind. We want to take steps to ensure the maximum utilisation of the resources which are available to us. We want to get quick results. If we leave it to individuals to do as they like, development will be lopsided because individuals will not take into account the repercussions on the country's overall economic condition of any steps that they take. They will be more concerned about their own personal profit. That is all right. But in the process, the country's resources will be frittered away in futile economic activities. That is why planning is necessary as it ensures the maximum benefit to the largest number of people. In this way the country and the people will benefit and the doors to further progress will be opened up.

Take the river valley project at Hirakud. Power is being generated and water will be available for irrigation which will benefit the farmers immensely. The power can be used for setting up industries. All industries require a great deal of power. What is power? One is, of course, manpower. But how do trains run? It requires power equivalent to thousands of units of manpower. Steam has been used to generate power which in turn helps the locomotives to run. It is a simple thing which anybody can learn to harness. Steam power is

172. See fn 163 in this section.



used in big industries also. Then there is electricity. Lightning has been observed in the sky for millions of years. But people were afraid of it and used to worship it instead of trying to understand what the phenomenon is all about. When an individual thought about it, he was able to grasp how to harness it for the use of mankind. Now electricity is being generated in power stations and even school children learn about it. Electricity is a great source of power.

Today the might of a nation is judged by the amount of power it produces. Now a new source of power, atomic energy, has appeared on the scene. The countries which are producing various types of power have advanced rapidly, for power is used in agriculture and industries. That is why we are trying to generate as much power as we can through the river valley projects. Illumination is only a small part of the uses of electricity. Its real use lies in industries. If we want to industrialise India we need vast quantities of power, electricity and steam power and other sources of power.

The other thing which, as you know, is very essential for industrialisation is steel. Nothing can be done without steel today. It is needed for village industries as well as heavy industries. Therefore, it has become necessary to put up huge steel plants as we are doing in Rourkela, Bhilai, Durgapur and Jamshedpur. We are in a sense laying the foundations of new India by making arrangements for production of steel and power. At the moment these plants require expenditure. But we will reap the benefit later. New wealth will be generated, industries will come up and the people will get employment. So India will progress rapidly.

However, we have to plan for all these things. They will not happen on their own. We have drawn up the five-year plans. There may be mistakes in them. We are learning from our experience. We do make mistakes. Yet planning is essential. Therefore, I want you to understand what it implies. Planning does not mean putting up industries here and there or drawing up a list of demands. Planning implies having a perspective about our priorities. First the foundations have to be laid and then the edifice will come up. Now we are in the middle of the Second Plan. Soon we will begin the Third Plan. We have to start thinking about it from now onwards and decide how we are to chalk out the Third Plan. It is an extremely complex problem. How are we to uplift forty crores of people and provide jobs for all of them? We have to be clear in our minds about the resources that we have at our disposal and how to go about the tasks before us. The more money we have the more we can achieve. Ultimately it has to come from people's pockets. So we come round once again to the same thing. I want you to understand these difficulties because unless you do, you will not be able to participate fully in the national tasks and it is very important for you to be a stakeholder.

As I pointed out just now, our community development projects and national

extension schemes are aimed at improving the conditions of the rural population. Eighty per cent of our population lives in rural areas and unless there is an improvement in their living conditions, there can be no progress in India. They must learn to stand on their own feet and improve their economic condition. As I told you, the village panchayats and block development schemes are aimed at rural uplift. But they can succeed only if the people in the villages learn to participate in them. They cannot function only through officials or even trained gramsevakas and others.

As you know, we have had good crops this year all over the country. It has been an exceptionally good year for Orissa. We want to see to it that in future we do not have to suffer acute food shortages as in the past years. We want to build up foodgrains stocks of at least twenty lakh tons in the government godowns. A ton has twenty-eight maunds which makes it a vast quantity. This will help us to tide over any crisis in the future. We hope that food production will go up in any case.

In this connection there are often unnecessarily lengthy debates on the procurement price, particularly in States like Orissa and Andhra Pradesh and in parts of Madhya Pradesh where production is greater than demand. Traders and grain merchants want maximum profits which is not surprising. But we have to look at it not from the point of view of profit to the traders but the best way to solve the problem of food shortage. If, in the process of taking care of the interests of the traders, we are not able to solve the problem, then we have not served the cause; neither the traders nor you and we have served the cause. Now, the question arose as to what procurement price should be fixed for rice, and also why a higher price should not be paid. Some people in urban areas may be able to pay more. But if we supply the procured foodgrains to those classes, there will be nothing left for others, and it is bound to lead to inflation. We will not be able to procure foodgrains for the common people because if we tried to do it at a higher price, it will mean a great loss to the state exchequer. It is an extremely complex problem. We have to bear two things in mind. One, the farmer must be paid the right price for his produce. Two, the burden should not fall upon the consumer. The traders will naturally expect to make a profit. But it should not be at the cost of the people. There was a great hue and cry about the shortage of foodgrains last year. There were shortages. But it was not unmanageable. The fact is that foodgrains were being hoarded by the traders and mill owners to sell then at higher prices at a more propitious time. The whole thing was absolutely wrong. One small group of people was trying to take undue advantage and hold society to ransom.

So, about two months ago, a meeting took place of the committee consisting of the Chief Ministers and members of the Union Government and the Planning



Commission. It is called the National Development Council.<sup>173</sup> It met and has decided after deliberations that the Government should take over the wholesale trade in rice.<sup>174</sup> It will no longer be in the hands of private traders. There were two reasons for this decision. One, we found that the wholesalers were taking advantage of the shortages at some places and selling foodgrains at higher prices. So it is a right decision. We cannot allow some private traders to gamble with the lives of the people. It is the duty of the government to hold the price line of essential commodities like foodgrains.

So the most important job of a government is to keep a check on agricultural prices. This doesn't have anything to do with socialism. Even the capitalist countries do it. But the surprising thing is that we had not taken any action so far in this matter. We took a lenient view in the hope that matters would improve. But there has been no improvement. So we have now decided to take over the wholesale trade of rice into our hands. The government will fix the procurement prices as well as the prices at which the wholesalers will sell it.

In any case, we had to take this step some time or the other since we have been talking socialism. We cannot allow private traders to raise or lower the prices of foodgrains at will for their personal profit. As I said, even capitalist countries cannot allow this. Those who visited India from other countries, including the United States, were amazed to see that we give private traders so much leeway in the matter of prices. We have now decided to take over the wholesale trade. What does that mean? [...] The best thing would be to form cooperative societies everywhere to deal with these problems. If we had agricultural cooperatives, the matter would be very simple. But we do not have them everywhere. So we have to make arrangements to establish cooperatives. But it takes time. That is why we have decided to take over the wholesale trade and nominate the private wholesalers as government agents. They will be given licences and will be licence agents. They will do the procurement according to government orders and deposit a certain portion of it to government. The remaining quantity may be sold by them to small retailers at prices fixed by government.

There are bound to be difficulties in the beginning because, for one thing, it is a big job. There is no doubt about it that it will have to be done quickly. The traders are displeased about it. But I want them to understand that we do not want them to suffer losses. At the same time, we cannot afford to be lax in controlling the prices of foodgrains. We are not prepared to accept any argument

173. See fn 164 in this section.

174. See fn 165 in this section.

to the contrary. We can bring the situation under control if the trading community cooperates with us. It is in their own interest as well as that of the nation that they should cooperate. If they fail to cooperate, we will have to adopt more stringent measures. I want you to understand this clearly. There are misconceptions about this, particularly in States like Uttar Pradesh and Orissa which are major paddy growing areas. It is their good fortune that they produce more. But they want to sell at inflated prices in the markets of cities like Bombay and Calcutta. They fail to see that the masses will have to suffer for the sake of personal profit of a few traders.

Taking everything into consideration it has also been decided to divide India into various zones within which trade will be permitted freely. Unless we do this, the five to seven major cities of India will attract all the foodgrains by paying higher prices. That in turn leads to rise in prices everywhere and the poor people suffer. That is why we have formed zones. This may lead to smuggling, which is wrong. This should not happen. The State governments will have to make arrangements on their borders to put a stop to it. Even transportation of foodgrains beyond three to four miles of the borders may be prohibited. All these measures are bound to inconvenience someone or the other. But when we are trying to change the economic structures we have also to change our worn-out methods of working. I have tried to explain this matter at length because there are often great pressures from traders, big as well as small, and we tend to be slack in enforcing the rules and regulations. Everyone must realise that such pressures and bending of rules will not benefit anyone in the long run, neither the traders nor the people.

As I said right in the beginning, I am always happy to be here in Orissa because on every visit I find fresh evidence of change and improvement. But we must accelerate the pace of change which is very slow. Even the Hirakud project is coming up very slowly.<sup>175</sup> The waters from the dam are not utilised fully. That must be rectified in order to increase production. Generation of electricity will also help. Rourkela will also go into production soon.<sup>176</sup> I hope that the community blocks will show results soon. The outlook seems promising because we have had a good crop. But things will improve only when the people work hard. You must understand this.

As you know, I have been associated with the Congress for forty-five years. I have great love for the Congress, a great organisation which had learnt a great deal under the leadership of Gandhiji. And it was because of the organised

175. See fn 166 in this section.

176. See fn 167 in this section.



work done by the Congress that India won her freedom. But the Congress has many responsibilities to discharge and many things to do in the country. If those things are not done, it will amount to a great loss. But such national tasks as planning, increasing the food production, etc., are not limited to any one party, like the Congress. All the parties in the country and people in various walks of life must work together. I do not want the Congress alone to take the credit. All the parties and the entire country should get the credit. I appeal to everyone to extend their full cooperation in the tasks of planning and stepping up food production. There may be differences of opinion in other areas. But the work of planning and the five-year plans is for everyone, not of one party alone. Therefore, some all-party committees have been formed in Delhi. Perhaps you have them in Orissa too. There must be no groupism or controversy in these matters. Well, debate is a healthy thing. But we must try to cooperate with one another in areas of national interest.

I am particularly concerned about the welfare of children who are the future of Orissa and of India. And I want that not only they should be looked after well, but a lot more should be done for them. Today when we were on our way here from Bhubaneswar, the Governor<sup>177</sup> and the Chief Minister of Orissa accompanied us. We were having discussions about this matter and about Raj Bhawan, etc. There is one in Bhubaneswar or it is about to be built. One is already here. The outcome was that it would be worthwhile if the one existing here could be used for child welfare programmes. It is not necessary that the Raj Bhawans should occupy huge spaces. They can be put to various uses. The Governor and the Chief Minister liked the idea. When the time comes, a small children's hospital or some other welfare project for children can be started within the compound of the Raj Bhavan. There is enough land there. A children's park, a Bal Bhawan, etc., can easily come up in one corner of the huge compound. All societies should take care of their children. Parents look after their children, no doubt. But they also tend to spoil them with overindulgence. So, though love is necessary, it is not enough. The children also have to be wise also. So, they have to be taught carefully. They should get the opportunity to learn. The children must have the opportunity to grow healthy in body so they have a healthy mind. Therefore, I want that there should be good Bal Bhawans throughout the country, in every village, and care is taken of children, of their health, studies and games and sports. That is how we will build a new India. [...]

[Translation ends]

177. See fn 168 in this section.

(c) Press Conferences

**14. India and the World<sup>178</sup>**

Subjects suggested for discussion:

1. General Ayub Khan's war threats,
2. Any improvement in the situation in Kerala since the Congress Working Committee Resolution,
3. Satyagraha on Mysore border,
4. Bombay,
5. American Congress elections,
6. Agricultural production and land reforms,
7. Congress affairs in U.P. and other States,
8. Rapacki Plan,
9. Our revised Plan,
10. Pakhtoonistan Movement,
11. Boris Pasternak affair,
12. Remarks that the Chinese were organised on a military basis.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not complain of misreporting, because normally I am well reported, but sometimes one or two words come in, which is all mystifying. The other day at Hyderabad I was talking about the resolutions. I said that they were working resolutions. I was reported as saying that they were "working-class resolutions". The word "class" has no meaning. These little words creep in and there were in fact leading articles on working-class resolutions.

In regard to the last question about China, what I said was that China is being organised as if it was a soldiers' camp, that is to say, people following a strict routine as if in a camp. They go to work at a certain time, they come back for lunch at a certain time, all together, the whole village, the whole commune. That was what I said. It is strictly organised in a military way for purposes of work, not for purposes of fighting; that is a separate thing. For purposes of work they have been organised in that way.<sup>179</sup> I believe they are

178. Press Conference, New Delhi, 7 November 1958. File No. 43(73)/56-58-PMS.

179. The question about Nehru's recent statement on China seems to have been asked; but it is missing from the record. Nehru said these words while addressing a gathering after laying the foundation stone of a new building for the secretariat of the Madhya Pradesh Government at Bhopal on 1 Nov. 1958.



also given military training—that is a separate thing—some kind of a little training which every citizen gets.

At the last month's conference—I think it took place after the first coup d'état—I said something about it.<sup>180</sup> It is rather difficult and perhaps not very appropriate for me to discuss events in Pakistan. Some of them are surprising; some of them, well, shall I say, are not likable; some of them produce some concern. That is natural. As for General Ayub Khan's remark, I suppose you are referring to what he said when he was asked if he would go to war. He said, "Certainly, if necessary".<sup>181</sup> That, of course, is not a very wise statement to make for the leader of a nation at any time, much less for a military leader who has just assumed power. It does not, if I may say so with all respect to General Ayub Khan, worry us very much, although inevitably we have to be wide awake. Where power is concentrated in an individual, and that individual is a military individual, then the normal checks which occur in a Government or in a society do not exist. Whether the present Pakistan Government is good or not, is not for me to say, but for the people of Pakistan. But one thing surely is clear, that nowhere in the wide world today is there such a naked military dictatorship as in Pakistan. There is no veil about it; there is nothing behind or below, I mean to say, group or party, it is just naked military dictatorship, and such a dictatorship always has, inherent in the system, I am not talking about individuals, certain risks and dangers of individuals acting on moods. So, we have to be wide awake.

One thing, if I may say so, is rather interesting and significant. Some newspapers in England, in the United States, have almost tried to show that what has happened in Pakistan is a way to freedom.<sup>182</sup> It really is rather extraordinary how one's wishes can alter facts. Whatever else it is, as I said it may be good or bad, it is far removed from any type of free society or free government as anything can be. It is obvious, and yet it has been said, of course, it is not good and all that, but still, it belongs to the free nations. If that is a test of free nations, I am afraid words have no meaning.

180. For Nehru's remarks at the Press Conference on 12 Oct. 1958, see SWJN/SS/44/pp. 122-128.

181. About Kashmir, General Ayub Khan told foreign correspondents on 30 Oct. 1958, "we must have a satisfactory solution. It affects our security and our whole existence. Should we be forced to adopt extreme measures, the responsibility will be that of India." Asked if he meant war, he confirmed, "Yes, certainly". He agreed that it would destroy both India and Pakistan, "but if someone is doing this to you what would you do? Lie back?"

182. See fn 9 in this section.

As you know, I have tried my best to avoid saying much about Pakistan's developments, because it is not appropriate, but what little I have said was criticised, I think, by a Member of Parliament in England, saying: "What right has Nehru, who himself has stuck on to office for a number of years, to criticise? He has one-party Government and imposes that on everybody, and then he dares to criticise others." I really do not understand this business of one-party Government that sometimes people talk about. What exactly they expect, whether there should be, in popular elections, an automatic rule of alternation of parties coming in, or we should bribe the people to work against us, I just do not understand. It just shows a lack of logic, and hidden sentiments just coming out.

Question: Obviously, we feel there is a certain difference in your approach as expressed today and as expressed last month towards the mood of the Pakistan Government. Do you think the elimination of President Mirza has made much difference to the Pakistan situation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, it has made hundred per cent difference: two becomes one.

Question: On the last occasion, when it was suggested to you that you should take up with the American Government the question of supplying military arms, you said that you did not propose to do so. In view of the further developments in Pakistan, and General Ayub Khan's sabrerattling, and the danger that one-man dictatorship may launch a war, could you take it up again with the American Government? Or have you already taken it up with them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As I said, I did not think it necessary to take that question up in that form. We have on many occasions previously, even without this coup d'état in Pakistan, during the last several years, brought this matter to the attention of the U.S. Government. We do not think it quite appropriate for us to go on repeating this formally. Informally, of course, the fact is there, that if we thought that big-scale military help in the past was a risk and a danger to India, undoubtedly that risk increases when there is a military dictatorship. Everybody knows that, and knows our views, but it becomes sometimes unbecoming for us to go on repeating the same thing in a formal way.

Question: Since the presidentship of Pakistan has been abolished or has been revived in a new form, does the question of recognition of the new



Pakistan Government arise?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a legal issue on which I would not like to express an opinion. But the fact is that the first coup d'état, you know, was taken up to the Pakistan Supreme Court and they decided that revolution justified everything, or the fact of the success. There is a couplet, I think, which says something about treason not being treason. When treason succeeds, obviously it is not treason it is the Government. I forget this famous couplet.

So, the Pakistan Supreme Court decided that. On the second occasion, General Ayub Khan with soldierly bluntness said, "I have assumed the presidency." He simply assumed it; there he is. And presumably, according to the Pakistan Court's ruling, the factual success of his functioning as such, is enough proof for law, that is, so far as they are concerned.

So far as we are concerned, we are simply carrying on, and I would rather not give a definite reply on the legal issue. I do not know what the correct position is.

Question: You said in Baroda that some people who were opposing the Nehru-Noon agreement did not know what happened between Mr. Noon and Mr. Nehru.<sup>183</sup> Could we know something about what exactly happened between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Noon?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am quite sure that those persons who had been saying that "we reject the agreement" did not know the slightest bit of it. Some people have been saying in the streets, "We reject the Nehru-Noon agreement". I am sorry I cannot produce them now; otherwise, one could cross-examine them and test their knowledge.

I should like to know, apart from certain persons who have very closely studied it, how many people have taken the trouble to understand it. The whole agreement is in two parts. One relates to the Cooch-Bihar enclaves.<sup>184</sup> The position there was absurd; that is, a number of "islands" within Pakistan territory, theoretically belonging to India, but in practice where we could not reach, and a number of "islands" in Indian territory theoretically belonging to Pakistan which Pakistan could not reach. They are useless to us, and our territory there is useless to them. We suffered a little more perhaps than they did. It was a nest of smugglers because no proper government functioned. It was clearer

183. On 2 Nov. 1958. See item 4, here p. 57.

184. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 551.

that the only reasonable way to deal with it was to exchange them and make homogenous territories of these "islands" inside the countries. That had to be done. I cannot conceive of anybody saying that it should not be done, because it is injurious to our interests to keep on these bits of foreign territory in the heart of our country which neither administer, nor tax nor do anything. We could not tax our places there. So it was the obvious thing to do. In fact, it had been decided long ago in discussions with the West Bengal Government and the rest.

I think so far as this matter [about the Cooch-Bihar enclaves] is concerned, it will require legislation by Parliament. We will place it before Parliament and they can decide as they choose.

So far as the other matters were concerned, they were, what might be called, rectifications of the frontier, in terms of certain interpretations of the various awards, etc. Although major portions dealing with this matter remained unsettled, certain minor rectifications took place. I think that the only outright, call it "gift", if you like, that we made to Pakistan was a piece of territory about 200 square yards long. It was rather absurd, bulging out at one place, and it was troublesome to us and to them. So we agreed to 200 square yards. That bit does not involve any population, so far as I know.

The others were disputed territories, in some of which we thought our case was stronger, and in some of which they thought their case was stronger. Anyhow, broadly speaking, all these settlements are minor ones; the major questions were not settled at all.

Question: With the military rule in Pakistan, could we take it that migration from East Pakistan to India has come to an end?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The migration from East Pakistan to India was very greatly controlled some months ago by various steps taken at both ends. Since then, it has not revived, that is to say, some people come, but their number is in hundreds, not in thousands as previously.

Question: You just mentioned that some U.S. and British papers have said that the present military rule in Pakistan is a way to freedom. Could you just tell us how the two Governments view these developments?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I was not speaking of Governments. When I said it is a way to freedom, perhaps, I was not quite correct. What I said was that what has happened there was unfortunate. But, after all, considering everything, this helps them to retain their position on the free side and so on, as one of the free



nations. That is the line of argument in some papers—not all. But, there is an attempt not to depreciate it certainly, and to try to put the best value on it possible.

About Kerala, I can say nothing new.<sup>185</sup> Recently, there have been strikes in plantations. Some things have happened. Nothing fresh has happened there this way or that which I can comment on. More or less, broadly speaking, the situation is as it was.

Question: The Communist Party Secretary from Kerala<sup>186</sup> has stated that after the plantation trouble, Kerala has been starved while they are growing in Kerala cash crops, which are earning for the Centre foreign exchange. Is it correct that the plantation trouble strikes at our foreign exchange position because it prevents tea exports?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It may be a criticism. I do not know from what you say that Kerala is not helped. It is a factual matter. I say, “No, we do help it”. I do not think it is correct to say that we have differentiated in any way in regard to our Five Year Plan or other things between any States—Kerala or the others.

Question: The planters in Madras and Mysore have come to an agreement with the workers in regard to their bonus, holidays and others; but they have been resisting such agreements in Kerala. It is suggested that possibly they are doing so because of pressure, because the Kerala Government is not able to bring about an agreement between the workers and the planters.

Jawaharlal Nehru: You do not expect me to discuss this complicated matter. The broad facts are that the strike in the high ranges there was started, I think, by the I.N.T.U.C. unions. The Communist unions joined it. But, soon after starting the strike the I.N.T.U.C. unions and the management came to an agreement in regard to some matters at issue, and agreed on a reference of the other matters to adjudication. I hope I am right. But the Communist unions did not accept that agreement. So they continued the strike and that is the position with some variations here and there.

I cannot go deeply into whether the planters like the situation and want to prolong it or the others to have negotiations. The unfortunate thing is this: this

185. No question has been asked but Nehru shifted to this topic on his own. The Communist-led plantation workers in the tea and rubber estates and workers belonging to the INTUC in Kerala had struck work on Oct. 4, demanding among other things 25 per cent bonus for the year 1957, national and festival holidays, gratuity and provident fund.

186. M.N. Govindan Nair.

kind of thing causes a great deal of loss to Kerala and to the country's foreign exchange. I should have thought that adjudication—if there is no other way out—should be welcome. I do not say that there is anything else, but adjudication need not be discarded. The objection taken to it was, I think, that it may mean a long-drawn out process which it sometimes is. Well, I think, care could be taken to speed it. As I said, I have not been in touch with the latest developments in the last 10 days or so. So I cannot say much about it.

Question: Do we take it that the Central Government is not following the development of the dispute with daily attention and that it is regarded as a matter only for discussion with the State Government there?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Prime Minister is not following it daily. Some Ministry of the Government no doubt, is [following it up].

Somebody asked me about the U.S. elections.<sup>187</sup> It is not for me to comment on the U.S. elections.

Then you asked me about the agricultural production and land reforms.<sup>188</sup> By land reforms, I take it, is meant chiefly the question of ceilings. The question of ceilings was part of the Planning Commission's policy, part of the Congress policy, but we had never defined it precisely because of differences in the States. When this matter was considered at the Hyderabad A.I.C.C. meeting,<sup>189</sup> in the course of discussion, one of the Members—I think it was Mr. Subramaniam, Finance Minister of Madras<sup>190</sup>—said that, instead of discussing it in a vague way there, it would be easier to come to grips with the problem if a Committee was appointed, and not discuss this merely but consider this in its fuller context. That Committee, perhaps as you know, is meeting since yesterday.<sup>191</sup> As soon as Mr. Subramaniam suggested this, I said, "Certainly. It may take six or seven weeks or whatever it is but it is better to think completely its implications, not merely the ceiling, the principle of which we have accepted".

Question: Does it mean the reopening of the ceiling question?

187. The question about the US elections seems to have been asked; but it is missing from the record.

188. No question has been asked but Nehru shifted to this topic on his own.

189. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 177-178.

190. C. Subramaniam.

191. On 26 Oct. 1958, U.N. Dhebar announced the formation of a sub-committee under himself. For its recommendations, see fn 35 in this section.



Jawaharlal Nehru: Not that I am aware of. That is an accepted thing.

Question: Does the appointment of this Committee and its discussion mean reopening of the...

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am saying, "Not that I am aware of". It is a question of how to implement it because having laid down that general principle of ceiling it was left to States. Conditions differ with the result that there is a variety in their approach. We want to bring about a certain uniformity.

Now, I will tell you how some of us had been feeling about this matter. We have considered various approaches separately, the question of ceiling, the question of cooperatives, but we are beginning to feel that the two are intimately connected. If you had large farms in India, as in some countries, one can conceive—you may agree with it or disagree with it—of their functioning with efficiency producing a lot and being able to develop modern techniques. The basic problem of India is the very small holding, normally, I would say, of one, two, three acres. With their small holding all they can do is to carry on, not make much progress of modern technique, or anything. Now, the imposition of ceiling, etc., is likely to cut up some of the big farms as it should; it is meant to. If you want progress and the introduction of modern techniques, then these infinite numbers of small farms should work cooperatively so that they get the advantage of a modern technique and all that. When I say 'work cooperatively', of course cooperation is of many kinds.

We think that the first step should be cooperatives, not merely of credit—that is there of course—but for all kinds of services; that is the first step—all kinds of services, buying things, selling things, seeds, fertiliser, this that and the other, that is, removing gradually the middle men.

Then comes the next stage, which may be called joint cultivation, though property rights remain separate. That is the next stage. If anybody is prepared to adopt it, well and good; we will be happy. We think that stage is a necessary stage, i.e.; property rights remaining individual property rights, but in the village having joint cultivation gradually.

That is the approach so that this ceiling question is more and more tied up with the question of cooperatives; otherwise there is danger of the thing going down, production and the rest. It is a complicated question and it is being considered by this Committee. No doubt it will be considered by others; I cannot go into further details now.

May I say, when I talk about a cooperative, I mean a village cooperative and no bigger; at the most, if you like, two villages if they are near each other. All our thinking now is based on the panchayat and the village cooperative and giving

them powers, authority, to make as many mistakes as they might. We take the risk; it is better to do that than to hedge their authority and make them feel just helpless. Speaking for myself, I have a good deal of faith in their innate good sense—the village people. They will no doubt make mistakes. It does not matter. All of us are making mistakes. But if you give them that feeling, they gain self-confidence, they gain initiative and they do things and not wait for officials to do them.

Question: Recently a few big businessmen produced a plan for agricultural production and in that they have argued for mechanised farming and against ceilings and also indirectly they have brought in the question of participation of private enterprise in oil exploration because they say more tractors will be needed and more oil will be necessary.<sup>192</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: And in order that private enterprise may be enabled to come in, they would ask us for large loans for that purpose. Private enterprise in India functions—I won't say entirely, but a good deal—with loans derived from Government.

Well, I have not read their full memorandum. Probably it is difficult for me to say but I have glanced through it. It is patent—they talk about fertilisers for instance. Naturally, we want more fertilisers, but so far as the other arguments are concerned, I do not agree, and I do not agree at all with this business of big tractors coming in. Here and there they may come in; I am not opposed to the tractor but what we want is not the tractor but a virile, active human being, the farmer with initiative and drive. How to do that is the problem. Not big machines or big money even; it is the human being, that is, the Indian peasant, that is the most important element. The Indian peasant, I think, will only function if he is given the chance through his panchayat, through his cooperative, to function effectively.

Again I repeat that the cooperative we conceive of is a small one, where there is an intimacy, where they know each other. It is not an impersonal thing. He knows his village folk, he knows who is bad and who is good, and in the

192. On 10 Oct. 1958, four leading businessmen, B.P. Singh Roy, C.H. Bhabha, Tulsidas Kilachand and B.M. Birla, appealed for a sustained thrust toward self-sufficiency in food through intensive and mechanised cultivation of a million acres of land, using fertilisers, expanded irrigation, and improved seeds.



balance, there is probably a greater chance of integrity and honesty prevailing in the village—they know each other thoroughly—than through some complicated processes of the law or some superior officers who know nothing about it.

Question: You are thinking of concentrating on panchayats and cooperatives. If you succeed, don't you think it will ultimately eliminate Government by parties?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Normally speaking, there is not much party business in the village panchayats or cooperatives and I do not think it should be encouraged there. They stand on a separate footing. In corporations, in municipalities, etc., in big cities it may come in. But problems of the panchayat or the city are almost entirely problems which cut across party barriers. I do not agree and it is not clear to me—it is not a question of my agreeing or not agreeing—the question is not clear to me, people talking about non-party government. My mind which is normally functioning, does not function. I do not understand what it means, except I can understand for any particular purpose, cooperation in the full way, but when people differ radically, the result would tend to be rather standstill.

Question: Has any effort been made to determine to what extent the elimination of the middle men contributed to increased agricultural production?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I couldn't tell you of any estimates being made on that basis. There are only two ways of increasing production—the efficient big landlord who can afford to do it, and the other, the efficient peasants working in cooperatives. The first one may produce, but it is relatively speaking oppressive to people there, to the peasantry. Therefore, we are driven to the second alternative. We have to consider not only food production but human advance. You can't, at the cost of food production forget the human factor. Indeed, ultimately if you forget the human factor, food production comes down. That is why in every country—and this is not a very socialist approach—in capitalist countries, the landlord has been more or less eliminated, say, in Japan. The U.S. Government encouraged the Japanese to put an end to their landlord system. Nobody can call the United States Government socialist. But it is a modern approach to it which, I am afraid, some of our people here have not quite got hold of. Just as our industrialists—some of them are good, some of them are very enterprising—but they have not quite caught up with the modern industrial approach in regard to the human aspect.

I do not know much about them except that some people have resigned and, I believe, some resignations, one or two, have been accepted;<sup>193</sup> the others probably have not been. My knowledge is confined to what I read in the newspapers in the last one or two days. I know of course there will be these internal pulls. I am not particularly worried about the developments there.

Question: My question was based on the ministerial part of it, not on the Congress part of it. Therefore, I would like you to elucidate how you view these developments, whether they are baneful to the country as a whole or whether they are something of which you can be proud.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I suppose there are many middle stages between those two.

Question: I would like to know your reactions to the principle enunciated by the Chief Minister, that in organisational matters the Ministers cannot act against the Chief Minister depending on what he considers vital.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not read this correspondence which has been released to the press.<sup>194</sup> I do not think you can lay down any rigid rule about such matters. Normally in organisational matters in the Congress, there is complete freedom; there should be. On the other hand, it is rather absurd for Ministers to function in a way opposed to the Chief Minister under cover of some so-called organisational matter. If it is an organisational question, there is complete freedom but it is essential for a Government to have homogeneity. The whole basis of our Parliamentary system of Government, is a homogeneous Cabinet of which the keystone is the Chief Minister or the Prime Minister. If essentially a Minister cannot cooperate with his Chief Minister, it is difficult for him to carry on. Either the Chief Minister goes or he goes; it depends upon to what extent they feel about it. If they are organisational matters, there is no difficulty. There are probably deeper internal pulls which came out in the recent meetings, etc....

193. The question about ministerial resignations in UP seems to have been asked; but it is missing from the record. The ensuing question clearly supplements that missing question. On 3 Nov. 1958, Jugal Kishore, the Labour Minister of the UP Government, resigned; seven others followed on 5-6 Nov. to assert their right to act freely within the Congress organisation.

194. The correspondence between Sampurnanand, the Chief Minister of UP, and Jugal Kishore was released to the press on 6 Nov. 1958.



When this Plan first came out, we welcomed it, and we still think it is a good approach.<sup>195</sup> It does not—nobody says so—solve the major problems of conflict. But it is a good approach. It does tend to lower tensions and anything that does that is good. Therefore, we would welcome if it was adopted, with variations, if necessary. In any event, at least the proposal deserves full consideration and not out and out rejection.

You may remember that the late Pope<sup>196</sup> had welcomed it. Nobody could accuse the Pope of being pro-communist, but he was a man of peace and therefore he had welcomed it.

I do not know what exactly you mean by our revised Plan.<sup>197</sup> The Plan is being constantly looked into, revised here and there, everywhere, in consultation with the State Governments and sometimes the total becomes a little less. Broadly speaking, we do not want to go back on anything that we have undertaken in this Plan. We want to proceed with it. But I cannot speak of some minor things here and there undergoing some change. In any event, it is something that is attended to frequently. There is no finality about it. Every few months we look into it again.

Question: Is it possible to get more precise information about the Plan? It started with a proposed outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores and certain modest objectives like 5 per cent increase in income, employment target of about 10 million and so on. That target has been progressively reduced and frequently we have heard it said that the Plan is over-ambitious. Then we came to Rs. 4,500 crores and certain lower targets. Is it a fact that it has now gone down to Rs. 4,200 odd crores? If so, how does it affect the targets?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry, I cannot answer those questions with any definiteness or precision, because these are various approaches, various arguments which come out in bits in the paper. There is no question about

195. Nehru seems to have moved to this topic without a question being asked, or, if it was, it is not in the record. He refers to the Rapacki Plan, proposed by Adam Rapacki, Foreign Minister of Poland, in the United Nations General Assembly on 2 Oct. 1957. It proposed a de-nuclearised zone in Central Europe embracing the territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The Polish Government repeated its proposal through diplomatic channels in Dec. 1957.

196. Pope Pius XII.

197. The question about the Second Five Year Plan seems to have been asked; but it is missing from the record.

cutting down our Plan. It is true that the employment targets then aimed at, have not been thus far adequately realised, and it is a matter of concern. The reasons are many. We are meeting, as you know, tomorrow, partly to consider this matter. And already we have to think in terms of the Third Five Year Plan, so that we may not be hurried. It will take a good two years before it can be got ready.

Then there is the question about Mr. Pasternak.<sup>198</sup> I am sorry, I have not read any of his books, although I possess at least his latest, in translation, and if and when time permits I shall certainly read it. But I know that his reputation as a poet has been a great one, for considerable time, and as such, as a great literary figure, we have respected him and we respect him. The criticisms made about his getting the Nobel Prize in the Russian press pained us somewhat, because that is entirely opposed to our methods of approach to such questions. It is rather difficult for us to understand. As I said, I have not read the book and I cannot say, but whatever the book may say, a noted writer, even if he expresses opinions opposed to the dominant opinion, according to us, should be respected and should be given free play.

Then there is a question about my talk with Shri Jayaprakash Narayan.<sup>199</sup> I met him on two days and quite a good part of our talks consisted of his telling me of his impressions of his foreign tours in which I was interested.<sup>200</sup> Then he talked about his present feelings about India, more or less on the lines of the statements he had made to the press here.<sup>201</sup>

My own appraisal of the situation, or the way it should be met, differs a good deal from Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's. That, of course, does not rule out

198. Nehru seems to have moved to this topic without a question being asked.

Boris Leonidovich Pasternak (1890-1960); awarded Noble Prize for Literature, 1958 for his novel *Doctor Zhivago*. The novel was first published in Russian and Italian at Milan in Italy in 1957. The first English translation by Max Hayward and Manya Harari was published from London by William Collins & Sons in 1958. See also item 326.

199. The question about his talk with Jayaprakash Narayan seems to have been asked; but it is missing from the record.

200. Jayaprakash Narayan, the Sarvodaya leader, met Nehru in New Delhi on 19 and 20 Oct. 1958. He gave an account of his visit to Europe and the Middle East between July and September 1958 and discussed his suggestions which he had presented to the press conference on 18 Oct. 1958. He declined to comment on his talks on the following day.

201. Jayaprakash Narayan addressed a press conference in New Delhi on 18 Oct. 1958. Confining himself to the immediate problem of revitalising popular initiative, he made two suggestions: 1) all major leaders, irrespective of party, to give up their positions of power to work with the people in a non-partisan spirit; 2) all parties committed to democratic socialism to cooperate to that end.



cooperation on specific matters—the more of this the better.

For instance, take some of the biggest things of all, our five year plans. In regard to food, recently we have started this process of cooperating with leaders of other parties. In regard to planning, we had also done that some time back, in a rather diffused way. I should like it to be a little more practical. We want this because it is not asking any party to give up its basic policy, but realising that in over 80 or 90 per cent of the field of activity, there is no real conflict. We should cooperate. That is a different matter from Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's approach.

I think Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan was rather unkind, and not quite correct, when he laid great stress on one fact that people presumably in Government or the Congress Party have forgotten the people of India, and only think of themselves and function through Government. Ultimately it is the people of India who count if I may say so with all respect, that it is a basic fact which everybody recognises, that it is the people of India who have to be energised; they have to work with initiative and self-confidence and all that. Whether we have not succeeded in that in the measure we wanted is another matter, but the basic premise is accepted. He seemed to imply that the basic premise was not accepted. That is not correct. All this business of community development, public cooperation and what not is an attempt to that end.

May I repeat what I said perhaps at the beginning, that this question of what is called enlisting the cooperation of the public might perhaps be looked at in a slightly different way. I do not personally like the words "public cooperation"—not that there is anything against them; but somehow they do not convey the exact idea in my mind. Whom do the public cooperate with?—with themselves, or the governmental apparatus? My whole conception of it is—and I am more and more convinced the more I think of it—that you must make them feel that they can do what they like in their village, in their cooperative, with freedom to think and a sensation of being able to do and choose, within limit of course; the sensation that they can even make mistakes must be there. It is only then that you grow up, draw them out. In other words, the official element must function less and less at that level to help and guide them at the expert level and do other things. If something goes very wrong, we pull them up; that is a different matter; but let them have that freedom in the panchayat, in the village cooperative and in the big panchayat of the block.

Question: Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan had expressed opinion that the top leaders in Government should leave their office and live with the masses? What is your opinion about it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan is a top leader and he has done that, and no doubt this will create a great effect, and continue to create a great effect on the masses. In such matters, I think, one should advise oneself more than others. I do not at the present moment propose to follow his advice. I cannot speak for others. To be with the masses is quite right, but in a modern system of Government, and with the enormous weight of problems that face one from day to day, I do not understand the approach which makes the functioning of Government as rather a secondary and unimportant business. I do not understand this at all. It is the most vital thing, the functioning of Government, economically, politically and in every other respect. While I entirely agree with him about the closest contacts with the masses—but if those contacts are to be purchased at the cost of considering governmental work almost a nuisance to be tolerated but not to be encouraged too much, then I would say that is not a correct appreciation of the situation.

Question: But men of genius should be reserved for non-governmental work, because any inferior man can handle governmental work?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Men of genius do not come in governments at all. It is only the second-rate people like me who come into government.

Question: In addition to this, he seems to have advocated some kind of coming together on a party basis, that the Congress, the P.S.P. and perhaps a few other parties he has in mind, should come together. You welcome cooperation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: He has not made himself precise about that; he has been rather vague, and I would not like to be precise, when I do not know what his mind is.

Talking about a non-party government, I do not understand it. I can understand even under certain circumstances what might be called a national government; that is certainly something, but the whole approach is a continuation almost, as far as I can understand it, of the pre-Independence approach, when there were so-called people believing in parliamentary methods, although we did not have a real parliament; and the people who believed in mass work, in the constructive programme. That controversy had some relevance then, when our work in the Assemblies was just in the Opposition, while our work with the people was constructive and all that. Now conditions are different.

We, the people, have to shoulder the responsibility of carrying on the vast country's government internally, externally, in a hundred ways during critical times. Every element of failure there, or of second-rateness, injures the country.



I do not say we are first-rate men. Anyway, that is not the point. The point is, you cannot treat government as a secondary affair; it is the dominant factor in the situation—just as the association of people and their awakening is also a very important factor.

Question: About stepping down from office, did you not very seriously consider the question last summer?<sup>202</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, if you will remember, my suggestion was something different from what Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has said. It was that for a few months I should be out of office, about six months or so. Then, if people want me, I might come back. I gave up that idea for various reasons and various pressures and the advice that I received.

But it will be rather childish for me every few months to threaten to go away and then to be wheeled back. It is rather unbecoming.

Question: What is the role of Governors in public affairs? Could you kindly give your own views on the subject?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In their jobs? If you look at the Constitution you will find that they are well defined. I think that Governors play a very useful role, which may become very important, on occasion may be less important. I may tell you of an eminent person whom you all know—but I would not mention the name—who functioned as Governor for some time in the absence of the other Governor or something happened. He had been critic of the system of Governors. He said it was rather a waste. Afterwards he wrote to the President: "Now I realise how important and vital the function of Governor is, after my own experience, how important it is, which I had not thought of from outside when I criticised it." Well, I think it is important. Of course, all such functions which depend partly on the Constitution, largely on conventions, depend on the personal factor, on the Governor, on the Governor's relations with the Chief Minister, and the Government and so many factors. But the point is that he is a factor both from the point of view of various groups and parties, endeavouring to bring them together, where anybody could go to him, and also from the point of view of the public. He can do a great deal in lessening internal tensions. He cannot obviously over-rule the Government. His advice should always be available. He should be kept in touch. The decision is that of the Government finally. If in

202. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 501-514.

some vital matter, the Governor thinks that there is a breach of the Constitution, he can refer it to the President. That is a different matter. Normally the decision is that of the Government, but the Government should keep in intimate touch with him and consult him, if not formally, informally. It is helpful. I certainly think that would be proper. But as I said, these are conventions which develop. We have had every type of Governor, even in the last 10 or 11 years, and every type of association between a Governor and a Chief Minister – the closest association and almost no association. The extremes are rare.

Question: Could you please say something about the Bombay-Mysore border agitation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not like satyagrahas anywhere.<sup>203</sup> I still hope that this question of the Mysore border should be decided by the Governments, the Chief Ministers of the States concerned coming together for finding some way out. I do not know; I am merely suggesting it. If they cannot settle it, as they ought to, [then] laying down principles on which it should be settled, asking somebody else to look into those on the basis of an independent person going into it, advising or adjudicating—those are the normal ways. Satyagraha does not improve the situation; it introduces an element of compulsion. Now, compelling people who disagree with you is a difficult task.

Question: What is the difficulty in the application to this dispute of what is known as the Pataskar formula?<sup>204</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. But normally I would say regardless of this, that this village formula is not a good formula. I do not say that it should be ruled out. It may produce quite odd situations. It is a factor to be considered, not a major factor. Otherwise if you go about with this formula, it will be

203. By the States Reorganisation Act, 1956, large areas of Belgaum, Karwar, Bidar and Gulbarga districts, with Marathi-speaking majorities, were included in Mysore State. This led to agitation for the formation of a Marathi-speaking Samyukta Maharashtra State which would include the Marathi-speaking areas in Mysore State. On 1 Nov. 1958, 24 volunteers of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti were arrested in Belgaum and Karwar towns in Mysore State during a "Border Satyagraha". See also items 79, 80, 81 and 82.

204. The Pataskar formula pertained to the adjustment of boundaries between Andhra Pradesh and Madras. The Andhra Pradesh and Madras (Alterations of Boundaries) Bill was passed by the Madras Assembly on 27 Apr. 1959.



difficult; you may get rather complicated borders and all that. The whole idea is that there should be some homogeneity. Sometimes there are odd villages all over the place, you cannot help it.

Question: The larger Bombay question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have spoken about it at considerable length.

Question: You said at Baroda that there is no question of principle involved, and that Parliament could change the decision.<sup>205</sup> The original decision was arrived at because all party members presented a joint signed memorandum. But there is supposed to be a whip against it by your Party.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not correct to say there is a whip against it because the question has not arisen. Certainly a whip is normally issued when the matter comes up for voting in Parliament. It is not issued months ahead. But it would be correct to say that when any question like this comes up in Parliament as other questions, if we consider it important enough, we issue a whip.

Question: There is supposed to be a convention against the Congress Party members signing a joint memorandum on such political questions with opposition party members?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think to some extent there is such a convention, and undoubtedly—I am quite frank with you—in a matter of this kind, going about signing memoranda should not be encouraged. It is not a helpful approach. In fact we discourage them signing memoranda by themselves. It does not happen so much here, but it does happen in States. It is a bad thing. If any Congress member wants to say anything, he can say it in the Party meeting, he can say it individually, he can discuss it in meetings. But this idea of Congress members presenting written representations is not right, I think.

Question: One clarification. You are reported to have said that the Mahagujerat Parishad are welcome to discuss this if they want to. Does it indicate that you favour the idea of all concerned parties discussing the question?

205. See item 4, here p. 57.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not quite understand your question. I am always prepared, subject to time and convenience, to discuss any matter, and I try to convince others of what I think is right, and to give others an opportunity to convince me of what they think is right. That is a normal function. This can be overdone. But the principle is there.

Question: Is it to be taken that so far as the Congress is concerned the issue is a closed chapter?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think a more correct way of saying it would be that the view of the Congress, generally speaking, in this matter is clear, and it is that the present set-up is, on grounds of practice and principle, a satisfactory one. When I say principle, I do not say that a particular boundary is a matter of principle. That is not it.

But personally I do believe that too much insistence on the unilingual principle is not healthy. I would like to avoid it, but in the ultimate analysis it is the people who decide. You can't avoid such things by compulsion and coercion and making them unhappy. That is a different matter. And also you must remember this was decided over two years ago, and having come to a certain major decision it is a good thing to allow it to function. Not that a change is ruled out absolutely; how can I rule it out? But it is only fair to test it and see it.

Question: There have been reports in some British newspapers that the Indian Government is greatly concerned over the developments in Tibet which have resulted in complete disappearance of trade between India and Tibet, and it has also affected the internal security of Bhutan. According to some reports, a number of Tibetans taking part in the revolt are seeking shelter in Bhutan, as Chinese policy is becoming more severe. What is our Government's information about this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This is a 64,000 dollar question. But briefly I would say we are not terribly concerned, from the point of view of security and the like. Our security is not threatened in slightest. I do not think the security of Bhutan is threatened in the slightest. As to what happens internally in Tibet, we are interested in knowing what happens in all our border countries. In that sense we are interested of course, not from the point of view of our security and, so far as I know, of Bhutan's security being threatened in any way.

Thank you.



## 15. National and International<sup>206</sup>

Subjects suggested for discussion:

1. Border Disputes,
2. Waterlogging in the Punjab,
3. The Commonwealth and Military Dictatorships,
4. Preparations for the Third Five Year Plan,
5. Meeting with Vinoba Bhave,
6. China Map.

Question: What about border disputes?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have said quite a lot about them.

Question: I refer to the kidnapping of eight Adivasi women.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There have been a number of kidnappings in the last few months. So far as I know, those persons were returned except two about whom the Pakistan Government informed us they knew nothing about. They were untraceable. I have no information about the eight persons being killed. I think Mr. Jaipal Singh<sup>207</sup> was referring to an incident that happened two or three years ago, but three years ago perhaps it did happen.<sup>208</sup> There were some fishermen, fisher folk, something like that; some Pakistanis came in a boat and then they shot down one or two and dragged them away. That happened a long

206. Press Conference, New Delhi, 10 December 1958. PIB. Also available in JN Collection.

207. (1903-1970); sportsman, politician and leader of the Jharkhand Party; captained Indian Field Hockey team to clinch gold in the Summer Olympics in Amsterdam, 1928; associated with the Adivasi movement in Bihar, Orissa and Mahakoshal area of the Central Provinces for a separate administrative set-up for Adivasis; formed Adivasi Mahasabha, 1938; Member, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52; Jharkhand Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Ranchi, Bihar, 1957-70.

208. During a debate on international situation on 8 Dec. 1958 in the Lok Sabha, Jaipal Singh said: "...I was very disappointed with the almost frivolous way the honourable Minister for External Affairs treated border incidents... He called them petty eruptions. He is welcome to his own reaction to the reports he may be getting from our officers and also from the Pakistan Government. But I feel there is no future. There is no stopping of these border incidents, of their becoming chronic incidents... I am reminded of border incidents, when, some years ago, eight Santhali women, who were washing their clothes in a border river were dragged away, violated and murdered. Is that a petty eruption?" See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, col. 3763.

time ago. He must have referred to that. They were Adivasis. I do not exactly remember but there were inquiries in regard to it, Indo-Pakistan inquiries were made and I have a faint idea that the Pakistan Government expressed regret for it and said they would take action against those who had indulged in this.

Question: Yesterday you said that India would gain about 42 square miles and Pakistan would get about 38 square miles consisting of hilly region.<sup>209</sup> Does this 42 square miles include this hilly region?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think so. I am not quite sure now, but I think it does. The main gain by Pakistan is, I think, about 10,000 acres or 11,000 acres in regard to Cooch-Bihar enclaves and about three or four square miles, elsewhere. In the other, the gain is on the Indian side mostly.

Question: what will be the actual area changing hands?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The enclaves will be exchanged as they are. For the rest, half of Beru-Bari Union. A very small area, I forget now, probably three or four hundred yards near Tripura border railway.

Question: Acharya Kripalani said in the Lok Sabha that these border disputes will continue for some time and as I remember, you also agreed with that.<sup>210</sup> Acharya Kripalani also suggested that the Government of India should act in a way so that the people living in the border areas can reply to those invaders with interest. Are you thinking on those lines?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You notice that on the Western side there has been sometimes trouble, but relatively little in the recent years – and the trouble on the Western side has been of two types, one over small disputed territories. It is not what I would call odd members of the public coming over but some deliberate intrusion over that area. The second type is on the Rajasthan border where it is of the dacoity type, people come over and carry off camels and animals or something; dacoits come over and go back. On the whole there has been no incident on the Western side for some time past as far as I can remember. On the Eastern side the trouble is of a different kind. Sometimes of course it is deliberate, as police

209. Nehru was referring to the total exchange of territories between India and Pakistan as a result of the Nehru-Noon Agreement of 11 Sept. 1958. See item 247, here pp. 668-669.

210. By J.B. Kripalani, PSP Lok Sabha MP from Sitamarhi, Bihar. See item 247 here p. 665.



officers may cross over. The rest is trouble between groups of peasants who own lands on this side or that side and over harvesting. But sometimes it is deliberate. For instance in the Khasi hills there was firing recently a few days ago.<sup>211</sup> There was no question of harvesting there. In other places there was. We have taken quite adequate measures to protect this but you will appreciate that a thousand miles of territory or whatever it is cannot be guarded every inch of it. It is not a question of equipping Adivasis and others. It is a different matter, equipping the Western border people, they know how to use weapons but the rest, poor fishermen and others, giving them guns is not good. They probably will be taken away from them.

Question: Do you attribute warlike intentions to these incidents or just regard them as a continuing process?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what you mean by warlike intentions; that is preliminary to war. I don't think so. I don't think there is any relation to that. Here are two types of incidents. As I said, one is really an incident which might happen in any conflict over land between two sets of peasants and which is aggravated, of course, by the effect of these border incidents; the other type is just stealing and dacoity which might happen anywhere which again is being aggravated. The third is what I would call real aggression, though on a small-scale. I cannot say what the intention of this is except, I imagine, that it is just to show off that they can do this or that and they can creep forward, maybe by yards whatever it is. But many of you gentlemen may see the Pakistan press. Now, the Pakistan press is continuously having headlines about Indian aggression there and sometimes the most ghastly cartoons. In one of the papers of Karachi I saw a ghastly cartoon about Indian aggression in the East. So the type of impression created on the Pakistan people obviously is—these poor people do not know, they read their papers – that India is committing aggression all this time there.

Question: Do you think that these incidents will continue for a long time or at least for some more time? What measures do you propose to rehabilitate this area so that the people may be self sufficient and may not be dependent on Pakistan as their market?

211. Firing occurred four times in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills and Patharia Forest areas in Nov.-Dec. 1958. On Dec. 8 in the Lok Sabha Nehru cautioned against attaching too much importance to "these petty eruptions here and there" since the peasantry on either side, with police support, routinely quarrelled during harvests. See item 246, here p. 653.

Jawaharlal Nehru: When I said that I partly agreed with Acharya Kripalani, that simply meant that if there is tension between India and Pakistan there is always risk of incidents happening. It does not mean necessarily that incidents on the same scale should go on happening. As I said, the petty type of incidents—a theft or a dacoity across the border—that is a type of thing which may happen a little more or a little less. The only way to deal with the situation—as you mentioned the Khasi border: the Khasi border has suffered a great deal because of the loss of markets. In fact, we had an agreement with Pakistan about those incidents on either side of the border.<sup>212</sup> I do not think, as far as I remember, that was given effect to as we thought it should be. But the question of protecting the border in any major way is quite adequately met and there is no question of that. And wherever there is any kind of intrusion of this type, adequate steps are taken against it.

Question: I was referring to economic life, because in these incidents the daily economic life of thousands of people is completely ruined as the area now in Pakistan, was their main market. Now they have no market at all.

Jawaharlal Nehru: In the Khasi Hills the main difficulty has been lack of communications. Now we have built roads in the Khasi Hills. And, one of the main products is oranges. If you go there, you will find mountains of oranges lying there: In fact, for some time, just as a measure of relief, we had to fly the oranges to Calcutta which was an expensive process. Still we did. But now, I think, the situation is better because of the better communications, roads being extended there. That is the main way to deal with it, to get communications. Also, to have some small plants there for canning fruits, and the like.

Question: Sir, yesterday you said that wherever Radcliff Award has given a clear decision, as in the case of the Chittagong Hill tracts in favour of Pakistan, although very unreasonable, the question cannot be taken up. But wherever there are points of interpretation, as for example, some areas, some villages on the Cachar side – Madanpur, etc., is there any possibility of the question being taken up?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Are you referring to some villages or a large area?

Question: A large area of 32 villages, or about 100 tea gardens.

212. Nehru was referring to the Nehru-Noon Agreement. See fn 65 in this section.



Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a pretty large area. As far as I remember, it again is a question of interpretation. They have given a line—they have said “West of this goes to whatever it is India or Pakistan; East goes to the other.” It is a question of interpretation as what line goes to the East or to the West. Sometimes our case is relatively stronger, sometimes Pakistan’s case may be a little stronger. This is a question of interpretation and certainly we did not give up any interpretation which is in our favour.

Should we go to the next subject what do you want me to say about waterlogging? Waterlogging has to be dealt with by the normal methods. I think that it is being dealt with now. There has been a good deal of discussion, arguments, conferences round about Delhi. You have seen and I have seen very fine areas in north U.P., Meerut district, waterlogged.<sup>213</sup> There are two types of waterlogging: one is due to these canals, old canals, not the new ones and the other is really due to excessive rains which collect there, and which cannot drain out. It means erecting proper drains and, where it is due to canals, pumping the water out. It is a very big process but it has to be done.

Question: Sir, it is believed that this normal process will cost more than the Bhakra-Nangal itself.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I have not heard of that. But they are fairly costly if done in a centralised big way. Now, take another thing. You calculate how much a small channel would cost, a small channel, leading from the main canal to the villages, etc. If you made a calculation how much the channels would cost all over India, you would arrive at an astronomical figure. If you think of the State undertaking all the channels in all the villages, it is a tremendous figure. But the point is that that should be done by each village there. There is no question of the State; the state may help here and there if there is any difficulty and it should do that. One of our difficulties has been the total reliance on State activities in regard to small things. Whether it is a well, whether it is tank or water channel, this normally should be the responsibility of the village, village panchayat, or call it what you like, and aid it where necessary. In fact, I am not quite sure whether it is desirable to make it their legal obligation to some extent. They profit by it and they can do it very easily, a few miles. But if you take a million miles all over India and call upon the State to do it, it becomes a

213. Over 90 miles of drains were dug at a cost of about a lakh of rupees in west UP following heavy rainfall in late Sept. 1958. Nearly 18,500 acres of land in the districts of Aligarh, Mathura, Agra, Meerut, Muzaffarnagar and Bulandshahar were freed for Rabi sowings in November. See also item 162.

prodigious task. In that sense you may compare it with the Bhakra-Nangal, but if you split it up, it does not come in that way.

Again, say, in Punjab where there is waterlogging,<sup>214</sup> it is due to the canal system; water has to be pumped out. One need not go very very deep in pumping it out. Now I cannot go into the technical details but I have taken a great interest in it and I understand that progress has been made in this direction.

Question: There is also an allegation that canals have been laid with a view to please local dignitaries.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Are you talking of old canals or new ones?

Question: New ones.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. The trouble is due to the old canals. New canals are, first of all, normally cemented and the question of waterlogging there does not arise. It has been a costly business to cement them, but the question does not arise in their case. It is the old canals, fifty to sixty years old canals, that is causing all the trouble. As to what you say about local dignitaries, I do not think so. Surely, if you have all kinds of boards, etc., I do not think some local village dignitaries are going to have much say. But normally, of course, there is always some local dispute and one party blames the other.

Should we go on to the third thing? I think somebody asked about that the U.K. High Commissioner said about coexistence. Of course we believe in coexistence with every type of regime, including military dictatorship. It is not a question of coexisting or not coexisting; with them we coexist. But the question is, first of all a much broader one. All over the world today, or recently certainly, there has been a tendency away from what is normally called democracy, or some form of elected parliamentary governments in various degrees. Now, those people who believe in democracy should naturally be perturbed by this. But what is rather disturbing is that instead of being perturbed, they almost welcome it and pat it on the back. That is encouraging tendencies which are opposed to

214. Waterlogging and extensive flooding followed the opening of the Bhakra canals in 1955. The problem, and the privations it caused, were less serious in 1956 and 1957, but extreme in 1958. Official figures claim losses of more than Rs 29 crore to standing crop. The damage to roads, railways, bridges and other public property and the loss of revenue to the Government had not been assessed. See also item 154.



democracy. Whether that is a desirable thing or not, it is for each person to decide, it is for each country to decide. It is a question of encouraging the right tendencies or the wrong tendencies, in a friendly way, if you like. But supporting a wrong tendency is presumably not good for the right tendency. It is obvious.

Question: Is not the Commonwealth based on parliamentary democracy? Can we have a military dictatorship?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no constitution of the Commonwealth laid down. I do not know what you can have, what you cannot have. The Commonwealth has often been described as a dynamic institution. Well, if its dynamism leads it away from parliamentary democracy, each person can have his own opinion about it. But the fact is that nothing has been stressed so much in relation to the Commonwealth in the past as the fact that there is parliamentary government there. It has often been stressed. And if a change in that happens, it is a major change so far as the Commonwealth is concerned. What the Commonwealth will do about it is another matter. I cannot speak about the entire Commonwealth.

Question: Now, the only qualification for membership is the recognition of the Queen as the titular head. Is it not?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You may put it that way, but that was a development when India became a Republic because naturally we owed no allegiance to the British Crown. It is quite clear. And, as you know, there is no reference anywhere in our Constitution to the Commonwealth or to any other country. It is not a constitutional or legal matter. But we decided, for good reasons, I think, to continue in the Commonwealth in spite of not owing allegiance to the British Crown, in spite of being completely free and independent constitutionally, and in a practical way. And then, after long discussion, we decided that. It is some kind of a rather mystical expression of the Commonwealth union, that the British Crown, should be accepted as a head, a mystical head of this. It is rather difficult to explain or understand.

Question: You have been stressing that dictatorship can have no democratic content. Does it equally apply to Arab nationalism or is there any essential difference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Dictatorships are obviously of many kinds. It depends on the content of it. There are military dictatorships. There are the communist dictatorships which are huge party dictatorships. They differ a great deal from

each other and you can have your choice or you can dislike the lot. They are not dictatorships but oligarchies. There are a hundred and one forms of government.

Question: When India was in the Commonwealth, it was firstly because there is a common defence system, secondly a common financial system, and thirdly it was parliamentary government. All the three systems, more or less, have broken down completely. The only tie that remains is that of the Queen as the titular head.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of common defence, except for such countries as wanted it. For instance, whenever there has been a meeting of the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth, there has usually been a meeting for defence purposes of those members of the Commonwealth who adhere to it. Indian never attended it nor, I believe, Ceylon; I am not sure of other countries, but India had nothing to do with it. So, there is no question of common defence for the Commonwealth as a whole. As for economic things, it has nothing to do with the Commonwealth.

Question: Financially?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What I mean is, if anybody is having financial connections or bonds it has nothing to do with the Commonwealth. Two countries may have those relations whether they are in the Commonwealth or not. Suppose England has close ties with France economically, that does not mean that France becomes a member of the Commonwealth. They have close ties. We have close ties with Canada and with America. It has nothing to do with the Commonwealth. Suppose we were not in the Commonwealth at all, it would not affect in the slightest degree such economic ties which we build up with England or with Russia or with anybody.

Question: I am referring to London as the banker of the Commonwealth. It has ceased to be the banker of the Commonwealth.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It has nothing to do with the Commonwealth, I say. That process started after the First World War. After the First World War, London was the banking house of the world. After that the United States came in, New York gradually became important. It has nothing to do with the Commonwealth. It is a world transformation, of New York becoming the biggest money centre, except for the Communist countries. Those changes have been going on for a long time.



Question: Virtually we are out of it with all the three systems having broken down.

Jawaharlal Nehru: My dear Sir, there is no virtuality about it. The Commonwealth consists of two things, if you like. One is sentiment. The other is, just because of the sentiment, meeting together and discussing matters. There is nothing else. Now, you may say that the sentiment of the Commonwealth, again, is of two types. One is the sentiment of those countries, that is, like Australia, New Zealand, etc., which are, racially and otherwise, intimately connected with the Commonwealth. Obviously, that cannot apply to us. The other type of sentiment was the sentiment of a more or less common type of government like parliamentary government. That applies to us. Therefore, I say, when a country goes out of that form of government, that sentiment cracks to that extent.

Question: In view of the fact that the Commonwealth is drifting from the accepted principle of democracy, should we not do some rethinking of our stand to remain in the Commonwealth?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Don't you see that we are in the Commonwealth just as we are in the United Nations? If you ask me to leave the U.N. because there are countries in it with which we probably disagree, I don't. If in the Commonwealth there is a country which causes us more pain and more discomfort than any other, that is South Africa, but it does not affect my policy. I have to see how I can push forward our policy so as to help the larger causes in the world in the best way. I am in the United Nations for it I think, in spite of its deficiencies, serves a great purpose. I disagree with many things in the Commonwealth and with what individual countries in the Commonwealth do but it does not come in my way. It helps me nevertheless. It is a wrong notion that we are tied down in any way by it. It gives us some opportunities of furthering our causes.

May I go to another subject?

Question: Since you say it is a matter of sentiment would you like to attend the Prime Ministers' Conference when Ayub Khan is there?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a question which does not arise. There is no Prime Ministers' Conference in view yet so far as I know, and I have absolutely no idea who will attend it, who will be invited to attend it; and I have no idea what form of government Pakistan may have then.

Let us go to some other subject.

Question: Is there not a difference between our approach with regard to the coups in Iraq<sup>215</sup> and in Pakistan?<sup>216</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of difference in our approach. It is a question of facts. The military coup in Iraq was essentially a revolution changing a monarchy into a Republic; and not only that, but changing the basic policies of the country. It showed up that the previous rulers were totally out of touch, unrepresentative of the people there. I am not judging it, I am merely analysing it.

In Pakistan something has happened much more peacefully and, presumably it has been, for the time being at least, accepted by a large majority of the people there. I do not know. Of course, I admit it is a different type of thing.

Question: What about the reply of Tatas and other private automobile manufacturers to the Government's statement on Defence?<sup>217</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think it is necessary for me to say anything about it. Mr. Tata is completely justified in putting forward his view of certain economic problems. That view may not, and does not, coincide with mine. He really has also given an opinion about the future, I mean to say about the economic aspect of this particular thing, trucks etc., for the future. Actually it has to be seen. But the main thing is, apart from this particular problem, firstly, that it has always been our intention to make Defence independent of private interests—all and the private sector—in important matters. It is inevitable to go that way, that is independently of the public and private sector; we want Defence to be self-dependent.

Secondly, in this particular matter, after careful consideration, we thought it was desirable and profitable for us to take the step we did. It has really no relation to the larger output of trucks in India. If you want 40,000 trucks in India and if Defence makes 3,000 trucks then 37,000 is left over to the private sector. There is a growing demand for trucks in India, naturally. It does not really affect it except in one way. The market is there. In one way the element of competition comes in between the public sector and the private sector and I think that is good for both. They pull each other up. If the public sector tends to produce things in a more costly way, they will immediately be checked by the private sector prices. If the private sector wants fancy prices, they will always have to see what the public sector is doing. So,

215. See fn 42 in this section.

216. See fn 8 in this section.

217. See fn 33 in this section.



it is a good thing—that competition.

Question: You might have noticed that some kind of cold war has been started in which the Ministers of Government are also dragged. What do you propose to do about it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think any Minister to my knowledge has been dragged.

Question: In the press or the private sector?

Jawaharlal Nehru: But why bring in Ministers?

Question: There is a representation from responsible individuals as well as Ministers that the products of the Defence Ministry or the ordnance factories should not be put on the market in competition.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That, of course, is a proposition with which I disagree one hundred per cent. The whole justification for the private sector is competition. Otherwise, where is it? We help the private sector by tariff, this and that. That is a different matter. But the moment it says that we cannot compete with the public sector it is doomed. Then out it goes and some better and more efficient method takes its place.

Question: The country feels, and it has also been admitted just now, that the Government is getting a raw deal from the automobile manufacturers. What steps do you propose to take to see that the consumers are also liberated from the monopoly of the private sector?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In what respect?

Question: In respect of automobiles in which they charge high prices and give bad quality goods.

Jawaharlal Nehru: At the moment I do not know the facts about all these. What I am interested in is not so much in automobile prices, but in the prices of goods wanted by the general public; that is more important. If automobiles go out of circulation, we can do without it even.

Question: Have we understood you when you said that it was Government's policy that the requirements of the Defence forces should be as far as

possible manufactured in Defence plants and if that is so, would not there be a risk of setting up parallel capacities in the Defence sector and in the civil sector, whether public or private? Should there not be some form or some method of coordinating production plans of the Defence sector with the civil sector, whether it be private or public?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What does it imply? First of all Defence needs are some types of armaments.

Question: Trucks?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am coming to that. Armaments, aircraft, guns, etc., etc.—these are completely Defence, absolutely. Then on the other side, Defence needs everything; Defence needs clothing. Well, it is not necessary for Defence to put up plants for production of cloth; they may do so if it suits them. But trucks do not fall into the armament category; but they are pretty near it. We need them urgently; we need plenty of them. We cannot be dependent in the sense of depending upon them entirely on the prices going up. But there should always be, as you suggested, an element of coordination about these things, so that there is no wasteful effort. In a plan the private sector and the public sector should be coordinated; they should not run against each other.

Now, somebody asked about Vinobaji. I do not think I can say much about it except that I am going to see him in the course of a week.<sup>218</sup> I am eagerly looking forward to it because it is always a great pleasure to meet Vinobaji. There is something which is rather outside the scope of pure argument, although argument, reasoned argument, is always helpful. I may not agree with Vinobaji in something that he says or does; that is, my view of life may be different. But I respect him very greatly and I think he is a tremendous force for good in India. I try to learn from him whenever I can.

Question: The State Governments have been more affected by his ideologies than the Central Government.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Very good, if they are.

218. Nehru had talks with Vinoba Bhave at Gangad (37 miles from Ahmedabad) on 17 Dec. 1958 and at Bavla (22 miles from Ahmedabad) on 18 Dec. 1958.



Question: About the Third Plan, you have broadly stated that it is going to be a very big Plan. You have also said that it is going to carry us into a new phase full of socialism.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have said that? No, it will take us many Plans to reach full socialism.

Question: At one of the Parliamentary Party meetings, you have also said that we should not be afraid of large-scale foreign aid. I wonder, Sir, if you can elaborate on that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Of course, if you come and try to eavesdrop at private meetings you can always get something.

A correspondent: That is our job.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Take the last phrase. If you want to know, what I was telling the Parliamentary Party was that they must not look forward to or depend on foreign aid;<sup>219</sup> it is the exact opposite. But I added that it does not mean that I am against foreign aid and foreign aid is normally required by rapidly developing economies. That I said. But I said, if you depend on foreign aid, it is not the way to build up a nation; you have to work hard, and have more and more production here so that while not ruling out foreign aid, I said, India could never progress if it depended on foreign aid and did not work hard. My whole stress was not on foreign aid but on production in the country. As for the other things, socialism after the Third Five Year Plan, that, of course, has no meaning to any person who has any conception of what socialism is. It is true that most people have no conception of socialism and some people who talk most about socialism have the least conception about it.

Question: You should allow us in these party meetings.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am prepared to allow you provided you do not report. For your background information, you might say.

About the Third Five Year Plan, the position is this. I can't say at the present moment what size it will be. Obviously if we knew all about it, why should we have spent two years in discussing. We have two years still. But in

219. To the Congress Party in Parliament, 4 Dec. 1958. See item 127, here p. 439.

the nature of things, the problem has to be viewed not from the point of view of putting up a factory here or a factory there but the needs of the situation. In calculating the needs, what is the first thing you think of. Of course, the needs mean supplying the needs of the people of India, apart from certain needs like, maybe the Defence needs and others; the other needs are the needs of the people of India.

The first question that arises is how many people? And then you not only take the population figure of today but of that date to which you are looking forward. Suppose we are planning, say, for ten years, you can't plan for five years, a detailed plan yes, but for fifteen years because things we start now may take eight years to build sometimes. So we have to think, let us say, of what the population of India will be ten years hence. Then we have to supply food for that increased population and something over. So that we have to produce that much food. We have to provide clothing for that population and so many other things which you may separate into categories a few very essential, some essential, some important, some unimportant. You can leave out the latter categories but you must take the essential categories.

Then how do you get those things? Food, well, by better agriculture, by fertilisers, by better implements, by better seeds, whatever it is. Now, therefore, we have to provide, let us say, fertilisers. Fertilisers, apart from green manure which is very important, come from fertiliser plants. We have to build fertiliser plants. Industry, well, whatever we want, we want machines to build industry. Who is going to produce the machines? We want bigger machines to produce the smaller machines. We want mining equipment for our mines. Oil, coal we must produce the mining equipment. Otherwise it is a terrific drain on us. After all, all this foreign exchange drain is a drain on capital goods. Therefore we have to produce the capital goods. It is a difficult matter but we have to do this.

So, you see one thing leads to another and you have to coordinate those things. You want a plant. You want coal for it or you want some other kind of power, maybe atomic power. You want some transport for raw material to go there and finished articles to come away. All this has to be seen in a coordinated way, to meet the needs and supply the needs of, let us say, 400 million people in India or 420 million people in India, whatever it maybe ten years hence and you build up to it. Now it may be that you cannot fully supply their needs in ten years, maybe twelve years but you have to form a picture of this process, remembering always that the needs are growing. The moment you slow down, the needs overtake you and overwhelm you. So it is not a process of calmly sitting down and saying we will do it not in five years but in ten years. But in ten years the problem is different, it is double the problem of five years ago unless you catch up to it. Therein lies the need for tackling it with vigour in a



big way so as to control this situation. Otherwise it becomes completely uncontrollable. Anybody who thinks of it must come to this conclusion whatever the detailed facts may be, but the broad fact is that the needs, economic needs or political needs, everything grows and grows in India and in any country and unless you are quick enough, it grows in too fast for you and the population grows also. Therefore, you have to catch it by the neck somewhere or the other and get hold of it.

You may go slowly about many other matters but in basic matters you cannot afford to be slow. We have because of our ignorance, gone rather slow in the past in regard to certain matters. I should have liked a steel plant in the First Plan. It would have helped us very much now. We did not, because we said we will do it later. Doing it later has meant spending far more on foreign exchange and all kinds of things. Therefore delay means a tremendously heavier burden later.

Question: Can you visualise any day when there will be employment for all the able-bodied persons in India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is one of the needs of the situation which one has to look at. I have no doubt. I visualise it. I am quite certain of it.

Question: What is the deadline according to your calculations?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There are no deadlines in these matters. In fact that is one of the things with planning. If you look at a real planning chart you will see, of course, it is partly based on figures, appraisals, partly on guess work. It has to be, because after all the material we work with are 400 million people of India. It is not brick and mortar. You cannot lay down precisely what 400 million people of India will produce, how much energy they will put in, but you guess and if you look at these charts you will see that at every stage whatever we do, an appraisal is made of the employment potential. That is direct, that is easy, but it is not easy to calculate employment arising from the second and third stage of a scheme. You cannot guess it. One guesses is much more than the first stage. For instance, let us say, a steel plant gives employment to relatively few people. Any highly intensive scheme like this gives employment to relatively few people but the products of steel plants will give employment to a vast number of people. Small industries will crop up. So that you have to calculate all these things and in between you have to provide because there is the human problem involved you have to provide, in between, for employment in ways that, strictly speaking, are not very economic but because of the human factor you have to provide

for them. All these problems have to be seen together. There is no solution to these problems in any country, certainly not in India, still we can more or less, offer employment to everybody.

Question: Can we have a separate discussion on this subject? About the Five Year Plan?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Certainly. But would it not be better if our own ideas have been clarified a little more?

Question: Replying to questions in Parliament recently, Deputy Minister for External Affairs quoted some reply from the Government of China which suggested that they intended to start not only surveys but also negotiations with the Governments concerned.<sup>220</sup> Does that mean they do not accept the McMahon line or do we accept their reply?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot explain what they said. It has no reference to the McMahon line. It has reference to certain particular areas. They sent a rather vague and general answer. So far as we are concerned, the McMahon line is the final line. There is no question of that. It is by virtue of not only decisions arrived at in consultations with the countries concerned but also because of the usage, practice, long practice; there we are for a very long time.

Question: What about a New Year message?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Keep your nerve and work hard.

220. On 29 Nov. 1958, Bhakt Darshan, Congress Member from Garhwal, Uttar Pradesh, inquired in the Lok Sabha about China's response to India's protest against Chinese maps showing Indian territory as Chinese. Lakshmi Menon, the Deputy Foreign Minister, replied that the Chinese Government claimed that they were based on pre-independence maps, and that China intended to redraw its boundary after consultations with neighbouring countries and surveying border areas.



## (d) Interviews

16. With Ramnarayan Chaudhary—<sup>221</sup>

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपने मेरी तरह पढ़ाई बिस्मिल्लाह से शुरू की,<sup>222</sup> या श्री गणेशाय नमः<sup>223</sup> से की, या ABCD से? उस वक्त कभी उस्ताद से डाँट-डपट, गाली-गलौच या मारपीट सहनी पड़ी? शिक्षकों के प्रति आपका क्या ख़याल बनता था? उनका क्या अच्छा-बुरा असर होता था?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मेरी पढ़ाई हिंदी में शुरू हुई थी। थोड़े दिन बाद कुछ अंग्रेज़ी भी सिखाई गई थी। सब पढ़ाई घर में ही होती थी उस ज़माने में। स्कूल तो मैं करीब-करीब गया ही नहीं हिन्दुस्तान में। कुछ दिन के लिए शायद एक convent में, छोटा बच्चा था तब गया था। ज़्यादातर घर पर ही पढ़ा और घर में ही पढ़ाने वाले रहते थे और आते थे। बाद में जब विलायत गया तो वहाँ स्कूल गया था मैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उर्दू कब पढ़ी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: उर्दू मैंने, जिसको ज़ाब्ले से कहा जाए, तो नहीं पढ़ी। यों घर की बोली तो बहुत...

रामनारायण चौधरी: हाँ, हाँ, बोली तो थी ही।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: और कुछ अपने आप मैंने पढ़ी थी थोड़ी बहुत, लेकिन जब मैं चला गया यूरोप वगैरह, तो वह भी छूट गयी। वहाँ से आकर फिर मैंने कोशिश की कुछ अपने आप पढ़ने की। थोड़ी बहुत सीखी थी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: साथी विद्यार्थियों से आपका झगड़ा होता था? किस बात पर होता था? घर वालों से शिकायत करते थे? वे क्या करते थे फिर? आप नेता होते थे या अनुयायी?

221. Interview to Ramnarayan Chaudhary, New Delhi, 11 November 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

Part of a series of 19 interviews to Ramnarayan Chaudhary, 1958-1960. Previous interviews and other details in SWJN/SS/44.

222. Invocation in Arabic.

223. Invocation in Sanskrit.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कोई बहुत तजुर्बा यहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में और विद्यार्थियों के साथ पढ़ने का नहीं हुआ मुझे। हाँ, वहाँ विलायत के स्कूल में हुआ। वहाँ कोई खास गैर-मामूली बात नहीं हुई। न कोई खास झगड़े की, या इस किस्म की बातें। मारपीट की तो कभी नहीं हुई जहाँ तक मुझे याद है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आप देशी खेल और व्यायाम ज़्यादा पसंद करते थे या विलायती?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: व्यायाम का कुछ शौक रहा। बहुत बचपन में विलायत जाने से पहले कुछ देशी चीजें सीखी थीं, पटा वगैरह।<sup>224</sup>

रामनारायण चौधरी: हाँ, उस वक्त रिवाज था काफी इस चीज का।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: उस ज़माने में इलाहाबाद में खासतौर से। दंड-बैठक<sup>225</sup> की थी कुछ, बहुत ज़्यादा नहीं पहुँचे थे। वहाँ जाकर मैंने कोई खास व्यायाम नहीं किया सिवाय वहाँ के खेलकूद, जैसे फुटबाल, क्रिकेट, टेनिस, वगैरह।

रामनारायण चौधरी: इन तीनों में ज़्यादा किसका शौक था?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: स्कूल के खेल तक तो टेनिस था ही नहीं वहाँ उस वक्त। उस ज़माने में यह बहुत हल्का खेल समझा जाता था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: औरतों का खेल? (हंसी)

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: फुटबाल तो था, अच्छा था। कुछ बहुत ज़्यादा तरक्की तो मैंने की नहीं किसी में। टेनिस खासा खेल लेता था मैं, और खासा अच्छा था athletics में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ज़्यादा नहीं, लेकिन मुझे पसंद थे। अच्छा था किसी कदर। घोड़े पर तो खैर मैं बचपन से चढ़ता था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा? यहाँ भी और वहाँ भी?

224. Pata is an Indian sword with the gauntlet integrated as a handguard.

225. A combination of two exercises, press-ups and squat-and-stand.



जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यहाँ बचपन में काफी, वहाँ ज़रा कम चढ़ता था। कम मौकों मिलते थे वहाँ। वापस आने पर फिर चढ़ने लगा था। तैरने वगैरह का भी मुझे शौक था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा? तो देशी-विदेशी खेलों के बारे में मैंने पूछा है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैंने कुछ मज़ाक से कभी खेल लिया होगा। लेकिन मैंने गुल्ली-डंडा, कबड्डी कभी खेला नहीं है। इत्तफ़ाक़ से कभी मज़ाक किया हो। देखा है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: वैसे आपका ख़याल क्या है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ख़याल क्या? मेरी राय में कोई खेल देशी या विदेशी नहीं होते। जो मौजू हो करना चाहिये। इसमें कोई राष्ट्रीयता का सवाल नहीं है कि...

रामनारायण चौधरी: नहीं, इस ख़याल से पूछा...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ... यही खेल करेंगे और ये नहीं करेंगे। न ही यह कि अंग्रेज़ियत होनी चाहिये कि हम विलायती खेल ही खेलेंगे। वह निकम्मी बात है। बहुत अच्छे खेल हैं कबड्डी, गुल्ली-डंडा। मलखाम<sup>226</sup> बहुत अच्छा है। मुगदर<sup>227</sup> को मैं ज़ाती तौर से निकम्मा समझता हूँ। मेरी राय में वह पहलवानों की चीज है। वह एक आदमी को मोटा कर देता है बजाय दुबला करने के। (हंसी) लेकिन मैं कुछ आसनों को बहुत पसंद करता हूँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी हाँ, कौन से आसन?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: अब मैं नाम-वाम लूँ ...

रामनारायण चौधरी: शीर्षासन?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: एक तो मैं वर्षों से शीर्षासन कुछ न कुछ करता हूँ, थोड़ा बहुत, और दो एक और भी। मुश्किल इसमें यह है कि जो लोग आसन सिखाते हैं वे इतनी कोशिश करते हैं पेचीदा सिखाने की—कि उसमें वक्त भी ज़्यादा लगे और मुश्किल भी हो—कि बात जमती नहीं है। जो बात होनी चाहिए वह सीधी-सादी हो—कुछ आसन जिनमें ज़्यादा समय न लगे तो वो फैलें भी।

226. An exercise for wrestlers.

227. A log of variable weight swung by wrestlers in course of training.

रामनारायण चौधरी: पढ़ने में आपको कौन-कौन से विषय प्रिय थे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: पढ़ने में कौन-कौन से विषय प्रिय थे?

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: याने पढ़ने से मतलब आपका स्कूल में, कॉलेज में? कब, कहाँ?

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी हाँ, स्कूल-कॉलेज में।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: स्कूल-कॉलेज का क्या मतलब होता है? स्कूल में स्कूल के विषय पढ़ाये जाते थे। वहाँ तो सभी विषय पढ़ाये जाते हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपका favourite subject क्या था?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: Latin वगैरह से लेके कुछ इतिहास में और science में दिलचस्पी थी, दोनों में। किसी कदर mathematics में भी अच्छी दिलचस्पी थी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: Drama, poetry, वगैरह में आपकी कैसी दिलचस्पी थी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वो तो एक general literature में होती है दिलचस्पी। मैं University में Cambridge गया था तो मेरा मज़मून तो science था। लेकिन हमेशा मेरी कुछ literary किताबों में दिलचस्पी थी, history की किताबों में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: कभी आपने poetry लिखने की कोशिश की?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: विद्यार्थी अवस्था में लिखने और बोलने का शौक और अभ्यास हुआ?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: विद्यार्थी अवस्था में लिखने और बोलने का शौक...

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी हाँ।



जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यों लिखने और बोलने का तो...

रामनारायण चौधरी: Articles और essay वगैरह?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैंने कभी नहीं लिखे। कॉलेज में नहीं लिखे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: किसी union वगैरह में बोलने का?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वहाँ भी एक-आध दफा मजबूरी से बोलना पड़ा, लेकिन कुछ झिझक थी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यानी आप भी बापूजी की तरह shy थे विद्यार्थी अवस्था में?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ऐसी कोई बात नहीं थी। मैं shy बिल्कुल नहीं था। लेकिन मुझे बोलने में कुछ झिझक थी। वहाँ Cambridge में हिन्दुस्तानियों की एक Indian Majlis कहलाती थी उसका मैं सदस्य था। उसमें कभी-कभी बोल भी दूँ थोड़ा सा, लेकिन ज्यादा नहीं। बोलने वालों में मैं नहीं था। University के हमारे कॉलेज का एक कायदा था कि जो नहीं बोले पूरे एक term में उसे जुर्माना देना पड़ता था, कुछ दो-तीन रुपये जुर्माना। दो-तीन वर्ष तक मैंने जुर्माना दिया, बोला नहीं। कुछ इसकी भी झिझक रही होगी शायद। (हंसी) असल में मैं बहुत ही कम बोला। इतफाक से कभी बोला हिन्दुस्तान आके, और यहाँ दो-तीन बरस बाद आने के बोलने का सवाल मेरे सामने उठा और वह भी किसानों में। और किसानों में मुझे कोई झिझक नहीं थी बोलने की, कोई शरम नहीं थी कि कोई मुझे पकड़ लेगा। (हंसी)

रामनारायण चौधरी: Majlis में हिन्दुस्तानी में बोलते थे या अंग्रेजी में?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वहाँ तो बिल्कुल अंग्रेजी में बोला था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: बिल्कुल अंग्रेजी में? Majlis में भी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, Majlis में भी। वहाँ तो हिन्दुस्तान के सब हिस्सों के लोग थे न। ख़ाली हिन्दुस्तानी बोलने वाले तो नहीं थे, वहाँ तो मद्रासी वगैरह सभी तरह के लोग थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आज के भारतीय विद्यार्थी को ख़ास बात क्या करनी चाहिये?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह तो लम्बा सवाल है कि...

रामनारायण चौधरी: हाँ, यह ज़रा लम्बा सवाल है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ... कि विद्यार्थियों को खास बात क्या करनी चाहिये।

रामनारायण चौधरी: कोई मोटी बात।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: छोटी, मोटी क्या कहूँ, इस बारे में तो रोज़ ही कहना होता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: विद्यार्थी जीवन में आप क्या सपने देखते थे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कुछ को तो मैंने अपनी किताब में लिखा है। यह स्वप्न तो ख़ैर होता ही था हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी का, हमेशा ही होता था। उस ज़माने में कांग्रेस में झगड़ा शुरू हुआ था moderate-extremist दलों का। गोपाल कृष्ण गोखले और लोकमान्य तिलक का। और इधर बंगाल में partition और boycott, दो बातें थीं। जाहिर है इनमें मेरी बहुत दिलचस्पी रहती थी। हम पढ़ा करते थे, सुना करते थे और हमारी हमदर्दी, सहानुभूति, सब तिलक की तरफ़ थी (हंसी), यह तो जाहिर है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: बचपन या विद्यार्थी-अवस्था में आपका खान-पान क्या था? आपको मीठा, नमकीन, चरपटा, तला हुआ या दूध, फल, साग-भाजी, किस चीज़ का शौक ज़्यादा था? आप vegetarian या non-vegetarian रहे? आजकल क्या हाल है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: खान-पान क्या था?

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी हाँ, यहाँ भी और वहाँ विलायत में भी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यहाँ हमारे घर में मामूली खाना-पीना है जैसा एक कश्मीरी हिंदू घराने का होता है वह था। बहुत कम लोग वैष्णवी होते हैं कश्मीर में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ज़्यादातर, औरतें कुछ होती हैं। मर्द का होना तो और भी कम होता है। (हंसी)



रामनारायण चौधरी: औरतें आमतौर पर होती थीं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: आमतौर पर बिल्कुल नहीं। मेरा मतलब बेवा या इसी किस्म की औरतों से है या और कोई इत्फाक से। अब ज़रा बढ़ गया है। पहले बहुत कम होता था।

मुझे बचपन से आदत नहीं है मिर्च-मसाले की।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: अब भी मुझे बरदाश्त नहीं है मिर्च की और मसाले की। विलायत जाकर तो और भी कम हो गई। जाहिर है वहाँ का खाना खाता था मैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: मीठा वगैरह खाने के प्रति आपको कैसा taste है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: न कुछ ज़्यादा, न कम।

रामनारायण चौधरी: मामूली ही।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मामूली ही है। खाता हूँ। कुछ दिन के लिए, बाद में, मैंने मांस खाना छोड़ दिया था, पाँच-छः बरस के लिये। वह असल में शुरू में कुछ गांधीजी का असर था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा। 1920 से?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: 1919 या 1920 से शायद पाँच-छः बरस तक मैंने नहीं खाया। बल्कि फिर मैंने खाया भी तो जब 1926 में यूरोप गया और वहाँ दिक्कतें हुईं तब हल्के-हल्के शुरू कर दिया था खाना।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: खा तो अब भी लेता हूँ, लेकिन बहुत कम खाता हूँ। कोई बहुत शौक नहीं है। उससे हालाँकि कोई एतराज़ भी नहीं है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: बीच में आपने कोई आश्रम वाश्रम भी खोला था, सुन्दरलालजी<sup>228</sup> या और...

228. Vice-President, UPPCC, 1931-36; President, All India Peace Council, 1959-63.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जी नहीं, मैं आश्रम...

रामनारायण चौधरी: एक society बनाई थी आपने।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: आश्रम कभी नहीं बिल्कुल।

रामनारायण चौधरी: एक society बनाई थी आपने, तीनों ने मिलकर, आपने, सुन्दरलालजी ने। याद है 1920 में आपका एक pamphlet छोटा सा निकला था। और वो मर गये जो थे वो जिन्होंने आश्रम बनाया था...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मंजूर अली?

रामनारायण चौधरी: मंजूर अली। तीनों ने आपने मिलकर बनाया था।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैंने कभी आश्रम कोई नहीं....

रामनारायण चौधरी: Life members उसमें आप बनाते थे न, ऐसा एक छोटा सा...?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह कोई सही बात नहीं है, आश्रम मैंने कोई बनाया नहीं। हाँ, camps वगैरह होते थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वह तो और बात है, कभी-कभी होते थे camps। ऐसा कोई आश्रम नहीं बनाया था। मंजूर अली ने बनाया था कि वो आखिरी दम तक चले वो उन्नाव के पास?

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी हाँ, उन्नाव<sup>229</sup> के पास।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मेरा कोई ताल्लुक उससे था नहीं।

229. Headquarters of Unnao District in Uttar Pradesh, approximately 18 kms from Kanpur.



[Translation begins]

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you begin your education with Bismillah,<sup>230</sup> like I did, or Shri Ganeshaya Namah<sup>231</sup> or ABCD? Did you ever get scolded or thrashed by your teachers? What was your attitude toward your teachers? What kind of influence do you think they exerted on you?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I started my education in Hindi. A few days later I was taught a little English too. In those days all teaching was done at home. I almost never went to school in India, except perhaps a convent school for a few days when I was very small. I was educated at home and the teachers used to stay with us, or came to our house. Later I went to school in England.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: When did you learn Urdu?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I never learnt Urdu systematically. It was spoken at home.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, that was, of course, there.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Then I learnt a little on my own. But I lost touch when I went to Europe. I made an effort to pick it up when I returned from there and succeeded to some extent.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you ever quarrel with your fellow-students? What did you quarrel about? Did you complain to people at home? What was their reaction? Were you a leader or a follower?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I had no experience of being with other students in India; yes, in England I had it. Nothing extraordinary happened there—no quarrels or or anything like that. Scuffles never took place, as far as I can remember.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You preferred Indian games and exercises or the English ones?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have been interested in physical exercises. I learnt some Indian exercises, like Pata, very early, before I went to England.<sup>232</sup>

230. See fn 222 in this section.

231. See fn 223 in this section.

232. See fn 224 in this section.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, it was very popular then.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, especially in Allahabad. I did some dand-baithak<sup>233</sup> too though not much. In England, I did not do much of exercises, though I played their games, like football, cricket, tennis, etc.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Which of the three you liked most?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There was no tennis in schools then. It was considered to be a very ordinary game in those days.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Ladies' sport?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There was football, and I played well. But I did not make much progress in any game. I played good tennis. And I was pretty good at athletics...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: ...Not very much. But I was fond of athletics. I was quite good at them. I had learnt to ride when I was a child.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Really? You were riding here and in England too?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I used to ride a lot here, but there were fewer opportunities in England. I took it up again when I came back to India. I was very fond of swimming too.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Really? I asked about Indian and foreign sports.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I may have played some games for fun, but never gullidanda or kabaddi. I have seen those games being played.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What are your views about them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What views? In my opinion, there is no such thing as Indian or foreign sports. We must do whatever is appropriate. It is not a question of nationalism that...

233. See fn 225 in this section.



Ramnarayan Chaudhary: No, I merely asked because...

Jawaharlal Nehru: ...we shall play only these games and not the other games. Nor should people want to be anglicised and play English games only. Kabaddi and gulli-danda and malkham<sup>234</sup> are very good sports. I consider mugdar<sup>235</sup> to be absolutely useless. I think it is more for wrestlers. It makes a man fat instead of slim. But I like some of the asanas very much.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh, which ones?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Now, if I tell you the names...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Shirshasana?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have been doing shirshasana, as well as one or two other asanas, for years. The trouble is that those who teach asanas make the whole thing so complicated that it takes up too much time and is difficult to learn. Some of the asanas may be simplified so that they take up less time and thus become popular also.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: In studies what subjects were you fond of?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Subjects that I was fond of?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Do you mean in school or in college? When? Where?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, school-college.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What do you mean by school-college? In school, all school subjects were taught. There all subjects are taught.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What was your favourite subject?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I was interested in Latin as well as history and science, both; and, to certain extent, I was interested in mathematics also.

234. See fn 226 in this section.

235. See fn 227 in this section.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: How did you like drama, poetry, etc?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have always been interested in general literature. In Cambridge my subject was science. But I was always interested in literary books, books on history.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you ever try to write poetry?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you develop an interest in writing and speaking during your student days?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Writing and speaking?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, as regards writing and speaking during my student days...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you write articles and essays?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I never wrote. I did not write while in college.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you speak in unions, etc.?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I had to do so once or twice. But I used to be hesitant about it.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: So you were also very shy, like Bapuji, in your student days?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, that was not so, I was never shy. But I was always hesitant to speak. I was a member of Indian Majlis, a body of Indian students in Cambridge. I used to speak there sometimes though not much. I was not among those who spoke there regularly. One of the rules of our college was that those who did not speak for a whole term had to pay a fine of two or three rupees. I paid that fine two or three years running, because I did not speak. Perhaps that made me to hesitate even more. Actually, I spoke very seldom when I was there. Two or three years after my return to India, the question of my making a speech came up, when I had to address a group of peasants. But I felt no hesitation whatsoever in



speaking to them. I was not afraid that I might be faulted.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You spoke at the Majlis in English or Hindustani?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I spoke only in English there.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Only in English? Even at the Majlis?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, there too. There were people from all parts of India in the Majlis. There were not just Hindustani-speaking people, but all kinds of people like South Indians and others.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What should a student in India today do?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a tall order.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, that is surely a big question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: You want to know what the students ought to do?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Some broad suggestions.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I speak on the subject every day.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What did you dream about as a student?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have written something about this in my book. The dream of India's freedom was ever present. In those days, the tussle between the moderates and extremists had begun in the Congress, spearheaded by Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Lokmanya Tilak. Then there were the issues of the partition of Bengal and boycott. Obviously, I had a keen interest in these things. We used to read and hear about these subjects. Obviously our sympathies lay entirely with Tilak.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What were your food habits in childhood and as a student? Did you like sweet, savoury, spicy or fried things, or milk, fruits and green vegetables? Which of these things you liked more? You have been a vegetarian or a non-vegetarian? What is the position today?

Jawaharlal Nehru: My food habits?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, here and in England also.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Ordinary food is taken in our house. It used to be the same type of food that is normally eaten in an average Kashmiri Hindu family. Very few people in Kashmir are vegetarians.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is mostly women who are vegetarians. Men are seldom so.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Were the women generally vegetarians?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not generally. What I mean is women like widows and others who incidentally become vegetarians. The trend has now slightly increased.

I have never been used to spices from my childhood.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot tolerate Chillis and spices even now. I got out of the habit considerably when I went to England. Obviously, I used to eat their kind of food there.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Do you have a liking for sweets?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In moderation.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Normal.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes. I do eat sweets though.

I had stopped eating meat for some time, for five to six years. That was when I first came to be influenced by Gandhiji.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh! That was in 1920?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not eat meat from 1919 or 1920 for five to six years. In fact, I started to eat meat again when I went to Europe in 1926, because not doing so created problems.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!



Jawaharlal Nehru: I eat meat even now, but very little. I do not have any special liking for it, though there is no objection to it either.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Had you started an ashram with Sunderlalji<sup>236</sup> or someone else?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh, no. An ashram?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You had founded a society.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No ashram, never.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You had formed a society, three of you, including yourself and Sunderlalji. I remember a small pamphlet on your behalf came out in 1920. The person who founded the ashram died...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Manzoor Ali?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Manzoor Ali. The three of you had together formed it.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have never founded any ashram.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You used to take in life members.

Jawaharlal Nehru: This is not correct at all. I have never founded any ashram. Yes, we used to hold camps.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is different. I never founded any ashram. Manzoor Ali had founded one near Unnao.<sup>237</sup>

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh, yes, it was near Unnao.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I had nothing to do with it.

[Translation ends]

236. See fn 228 in this section.

237. See fn 229 in this section.

## 17. With Ramnarayan Chaudhary—II<sup>238</sup>

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपका और कमलाजी का विवाह किस उम्र में हुआ? प्रेम विवाह था या माँ-बाप का किया हुआ? विवाह से पहले आप दोनों मिले थे? दोनों से राय ली गयी थी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कमला जी सत्रह वर्ष की थीं। काफी अन्तर था नौ बरस का।

रामनारायण चौधरी: नौ बरस का?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: विवाह के पहले मैं उनसे मिला था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: दूर से मिला था। मतलब यह कि देखा था उन्हें घर में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: बातचीत की?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: बातचीत तो बहुत ज़्यादा नहीं की। कुछ थोड़ी-बहुत हुई थी, लेकिन...

रामनारायण चौधरी: विवाह के बारे में?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नहीं, विवाह के बारे में मेरी उनसे कोई बातचीत नहीं हुई थी। देखा था। सच पूछिये तो मेरे माता-पिता ने दिखलाया, उन्होंने ही बातचीत वगैरह की, मैंने नहीं की। और इसके बाद विवाह का निश्चय हो गया था। असल में काफी दिन बाद विवाह हुआ, सालभर बाद या आठ-दस महीने बाद।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: इस बीच में कभी-कभी मिलना हुआ था। वह भी दूर से मिलना था। वह स्कूल जाती थीं कभी-कभी...

238. Interview with Ramnarayan Chaudhary, New Delhi, 13 November 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.



रामनारायण चौधरी: जी। आपकी राय ली गई थी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, राय ली गई थी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उनकी भी राय, आपकी भी राय—दोनों की?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: उनकी राय ली गयी होगी, गालेबन मैं समझता हूँ कि ली गई थी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपका विवाहित जीवन सुखी रहा? कभी आपस में अनबन हुई? हुई तो कैसे मिटी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: आपका यह सवाल तो अजीब सा है। “विवाहित जीवन सुखी रहा? कभी आपस में अनबन हुई?” अनबन हमेशा होती है। लेकिन सुखी और दुखी होने का सवाल तो हमारे जीवन में मामूली तौर से आया नहीं, क्योंकि बहुत बरसों तक मैं जेल में रहा। कमलाजी भी जेल में रहीं और ज्यादातर बीमार रहीं। अस्पतालों में रहीं। लेकिन हाँ, एक-दूसरे से लगाव बहुत था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपके पिताजी और कमलाजी क्या आपके कारण देशसेवक बने?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: पिताजी के बाबत ऐसा कहा जाता है, लेकिन यह सही नहीं है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: सही नहीं है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वे एक निहायत मजबूत इरादे के आदमी थे, जो किसी के कहने-सुनने में नहीं आते थे और जिन्होंने बहुत काफी अपने दिल में कुशती लड़ी, कहा जा सकता है, कब्ल इसके कि गांधीजी के साथ हुए हों। वे आसानी से बह जाने वाले आदमी नहीं थे। जाहिर है कि एक बहुत strong will power वाले थे। यों बहुत सारे वाक्यात का असर होता है। और फिर ऐसे आदमी भी नहीं थे कि एक बात करें तो फिर कहीं बीच में बैठें रहें। वे पूरी तरह से कूदना चाहते थे। कांग्रेस के पुराने नेताओं में, एक माने में, वे पहले थे जो गांधीजी के साथ हुए।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: और लॉग भी आये, लेकिन कुछ बाद, यानी नागपुर में कांग्रेस हुई थी<sup>239</sup> उसके बाद। जहाँ तक मुझे याद है लाला लाजपत राय<sup>240</sup> इसके सदर थे, नागपुर में नहीं कलकत्ते में special session के।<sup>241</sup>

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: लाला लाजपतराय ने गांधीजी के non-cooperation को बहुत पसंद नहीं किया था। देशबन्धु दास<sup>242</sup> ने पसंद किया, लेकिन उन्होंने भी बाज़ बातों में विरोध किया था उसका। और जितने थे करीब-करीब बंगाल के, महाराष्ट्र के, सभी विरोधी। विरोधी कहना तो गलत है, लेकिन साथ नहीं पूरा दिया। नागपुर में साथ दिया।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: चार-पाँच महीने लगे बीच में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: और नागपुर में क्यों साथ दिया? ख़ैर, वह तो मुश्किल है कहना। लेकिन उन्होंने यह देखा कि देश कितने जोरों से उधर जा रहा है। उसका असर होता है, हरेक पर। तो उनमें मेरे पिताजी पहले आये थे। यह कहना कि और लोग नहीं आये थे गलत है। लेकिन आये और जोरों से उसमें पड़े।

रामनारायण चौधरी: वे तो इलाहाबाद में जो conference हुई थी special Congress से पहले, ख़िलाफ़त वगैरह की, उसी special Congress<sup>243</sup> के वक़्त आ गये थे सत्याग्रह में?

239. The 35th session of the INC, Dec. 1920. C. Vijayaraghavachariar was the President.

240. (1865-1928); prominent member of the Arya Samaj; in the split between the Moderates and the Extremists in 1907 he sided with the latter; led the demonstration in Lahore against the Simon Commission, was severely beaten by the police, and died a few days later.

241. 4 to 9 Sept., 1920.

242. Chittaranjan Das (1870-1925); leading barrister of the Calcutta High Court, philanthropist and nationalist; called Deshbandhu.

243. The special Congress session was held at Bombay in 1918, not at Allahabad.



जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मुझे तो याद नहीं उस conference से क्या ताल्लुक था। लेकिन कलकत्ते की कांग्रेस के वक्त वे थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: थे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: आ गये थे हल्के-हल्के जबकि और लोग नहीं थे। यह मेरा मतलब है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: समझा मैं। लेकिन क्या पिताजी की तरह कमलाजी भी आपके कारण देशसेवक बनीं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कमलाजी के निस्वत बहुत मुश्किल है कहना कि...

रामनारायण चौधरी: कि आपकी वजह से...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ...कि मेरी वजह से या किसी की वजह से भी। हरेक का असर पड़ता है। लेकिन इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि जो कुछ भी उन्होंने किया वह अपनी वजह से किया, किसी के दबाव से, किसी के ढकेलने से नहीं किया। क्योंकि उनकी तबीयत ऐसी थी कि कोई ढकेले तो वो नागवार गुज़रता।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: बजाय इसके कि उसको खुशी से मंजूर कर लें।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: और उनका शुरु से गांधीजी के साथ अपना ही एक संबंध था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अलग?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: अलग था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपसे अलग?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, उनका अलग ही था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: ये जो बात है कि उस काम की ज्यादाती की वजह से ही वे बीमार हुई, picketing वगैरह से...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ये तो जाहिर है कि वो अपनी शक्ति से ज्यादा काम करने की कोशिश करती थीं। अब क्या उसका असर बीमारी पर हुआ, कुछ न कुछ हो ही सकता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपने उनके स्वास्थ्य की एक पति के नाते पूरी चिन्ता रखी? यह सवाल है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: चिन्ता तो...

रामनारायण चौधरी: क्योंकि ये लोगों का ख्याल है कि नहीं रखी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: दोनों बातें सही हैं। कभी रखी, कभी नहीं रखी। याने मेरे मन में बहुत सारे सवाल थे। उनकी बीमारी की बात छोड़िये, जब वो बीमार नहीं भी थीं, तो मैं देशभर में दौड़-धूप करता था। अपने घर का ख्याल तो मुझे था नहीं बहुत अधिक, भरा हुआ था और विचारों से, जुनून-सा था। मेरी लड़की इन्दिरा छोटी थी। दो-तीन बरस तो मेरे ऐसे गुज़रे जिसमें कुछ मैं सफाई से देखता नहीं था कि मेरे इधर-उधर क्या हो रहा है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा। सन् '21 के आस-पास की बात है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यानी ध्यान दूसरी तरफ रहता था। यहाँ तक कि दो-तीन बरस के बाद मैंने देखा तो मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ कि बच्चे बढ़ गये हैं, जिनको रोज़ मैं देखता था। लेकिन इधर एक नये तरह से पहचाना उन्हें कि दो बरस में कुछ फरक हो गया है, लोग बदल गये हैं। कुछ छोटी लड़कियाँ थीं, उनकी शादी हो गई या उम्र में बढ़ गई हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यह आदत आपकी अभी तक जारी है एक तरफ देखने की?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नहीं, नहीं, अब तो ख़त्म है। वो सब नहीं है। वह तो साल दो साल के लिये बहुत concentrated way में थीं। अब कुछ न कुछ तो रहता है, लेकिन वैसा नहीं रह सकता।

रामनारायण चौधरी: हाँ, तो कमलाजी की बीमारी में आपका उन्हें Switzerland में छोड़ आना वाजिब था?



जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैं पहले तो उनके इलाज के लिए सन् '26 में उनके साथ गया था और हम साथ पौने दो बरस रहे थे यूरोप में, ज़्यादातर अस्पतालों में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैं भी उनके साथ रहा। मैं अपने स्वास्थ्य के लिये कभी एक दिन के लिये भी अस्पताल में नहीं रहा हूँ, एक दिन या एक रात भी। लेकिन अस्पताल में रहा काफी कमलाजी की वजह से। (हंसी) और nursing home वगैरह में पौने दो बरस रहा। वहाँ से वापस तब आया जब वे अच्छी हो गई थीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: दुबारा जब Switzerland वे गई थीं तब तो मैं जेल में था।<sup>244</sup>

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैं अल्मोड़ा जेल में था<sup>245</sup> और वे भुवाली sanatorium में थीं।<sup>246</sup> उनके जाने का निश्चय हुआ तो मैं बुलाया गया उनसे रुखसत होने। तो मुझे वहाँ ले आये थे जेल से और जब वो भुवाली से जाने लगीं रुखसत होकर तो फिर भेज दिया गया। सिर्फ एक दिन के लिए आया था। मैं फिर चला गया। फिर उसके तीन चार महीने बाद तार आया कि उनकी तबीयत बहुत ख़राब है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: उस पर Government ने मुझे छोड़ दिया। यूँ तो कुछ दिन बाद, चंद महीने बाद, मैं छूटने ही वाला था। और मैं भुवाली से काठगोदाम<sup>247</sup> होता हुआ सीधा इलाहाबाद गया। और जिस रोज़ इलाहाबाद पहुँचा, सुबह पहुँचा शायद मैं, उसी रोज़ दोपहर को हवाई जहाज से चला गया और पहुँचा Switzerland। वे Switzerland में नहीं थीं। उस वक्त जर्मनी के एक हिस्से में थीं<sup>248</sup> और फिर उनके साथ मैं 4-5 महीने वहीं रहा ज़्यादातर।

244. In May 1935 Kamala left Bhowali for further treatment in Europe.

245. Nehru was in Almora jail from Nov. 1934 to 4 Sept. 1935.

246. In Nainital district, Uttarakhand.

247. In Nainital district, Uttarakhand.

248. In Badenweiler, Germany.

वो अस्पताल में थीं, मैं बाहर रहता था। लेकिन मिलता जुलता था। फिर मैं आ रहा था वापस, निश्चय हो गया था कि वापस आऊँ। मैं कांग्रेस का यहाँ President चुना गया था।<sup>249</sup>

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: लखनऊ कांग्रेस का।<sup>250</sup> सब निश्चय हो गया था हवाई जहाज का, तारीख, टिकट वगैरह। फिर डॉक्टर ने मुझसे कहा, अभी तुम मत जाओ, ठहर जाओ। मैंने मुलतवी कर दिया जाना और उसके कोई एक सप्ताह के अन्दर उनका देहान्त हो गया।<sup>251</sup>

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपके रहते-रहते?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मेरे रहते-रहते। खैर, इसके बाद पाँच-सात रोज़ वहाँ रहकर चला आया था वापस। तो एक माने में Switzerland में मैंने छोड़ा नहीं था उन्हें, छोड़ने का इरादा किया था। इरादा किया उनके मशवरे से, उनसे बातचीत करके, उन्होंने कहा तुम जाओ। एक माने में जाहिरा तबीयत अच्छी मालूम हो रही थी। ऐसा होता है ऐसी बीमारियों में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: लेकिन डॉक्टर ने कहा कि तुम ठहर जाते तो अच्छा था, तो मैं ठहर गया। (यहाँ नेहरूजी की आँखें डबडबा आई थीं।)

रामनारायण चौधरी: कमलाजी के देहान्त के बाद आपको दुबारा शादी करने से किस चीज ने रोका?—संयम, देशसेवा की लगन, झंझटों का डर, इन्दिरा जी का ख़याल या वफादारी की भावना—किसने रोका? कमलाजी के देहान्त के बाद ससुराल वालों से आपके संबंध कैसे रहे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मेरे सामने ये सवाल दूसरी शादी का कभी आया नहीं। कुछ मैं अपने कामों में लगा था। और कोई पेंच मेरे सामने नहीं आये, जिनको मुझे हल करना हो, कोई पेचीदा सवाल।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यानी देश के काम की आपकी धुन थी मुख्य रूप से।

249. For the second time, in Jan. 1936.

250. 49th session of the INC, Lucknow, Apr. 1936.

251. In Lausanne, Switzerland, on 28 Feb. 1936.



जवाहरलाल नेहरू: देश के काम की धुन थी, जी हाँ। और थोड़े दिन बाद जेल जाने वगैरह का सिलसिला रहता था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: ससुराल वालों से आपका संबंध कैसा था?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ससुराल वालों से संबंध अच्छा था सिवाय इसके कि अपने काम की वजह से किसी के पास थोड़ा जाया-आया करता था। अब फर्ज के लिए मैं दिल्ली आऊँ—दिल्ली में रहती थीं कमलाजी की माँ—तो उनसे मिलने जाता था। लेकिन कभी-कभी वो भी आ जाया करती थीं हमारे यहाँ। इन्दिरा तो उस ज़माने में यहाँ थी नहीं। जब कमलाजी का देहान्त हुआ तो इन्दिरा को वहीं छोड़ आया था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: कितने वर्ष की थीं वे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जब कमलाजी यहाँ से गई थीं दुबारा, जब मैं जेल में था, भुवाली से, इन्दिरा उस वक्त शान्तिनिकेतन में थीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: उम्र सोलह-सत्रह बरस की होगी। यूँ तो पहले भी रही थी वहाँ जब पहले हम गये थे। दो तीन बरस रही थी स्कूल में। सोलह, सत्रह, अठारह, की होंगी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: और वहीं मैं छोड़ आया था Switzerland के स्कूल में। उसके बाद वह विलायत गई और Oxford वगैरह में गई और फिर लड़ाई के सिलसिले आने लगे। बीच में आई थी, फिर चली गई थी। उस ज़माने में मेरे साथ नहीं रही। बड़ी लड़ाई हो गई तब भी वहाँ थी। जब वहाँ बम गिरते थे तब भी वहीं थी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: प्रेम विवाह, माता-पिता का किया हुआ विवाह या गांधीजी के तरीके का विवाह जिसमें माँ-बाप लड़के-लड़की को ढूँढ़कर आखिरी फैसला उन्हें करने देते हैं—तीनों में से कौन सा विवाह आपको पसंद है? अंतर्जातीय, अंतर्धर्मीय और अंतर्प्रान्तीय विवाहों का कैसा अनुभव आपको हुआ? अंतर्राष्ट्रीय विवाहों को आप कैसा समझते हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मोटी बात है कि जिन लोगों का विवाह हो उनको एक-दूसरे से प्रेम होना चाहिये। महज एक ऊपरी खिंचाव हो, विवाह कर लें, फिर एक-दूसरे से नफरत हो जाए,

वह तो बहुत तकलीफदेह है। उसका कोई एक कायदा-कानून तो नहीं बन सकता। लेकिन यह तरीका बिल्कुल गलत है कि माता-पिता और बातों को देखके विवाह करवा दें। यानी अच्छे माता-पिता इस बात का ख्याल करके कि ये लोग मिल जाएँगे, प्रेम होगा, मौका दें, तो वो तो अच्छी बात है। कुछ फायदा हो सकता है। लेकिन और जो बातें चलती हैं ऐसे नाते बांधने में, उसमें इस बात का बहुत ख्याल नहीं होता है। वो गलत बात है। अब गांधीजी का क्या तरीका था वह तो मैं नहीं जानता। वो मौका देते थे, जाहिर है। वो ज़बरदस्ती नहीं करते थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: नहीं, नहीं, आखिरी तो उनका ही फैसला होता था।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, हाँ, ठीक है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: मिलने देते थे, बात करने देते थे।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: अंतर्जातीय और अंतर्धर्मीय...

रामनारायण चौधरी: और अंतर्प्रान्तीय...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: और अंतर्प्रान्तीय?

रामनारायण चौधरी: इन विवाहों के बारे में आपको क्या अनुभव हुआ?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मेरा तो ख्याल है कि हिन्दुस्तान में पूरी एकता नहीं होगी, जब तक कि ऐसे विवाह एक-दूसरे से न हों।

रामनारायण चौधरी: तीनों तरह के?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हर तरह के हों।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: उसी के साथ मैं उसकी दिक्कतें जानता हूँ। दिक्कत ये नहीं कि समाज की नाराजगी हो। लेकिन वे दोनों निधे कैसे एक-दूसरे के साथ? फर्ज कीजिए एक छोटी सी बात है कि उनकी भाषाएँ अलग-अलग हैं, तो एक-दूसरे से वो किस भाषा में बात करेंगे? एक-दूसरे को समझ लें, ये और बात है। ऐसे विवाह जो यहाँ हुए हैं वे आमतौर से अंग्रेजी जानने वालों में हुए हैं।



रामनारायण चौधरी: जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कोई बंगाली है फर्ज कीजिए और एक मराठा है। उनमें विवाह हुआ तो अंग्रेजी उनकी भाषा हो जाती है। दोनों जानते हैं। अब सीखें थोड़ा-बहुत-बंगला, मराठी सीख लें, ये और बात है। लेकिन भाषा अंग्रेजी हो जाती है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ये बात है, ये दिक्कतें हैं। और फिर ये भी होता है कि कुछ आदतें हर जगह की, हर जाति की या हर प्रांत की, कुछ न कुछ आदतें हैं। पूरीतर से एक-दूसरे से वाकफियत न हो तो वो नागवार गुजरती है। उसकी इसको, इसकी उसको, क्योंकि...

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ...क्योंकि ये शादी-विवाह का संबंध बहुत करीब का होता है। लोग बड़ी बातें सोचा करते हैं, लेकिन जो चीज करीब करती है और अलग करती है वे छोटी आदतें हैं, बहुत ही छोटी बातें। वे बरदाश्त नहीं होती छोटी बातें भी। इस माने में इसमें कठिनाई है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: और सच बात यह है कि इस वक्त ऐसे विवाह होते हैं और अक्सर ज्यादा होने लगे हैं, जिनका common factor हिंदुस्तानियत नहीं, लेकिन नई अंग्रेजी तालीम है। ये common factor है अधिकतर। उसके जरिये से वो एक common understanding पर आते हैं। भाषा का मैंने कहा। लेकिन आप दक्षिण की कोई लड़की लें और उत्तर का लड़का, तो वो एक-दूसरे को पसंद करेंगे और विवाह करें। लेकिन उनकी छोटी-मोटी आदतें एक न होंगी। ये छोटी दीवारें खड़ी हो जाती हैं। लेकिन मेरा ख्याल है कि ये हटेंगी और मुझे इसमें पक्का यकीन है कि जब ये रुकावटें हों विवाह में, तो वो रुकावटें राष्ट्रीयता में हो जाती हैं। विवाह करें या न करें, ये दूसरी बात है। लेकिन जो रुकावटें हैं समाज में या कानून में कि इससे विवाह न हो, उससे न हो, वो कमजोर करती हैं एक देश की राष्ट्रीयता को। ये बात नहीं होनी चाहिये। इसमें जो कुछ ख़तरे हैं उन्हें तो बरदाश्त करना ही होता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: Individual life में?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: Individual life में जो कुछ है वो तो है ही। मैं आपको एक पुराना किस्सा सुनाऊँ। जब मैं Cambridge में था, तो शायद महाराष्ट्र के एक साहब आये। वे बड़े

सुधारक थे। विधवाओं का विवाह होना चाहिये। बड़ी अच्छी बात है हम सब उसके हक में थे। एक उन्होंने speech दी हिंदुस्तानियों से Cambridge के। फिर उन्होंने एक पर्चा निकाला, एक प्रतिज्ञा-पत्र, कि हरेक लड़का लिखे कि मैं सिर्फ विधवा से विवाह करूंगा। अजीब बात है। (हंसी) और दो-एक लड़कों ने लिख भी दिया। लेकिन मैंने कहा कि मुझे माफ कीजिए। मैं सिद्धांत को मान लूँ, लेकिन पहले से प्रतिज्ञा करूँ कि मैं सिर्फ विधवा से ही विवाह करूंगा, यह तो एक unnatural बात हो जाती है। (हंसी) इस बात से क्या? एक चीज को पसंद करना है, करें।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन ये बात तो आप पसंद करेंगे कि आमतौर पर एक widower जो है वह widow से शादी करे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: बिल्कुल। मैं कोई रुकावट नहीं डालना चाहता। ये उनकी पसंद की बात है अगर कर सकें। हमारे मुल्क में बहुत कम उम्र में शादी की वजह से पेंच पैदा हो जाते हैं। लेकिन काफी उम्र है वो अपना समझते-बूझते हैं तो फिर कोई बात नहीं है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय विवाह?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वही बात है। इसमें भी कोई रुकावट नहीं होनी चाहिये। लेकिन कठिनाइयाँ बढ़ जाती हैं। ये कठिनाइयाँ...

रामनारायण चौधरी: इसमें तो political कठिनाइयाँ भी आती होंगी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, political भी आ सकती हैं। लेकिन मैं political का नहीं सोचता हूँ, मैं social का सोचता हूँ, क्योंकि जिस society में एक शख्स पैदा हुआ और पला है, उसको बिल्कुल दूसरी जगह ले जाएँ, वह मियाँ-बीवी बन जाएँ, लेकिन उनको और भी बरदाश्त करनी होती है और उसमें न खपे तो दोनों के लिए दुश्वार हो जाता है। ये कठिनाई हो जाती है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन कोई-कोई तो इतनी अच्छी तरह खप जाते हैं...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वह तो है ही। वह तो व्यक्तिगत, जैसे आजकल आप देखिये न, आजकल ऐसा ज़्यादा हो सकता है। पुराने ज़माने में हिंदू परिवार थे बड़े-बड़े joint Hindu families। अब फर्ज करो एक अंग्रेज़ लड़की आये शादी करके एक हिंदू लड़के से उस family में जिसमें पचास-सौ आदमी रहते हैं, मर्द और औरत, तो वह तो पागल हो जाएगी कि मैं कहाँ



जाके पहुँच गई। (हंसी) क्योंकि उसकी training दूसरी है। लेकिन आजकल तो यहाँ भी छोटे-छोटे परिवार हो गये हैं, तो आसानी से खप जा सकती हैं और खासकर शहरों में तो खप ही जा सकती हैं, बड़े-बड़े शहरों में। मालूम नहीं और जगहों में क्या हो।

रामनारायण चौधरी: हाँ, बड़े शहरों में...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ये रुकावटें हल्के-हल्के हटती जाती हैं। असल में इस किस्म की रुकावटें होनी नहीं चाहिये, चाहे अंतर्राष्ट्रीय हों, चाहे अंतर्जातीय। हाँ, सब सोच-समझकर करना चाहिये, ताकि खप जाए बात, और ये न हो कि बाद में...

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन ऐसे विवाहों से One World का idea promote होता है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जी हाँ, जरूर होता है। होता ही है, इसमें कोई शक नहीं है।

आजकल की शादियों में फ़िजूल पैसा जाया होता है। कुछ धूमधाम में मुझे एतराज़ नहीं है। खुशी मनायें, और विशेषकर हमारे गाँवों में जो बेचारे गरीब लोग हैं उनके लिये एक मौका खुशी मनाने का होता है। उनकी भी गर्दन दबाई जाए? (हंसी) लेकिन वह अपनी जाति के दबाव में या कुछ बह जाने से तबाह हो जाते हैं। वह गलत बात है। लेकिन जो कर सकते हैं करें, अच्छी तरह से। इसमें तो मैं रुकावट नहीं डालना चाहता। लेकिन समाज का यह दबाव कि तुम इस तरह से खिलाओ, यह करो, वह करो, कर्ज़ लेकर ख़त्म हो जाँ, एक गलत बात है। एक तरफ़ तो वह है जो अमीर करते हैं, वो इतना दर्ज़ vulgar और बेहूदा है। दिखावे की बातें हैं। मेरी तो बड़ी तबियत घबराती है देखके vulgarity।

रामनारायण चौधरी: और उनकी देखा-देखी गरीबों पर भी बुरा असर पड़ता है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: देखा-देखी तो है ही। लेकिन एक बात और है कि फ़िजूल रुपया खर्च होता है, जो कि मुल्क में नहीं है, तब नहीं करना चाहिए। दूसरी बात यह है कि फ़िजूल भी आप खर्चें तो तमीज़ से खर्चें। उसका practical value न हो तो कम से कम artistic value तो हो। कुछ न कुछ तो हो। वो भी तमीज़ है नहीं। जिस तरह लोग रुपया खर्चते हैं, मैं तो हैरान हो जाता हूँ। कितनी vulgarity, बदतमीज़ी और हुल्लड़बाज़ी करते हैं। सिवाय इसके कि ये दिखाना कि हाँ, हम रुपया खर्च सकते हैं और कुछ नहीं। उसके हक में तो कोई भी आदमी नहीं है। सब इसके खिलाफ़ ही रहते हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: ये दहेज वगैरह के बारे में कोई खास बात है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ साहब, दहेज वगैरह गलत बात है। माँ-बाप अपनी लड़की को कुछ दें, उसको जो कुछ कहिये। ये तो लड़की को देते हैं। लेकिन जिस ढंग से होता है वो गलत है।

[Translation begins]

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: At what age did you and Kamalaji get married? Was it a love marriage or an arranged one? Had two of you met before the marriage? Were both of you consulted?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Kamalaji was seventeen. There was a considerable age difference between us. Nine years.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Nine years' difference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I had met her before the marriage.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: It was a meeting from a distance. I mean I had seen her in her house.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you talk to her?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not much. We may have talked a little but...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you talk about marriage?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No. There was no talk of marriage. I saw her or rather my parents had taken me to meet her. They did all the talking, not I. After that, the marriage was arranged. Actually we got married after quite some time, after a year, or after eight to ten months.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: I met her occasionally in the interval, that too from afar. She used to go to school and sometimes ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: So you were consulted?



Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I was consulted.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Were both of you consulted?

Jawaharlal Nehru: She must have been consulted. I think she was.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Was your married life happy? Was there ever any discord? If so, then how did you make up?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Your question is rather strange. "Did I have a happy married life? Was there ever any discord?" There are bound to be discords. But the question of happiness or unhappiness did not generally arise in our lives because I was for years in jail. Kamalaji was also in jail and she was mostly ill. She remained in hospitals. But we were very attached to each other.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did your father and Kamalaji throw themselves into the service of the nation because of you?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is said so about father, but it is not right.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Not right?

Jawaharlal Nehru: He was an extremely strong-willed person who did not easily get carried away by others. It may be said that he struggled for a long time within himself before he joined Gandhiji. He was not one to get carried away easily. It is obvious that he had a very strong will power, though circumstances do have an impact. Neither was he the kind of person who would get into something half heartedly. He wanted to take a plunge. In a sense, he was the first among the old guard of the Congress to throw in his lot with Gandhiji.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: Others also joined, but that was later, that is, after the Nagpur Congress.<sup>252</sup> As far as I remember, Lala Lajpat Rai<sup>253</sup> was its President; he was President of the special session held at Calcutta,<sup>254</sup> not Nagpur.

252. See fn 239 in this section.

253. See fn 240 in this section.

254. See fn 241 in this section.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: Lala Lajpat Rai was not very much in favour of Gandhiji's non-cooperation. Deshbandhu Das<sup>255</sup> was, but even he had opposed it on some grounds. Practically all the delegates from Bengal and Maharashtra had—well, it would be wrong to say that they were opposed to it—but they had not gone along all the way. It was at Nagpur that finally there was a consensus.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: It took four to five months in between.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I see.

Jawaharlal Nehru: And why did they agree at Nagpur? It would be difficult to say why they did so. But everyone realised that the country was rapidly going in that direction. That had an impact on everyone. So my father was the first to join. It will be wrong to say that others did not come forward. But my father joined heart and soul.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Perhaps he joined the Satyagraha movement at the time of the Khilafat Conference held at Allahabad<sup>256</sup> before the special session of the Congress?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not remember whether that Conference had anything to do with it. But he was there at the time of the Calcutta Congress.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: He was already in it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: He had gradually come round to it while the others were not ready. That is what I meant.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I understand. But, like your father, was Kamalaji also drawn into the service of the nation, because of you?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult to say why Kamalaji...

255. See fn 242 in this section.

256. See fn 243 in this section.



Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Because of you...?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Whether it was because of me or anyone else, it is difficult to say. There are different influences working on a person. But there is no doubt about it that whatever she did, she did it of her own volition, not because anybody pressurised her or pushed her into it, because it was not in her nature to tolerate being pushed into doing anything.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: Rather than accepting it gladly.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I see.

Jawaharlal Nehru: And right from the beginning she had her own equation with Gandhiji.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Separate?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Apart from you?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, her relationship with him was quite separate.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Is it a fact that she fell ill because of overwork—picketing, etc.?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is pretty obvious that she always tried to do more than her strength would permit. That must have affected her health to some extent.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: The question is whether you, as a husband, were duly concerned about her health?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I was naturally concerned...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Because people believe that you did not look after her properly.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Both these things are true. Sometimes I did, sometimes I did not. There were many things on my mind. Even when she was well, I was running

to and fro all over the country. I never took much interest in household affairs. I was filled with other ideas, and a kind of madness gripped me. My daughter Indira was very young. For two to three years I was so busy that I was not fully aware of what was happening around me.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Was this around 1921?

Jawaharlal Nehru: My whole attention was elsewhere. So much so that I was surprised to notice that the children whom I used to see everyday had grown up in two to three years' time. Now I had to understand them in a different way. Two years had made a great deal of difference. Some of the young girls had got married or had advanced in age.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Do you still have this habit of being preoccupied with one interest?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no. All that is over. That was there for a couple of years in a very concentrated way. Now, something or the other is there but not like that.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Was it proper that you should have left Kamalaji in Switzerland when she was ill?

Jawaharlal Nehru: First I went with her in 1926 for her treatment, and we were together in Europe, mostly in sanatoria, for a year and three quarters.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: I also stayed with her. I have never stayed in hospital even for a day or a night for reasons of my own health. But I was in hospital for a long time because of Kamalaji. I stayed in nursing homes for twenty-one months and came back only when she became well.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I see.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I was in jail when she went to Switzerland the second time.<sup>257</sup>

257. See fn 244 in this section.



Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: I was in Almora jail<sup>258</sup> and she was in the Bhowali sanatorium.<sup>259</sup> When it was decided that she should go, I was sent for to say good bye. I was taken to Bhowali to see her and then sent back. I was with her for just one day. Then about three or four months later, I got a telegram that her condition was very serious.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Government then released me. I was due to be released anyhow in a few months. I went from Bhowali straight to Allahabad via Kathgodam.<sup>260</sup> The day I reached Allahabad—perhaps I reached there in the morning—I took a flight and reached Switzerland. She was not in Switzerland; she was somewhere in Germany.<sup>261</sup> I stayed with her mostly there for four to five months. She was in the hospital and I remained outside, but I used to meet her. Then it was decided that I should return to India because I had been elected here the President of the Congress.<sup>262</sup>

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: Of the Lucknow Congress.<sup>263</sup> Everything had been fixed up, flight, date, ticket, etc., when the doctor asked me to postpone my departure. I did so and within about a week she passed away.<sup>264</sup>

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: While you were with her?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes. Well, I came back after a week or so. So in a sense I did not leave her in Switzerland. I had decided to do so after consulting her. She had asked me to go. In a sense, she looked definitely better. It often happens in such illnesses.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh yes.

258. See fn 245 in this section.

259. See fn 246 in this section.

260. See fn 247 in this section.

261. See fn 248 in this section.

262. See fn 249 in this section.

263. See fn 250 in this section.

264. See fn 251 in this section.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru: But the doctor suggested that I had better stay back, so I stayed back. [At this point his eyes became moist.]

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What prevented you from remarrying after Kamalaji's death—self-discipline, attachment to national service, fear of complications, concerns about Indiraji or a sense of loyalty? How were your relations with your in-laws after Kamalaji's death?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The question of remarriage never arose. For one thing, I was absorbed in my work. Secondly, there were no difficult problems in my life which had to be resolved.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You were obsessed chiefly with the work of the nation.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is true and every few days I was back in jail.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: How were your relations with your in-laws?

Jawaharlal Nehru: My relations with my in-laws were good except that I could seldom visit them due to the pressure of work. Now, suppose I came to Delhi, I would visit Kamalaji's mother who lived there. Sometimes she would also visit us. Indira was not here then. I had left her behind after Kamalaji's death.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: How old was she then?

Jawaharlal Nehru: When Kamalaji went abroad for the second time, that is, from Bhowali, when I was in jail, Indira was in Santiniketan.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I see.

Jawaharlal Nehru: She must have been sixteen or seventeen. She had been to Europe before also, when we had gone there earlier. She was there in school for two to three years. Later she must have been sixteen, seventeen or eighteen.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: so, I left her in a school in Switzerland. Then she went to England and studied in Oxford, etc. Then the war intervened. She came back once and went back again. She did not stay with me during that period. Even



during the World War, and even when there was bombing, she stayed there.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What kind of marriage do recommend: love marriage, arranged marriage by parents or the type of marriage suggested by Gandhiji in which the parents look for the boy and girl, and leave the decision to them? What are your views about inter-caste, inter-religious or inter-provincial marriages? What do you think of international marriages?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The main thing is that the two persons who get married should love one another. It is very tragic if they get married because of superficial attraction and then begin to hate each other. But there can be no rules and regulations about that. However, it is absolutely wrong that parents should arrange the marriage on other considerations. What I mean to say is that if sensible parents arrange a match considering the possibility that the two persons will have a bonding and will love each other, and give them an opportunity, it will be a good thing. Some good can come out of it. But, generally speaking, not much thought is given to this aspect. That is wrong. Now, I do not know what Gandhiji's method was. It is obvious that he used to give an opportunity to the concerned parties to decide. He did not force anyone.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: No, no, the final decision was theirs.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, yes, that is right.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: He used to let them meet and talk to each other.

Jawaharlal Nehru: As regards inter-caste and inter-religious...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: And inter-provincial?

Jawaharlal Nehru: And inter-provincial?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What are your views on these kinds of marriages?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I feel that there cannot be complete unity in India unless such marriages take place.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: All three kinds?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Of every kind.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: At the same time I realise the problems involved. The problem is not that of displeasure on the part of the society. The main problem is that of mutual adjustment. For instance, take a minor matter. If they speak different languages, which language do they converse in? It is a different matter that they can manage to understand each other. This kind of marriages has taken place usually between people who know English.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Suppose there is one Bengali and the other is Maratha. A marriage between them means that their common language has to be English, because both of them know English. It is a different matter that both may acquire a smattering of Bangla or Marathi. But the common language will be English.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So these are the difficulties. Then there are different habits and customs of each caste and each province. Unless both understand each other completely, these things are not tolerated. One person does not like the habits of the other person; the other person does not like the habits of the first person. Because...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: ... because marriage is a very close relationship. People think that it is the big things that matter. But it is the little habits, the very minor things, which bring two people close or drive them apart. Even the small things may not be tolerated. In this way there is difficulty.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: And the fact is that nowadays such marriages do take place and are becoming more frequent, with the common factor being not Indianness but the new English education. That is the common factor, by and large. They arrive at a common understanding because of that. Now, suppose a girl from the South and a boy from the North like each other and get married. But their little habits will not be similar. So this kind of small barriers come up. But I think these will be removed in due course. I am quite sure that when there are



impediments of this kind in a marriage, these come in the way of development of nationalism. It is a different matter whether such marriages take place or not, but if there are social customs or taboos against such marriages, they weaken the nationalism of a country. This should not be allowed to happen. The risks involved in such marriages have to be borne.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: In individual life?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Whatever risks are there in individual life are always there. Let me tell you about an old incident. When I was in Cambridge, a gentleman, perhaps from Maharashtra, had come to visit us. He was a great reformist and believed in widow remarriage. Well, it is a very good thing and all of us were in its favour. He gave a speech to the Indians in Cambridge. Then he took out a paper, asking everyone to sign a pledge that they would marry only a widow. It was really strange and one or two boys even signed it. But I refused. Even if I accepted the principle, how could I take a pledge beforehand to marry only a widow? That would be an unnatural thing. It is up to each individual to make a choice.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But you do like the idea that a widower should normally marry a widow?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Certainly. I do not wish to put any obstacles. It is up to them if they want to do so. In India, complications arise because marriages take place at a very early age. But people who are more advanced in age are wiser and can decide for themselves. Then it does not matter.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What about international marriages?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The same thing. There should be no obstacle to it. But the difficulties certainly increase. These difficulties...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: There may even be some political difficulties?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, there can be political difficulties. But I am not thinking of political difficulties. I am thinking of social difficulties because an individual has to shift from a particular society where that individual was born and brought up and live as a spouse in a different social environment. So the husband and wife have to face still more difficulties, and if they don't adjust it becomes intolerable for both of them. This is the difficulty.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But some people seem to adjust so well.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is always there. It depends on individuals, and there is a greater possibility of this today. In the olden times, there used to be large joint Hindu families. Suppose an English girl were to marry a Hindu boy and were to live with a family of fifty to hundred men and women, she would probably go mad and wonder where she had come! This is because her training is different. But now there are small families here also and so adjustment is easier, particularly in the bigger cities. I do not know about other places.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, in big cities...

Jawaharlal Nehru: These difficulties are gradually disappearing. Actually there should be no obstacles of this kind whether it is an international marriage or inter-caste. Yes, it is certainly essential that everything is taken into account so that there is adjustment, instead of later on...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But such marriages promote the idea of One World.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh yes, definitely. There is no doubt about it. [...]

Nowadays a great deal of money is wasted in marriages. I have no objection to some celebration. Particularly for the poor people in the villages it is a joyous occasion. Why should we stifle that? But they are financially ruined because of pressures on account of one's caste or because they get carried away. That is a wrong thing. But those who can afford may do so. I do not want them to stop it. But it is wrong if one gets into insolvency because of social pressures like the demand for the kind of food to be served and this and that. On the other hand, the extravagance the wealthy people indulge in is extremely vulgar. They just want to show off. I can't stand this vulgarity.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: This also has a bad influence on the poor people.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Certainly. Moreover, people unnecessarily waste money when the country is short of funds; therefore, they should not indulge in it. Secondly, even if you indulge in extravagance, you should observe some decency. There should at least be an artistic value, if no practical value, in what they do. At least some artistic value should be there. But even this sensibility is lacking. The way people spend money is amazing. How much vulgarity, incivility and rowdiness they indulge in! It is nothing except showing off how much money they can spend. Nobody is in favour of it. Everybody is against it.



Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You have any special views about practices like dowry?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, dowry is a wrong thing. Parents may give their daughter a few things; you may give it any name you like. This is what they give to their daughter. But the way these things are given is wrong.

[Translation ends]

## 18. With Ramnarayan Chaudhary—III<sup>265</sup>

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपने सार्वजनिक जीवन किस काम से शुरू किया?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह तो मुश्किल है कहना कि मैंने सार्वजनिक जीवन का काम कब शुरू किया। कुछ न कुछ तो ऐसी बातें तालिब-ए-इल्मी के ज़माने में भी होती हैं। लेकिन मोटे तौर से जब मैं विलायत से वापस आया, तो कांग्रेस का थोड़ा-बहुत काम शुरू हो ही गया।

रामनारायण चौधरी: किस साल में?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: सन् '12 में। खासतौर से उस समय हमारे दो आंदोलन हुए। एक तो दक्षिण अफ्रीका के हिंदुस्तानियों के सिलसिले में। मुझे याद है हमने ज्यादातर रुपया जमा किया था और सभाएँ की थीं रुपया भेजने को वहाँ। उसमें काफी मैंने हिस्सा लिया था। मैं Committee का Secretary था<sup>266</sup> जो रुपया जमा कर रही थी, कम से कम अपने शहर में, या सूबे में—मुझे याद नहीं। और एक उधर आंदोलन हुआ था Fiji में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हिंदुस्तानियों के बारे में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: Indentured labour के बारे में।

265. Interview with Ramnarayan Chaudhary, New Delhi, 18 November 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

266. Nehru became the Joint Secretary of the UP branch of the South Africa Committee in 1913. The Committee collected funds for the UP South Africa Relief Fund. The Fund was started by the Congress in 1909 at Gopal Krishna Gokhale's instance in aid of Gandhi's passive resistance campaign in South Africa.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: Indentured labour के बारे में, indentured labour को खत्म करने के लिये। C.F. Andrews का उसमें हिस्सा था, उनकी अपील पर। हल्के-हल्के कांग्रेस के movements में फंसता गया।

रामनारायण चौधरी: कांग्रेस में कब आये आप पहले पहल?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कांग्रेस में एक तो बचपन की हैसियत से मैं गया था। मेरे पिताजी ले गये थे मुझे as a visitor सन् '04 में। जहाँ तक मेरा ख्याल है बम्बई में session था और सर हेनरी कॉटन उसके President थे। खैर, वो तो बचपन था। लेकिन पहली बार मैं delegate हुआ...

रामनारायण चौधरी: दस-बारह बरस की उम्र थी आपकी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नहीं, सन् '04 में तो मैं चौदह बरस का था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: चौदह बरस के?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: पहली दफा मैं delegate हुआ सन् '12 में<sup>267</sup> और उस वक्त से मैं बहुत सारी कांग्रेसों में गया हूँ। सन् '12 के बाद, '13<sup>268</sup> और '14 में नहीं गया।<sup>269</sup> वो कराची में हुई थी—कहाँ—कहाँ? और फिर लड़ाई का ज़माना शुरू हो गया था '15 में। मैं जब फिर लखनऊ में हुई थी<sup>270</sup> तब गया और उसके बाद से करीब-करीब हर साल गया हूँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लखनऊ की तो वही जिसमें Hindu-Muslim Pact हुआ था?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जिसमें लोकमान्य तिलक आये थे। जी हाँ, मैं हर उसके बाद गया हूँ सिवाय दो के जब मैं जेल में था और एक जब मैं हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर था। मैं करीब बयालीस कांग्रेस सेशनो में गया हूँ, इक्तालीस-बयालीस।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा, एक पूरी उम्र ही।

267. 27th session of the INC, Bankipore (Patna), 1912.

268. 28th session of the INC, Karachi, 1913.

269. 29th session of the INC, Madras, 1914.

270. 31st session of the INC, Lucknow, 1916.



जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ। और फिर उसमें जो कुछ public काम हुआ तो उसी के घरे में हुआ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन से आपका कभी संबंध रहा?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: संबंध से मतलब कभी-कभी उन लोगों से मिलना तो रहा, लेकिन और कोई संबंध नहीं रहा।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उनकी activities में आपने कोई हिस्सा नहीं लिया?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कोई नहीं। कुछ बहुत ज़्यादा खेंच उस तरफ नहीं हुई। कुछ उनकी कदर हुई, कुछ उनकी मदद की। मदद ऐसी कि कभी आये फाकेमस्त तो उनको पैसा-वैसा दे दिया।

रामनारायण चौधरी: कभी ठहरे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: घर में ठहरना? मुझे याद नहीं आता। एक-आध रोज़ ठहर गया हो कोई आके, कुछ ज़्यादा नहीं ठहरे थे। क्योंकि कुछ शुरु से ही यानी गांधीजी के आने के पहले से मुझे वो कुछ फ़िज़ूल सी बात मालूम होती थी। उन लोगों की कदर करूं, उनकी बहादुरी की, यह और बात है। लेकिन वो तरीका कुछ जंचता नहीं था वो, कि जिससे बहुत हासिल होगा। सिर्फ़ उसमें एक खूबी मालूम होती थी। एक तो हिम्मत, बहादुरी, और दूसरे public को ज़रा तक्ज्जो दिलाना कि बरदाश्त के काबिल हालत नहीं है। अब जो कुछ हो, चाहे फ़ायदा हो या नुकसान, उसके भी फ़ायदे हैं कभी-कभी। लेकिन कोई माकूल चीज़ नहीं थी कि जिससे कोई एक बड़ा परिवर्तन हो, इन्कलाब हो। ख़ैर, फिर गांधीजी जब आये तो ध्यान दूसरी तरफ़ गया और वो लोग, पुराने क्रांतिकारी भी, उसमें बहुत कुछ आ गये थे उस ज़माने में। और हल्के-हल्के फिर...। तो ये तो कई सवालों के आपके जवाब मैंने दे दिये उसमें।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उसे आपने कैसे समझा?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कुछ मैंने समझा, उसका जवाब तो मैंने दिया अभी आपको।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उससे देश को लाभ क्या हुआ?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: इसके नाप-तौल करना मुश्किल है। लेकिन बिल्कुल किसी तहरीक के बचपन में, वो बचपन की चीज़ें हैं, वो बड़ेपन की चीज़ें नहीं हैं, एक immature

movement की चीजें हैं। Immature movement में, जबकि ताकत नहीं होती कुछ करने की, और उस वक्त जो एक गुस्से का इजहार होता है, उससे कुछ न कुछ फायदा होता है। लोग जागते हैं कि हाँ, अच्छी चीज है, नहीं तो लोग दबे होते हैं। लेकिन उसमें ताकत नहीं होती है। लोगों को जगाने की कुछ ताकत होती है। परिवर्तन करने की, इन्कलाब करने की, असली ताकत नहीं उसमें होती। यानी...

रामनारायण चौधरी: यह तो आज आपका ख़याल है। उस वक्त क्या आप पर असर था?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नहीं, नहीं, मैं आपसे क्या कहूँ उस वक्त का? मैं उस वक्त तो—आसानी से सोच नहीं सकता कि उस वक्त क्या असर था। लेकिन जाहिर है कि इतना असर नहीं था। दिमाग़ परेशान था कि क्या होना चाहिये जिससे असर हो। यह मुझे जंचता नहीं था कि यह हमें दूर तक लेजा सकता है, हालाँकि कदर थी। इसलिए दिमाग़ ख़ाली था, तलाश में था। और जब गांधीजी का programme कुछ सामने आया तो फौरन दिमाग़ ने उसे पकड़ा कि यह एक चीज है, एक शान की चीज है, पुरअसर चीज है, दूर तक लेजा सकती है, और ...

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपकी तबीयत तो जोशीली थी, इसलिये यह चीज आपको अपील करनी चाहिए थी, ऐसी उम्मीद करता हूँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जोशीली तबीयत काफी नहीं है। कोई आखिर एक दिमाग़ भी होता है। दिमाग़ का भी तराजू होता है। ख़ाली जोशीले, सबसे ज़्यादा जोशीले तो आपको पागलखाने में मिलेंगे। (हंसी)

रामनारायण चौधरी: कभी उस काम में या किसी क्रांतिकारी को आपने मदद दी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैंने मदद नहीं दी। मेरे जान-पहचान के लोग थे, कभी जेलों में भी थे हमारे साथ। कभी आये, दिक्कत थी, सौ-पचास रुपये उनको दे दिये, कोई बहुत बड़ी रकम, मदद नहीं। लेकिन वक्ती मदद।

रामनारायण चौधरी: कभी उनके मुकदमों वगैरह में defence वगैरह?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मुकदमे में, हाँ ...



रामनारायण चौधरी: काकोरी<sup>271</sup> में ...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: काकोरी में मुझे दिलचस्पी थी, उसका इंतज़ाम किया था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: और बनारस का जो पहला मुकदमा हुआ था सन् '15 में,<sup>272</sup> जिसमें बोस<sup>273</sup> और सान्याल<sup>274</sup> वगैरह लोग थे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मेरा कोई ज़ाती हिस्सा, ख़याल नहीं पड़ता। काकोरी में तो था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: सबसे ज़्यादा पसंद आपको कौन क्रांतिकारी व्यक्ति आया?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह तो मुश्किल है कहना कि कौन पसंद आया। लेकिन एक माने में मेरे ऊपर असर सबसे ज़्यादा जतिनदास<sup>275</sup> का हुआ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा। भूख-हड़ताल की थी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: भूख-हड़ताल की, उसमें मर गया था। उससे मैं मिला एक ही दफे और वो भूख-हड़ताल के ज़माने में, जेल में मिला था। यानी जेल में मैं नहीं था, मैं गया मिलने

271. A passenger train was attacked at Kakori, 10 miles from Lucknow, on 9 Aug. 1925 by some revolutionaries. A large number were tried for dacoity; on 6 Apr. 1927, Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqullah Khan, Rajendra Nath Lahiri and Roshan Singh were sentenced to death and 16 others to life or long imprisonment.

272. Referring to the Ghadar Conspiracy of Feb. 1915 for a mutiny. The conspirators included Indian nationalists in India, the United States and Germany, helped by Irish republicans and the German Foreign Office. Rashbehari Bose, Sachindra Nath Sanyal and Kartar Singh were the main leaders. It was thwarted by British intelligence.

273. Rashbehari Bose (1886-1945); started his political career from Chandernagore and Calcutta; left Bengal to avoid arrest in the Alipore bomb case, 1908; served some time in Kausali Pasteur Institute; served as head clerk at the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun; absconding accused of the Lahore Conspiracy Case, 1914; one of the leading figures of the Ghadar Conspiracy Case, Feb. 1915; left for Japan in June 1915; founded the Indian Independence League, 1943; formed the Indian National Army and handed over the organisation to Subhas Chandra Bose, 1943.

274. Sachindra Nath Sanyal (1893-1943); a Bengali revolutionary involved in the Ghadar, Lahore, Banaras and Kakori conspiracy cases; released in 1931 but kept in detention from 1941 till his death.

275. Jatindranath Das (1904-1929); Member of the Revolutionary Party; arrested on 14 June 1929 for complicity in the Lahore Conspiracy case; died on 13 Sept. 1929 after 63 days of hunger strike.

तो मुझे मिलने दिया उन्होंने। लाहौर जेल में था। तो कुछ उसकी भूख-हड़ताल की तकलीफ और कुछ उसका भोला-भाला चेहरा, उसका बहुत असर हुआ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: वैसे U.P. में जो क्रांतिकारी लोग थे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कुछ हमारे साथी दोस्त ही थे, कभी जेल में हमारे साथ, कभी बाहर, नहीं कह सकता।

रामनारायण चौधरी: स्वराज हासिल करने में क्रांतिकारियों का आप क्या contribution समझते हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैं अभी जवाब दे चुका न। उनका contribution होता है एक मुर्दा चीज को जगाने का, और कुछ दिमागों को हिलाने का। वो हिंसा हमेशा—मैं हमेशा तो नहीं कह सकता, लेकिन बहरसूरत हिन्दुस्तान में, जब कोई रास्ता नहीं मिलता माकूल तरह से कुछ काम करने का जिसका कुछ असर हो, तो लोग फूटके निकलते हैं। कुछ न कुछ व्यक्तिगत रूप से करते हैं, लेकिन व्यक्तिगत रूप से वो दूर तक नहीं जाती। वो एक infantile चीज है, बचपन की। लेकिन इस माने में माकूल है कि कोई कुछ न करे तो वो मुर्दा हो जाना है। मुल्क में सभी दब जाएँ तो वो तो एक जिंदगी का ख़त्म हो जाना है एक माने में। इसलिए ऐसी हालत में एक आदमी की भी protest कीमत रखती है, हालाँकि वह कीमत इस ढंग की नहीं रखती कि वो...

रामनारायण चौधरी: दूर तक ले जाने...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ...कि वो कामयाब करदे बात को। लेकिन कीमत रखती है कौम को तबज्जो दिलाने में, हिला देने में ज़रा सा, और उसी वक्त तक रहती है जब तक कि वो ठीक तरफ देखती है। फर्ज कीजिये कि इस वक्त कोई बम फेंकदे जाके। बात वही हुई बम फेंकने की, लेकिन वो social context दूसरा हो गया। बेकार हो जाता है। इसलिये यह शब्द भी बिल्कुल सही नहीं है। क्रांतिकारी शब्द का हम इस्तेमाल करते हैं, वह सही नहीं है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: Terrorist लफ्ज़ ठीक है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ये terrorist भी कुछ सही बात नहीं है, अच्छा नहीं है। नहीं, मेरा मतलब यह है कि वही act, वही चीज, फर्ज कीजिए किसी को मारना है, सो चोर-डाकू भी मारते हैं। आखिर मारते हैं महज़ खुदगर्ज़ी के लिये। और एक patriot भी मारता है दूसरे को। फर्क



हो जाता है। दूसरे यह कि patriot के भी करने को कुछ ताल्लुक रखना चाहिये उस वक्त की, ज़माने की, मुल्क की हालत से। यानी अगर वो बिल्कुल एक अलग काम हो जिससे कुछ ताल्लुक नहीं है, तो उसको revolutionary कहना बिल्कुल फ़िज़ूल है। Revolutionary वो काम होता है जो revolution को बढ़ाये। ख़ाली violence revolutionary नहीं होती। जाहिर है चोर-डाकू भी करते हैं, patriot भी बेवकूफी की violence करें तो violence revolutionary नहीं है, बल्कि counter-revolutionary हो जाती है। जो चीज एक तहरीक को, एक movement को, एक आंदोलन को, बढ़ाये किसी शक्त में, violence या non-violence के रूप में, वो revolutionary कहला सकती है। उसके violent होने से नहीं बढ़ती वो। यानी एक बम का फेंकना बजाय इसके कि आम लोगों को एक तरफ ले जाए, उनको डरा दे सकता है और उनका ले जाना रोक सकता है कुछ देर के लिये। जाहिर है वो जाते उस तरफ इसलिए हैं कि social conditions या political conditions ऐसी हैं, जो उनको ढकलती हैं, या economic conditions। अब एक movement का काम होता है उनको organise करना और तेज करना उनकी रफ्तार को। अच्छा, एक act of terrorism, act of violence, कभी फायदा कर सकता है, कभी नुकसान। हालत पर मुनहसिर है कि हम किस दर्जे तक बढ़े हैं। बिल्कुल, जैसे मैंने कहा, सन् '05, '06 में यह चीज थी, जबकि कहा जा सकता है कि उसने फायदा पहुँचाया कि एक ज़रा मुर्दा कौम को जगाया, मिसालें रखीं हिम्मत की, बहादुरी की।

वो ही चीज बिल्कुल गांधीजी के ज़माने में, जब एक movement चल रही थी, सोलह आना counter revolutionary थी, नुकसानदेह हो गई। जगाने का तो कोई सवाल नहीं था। फिर वो रोकने लगी लोगों को, क्योंकि वह movement इस ढंग की थी कि उसकी बुनियाद कम से कम अहिंसा की थी, शान्ति की थी, non-violence की थी, चाहे सोलह आने चले चाहे नहीं। जब उसमें इस किस्म का कांटा पड़ता, upset कर देता था उस बुनियाद को और ज़्यादा नुकसान करता था बनिस्वत अंग्रेज़ी सरकार के दबाव के। चुनाँचे अगर गांधीजी की movement revolutionary थी तो यह act counter-revolutionary हो गया उस वक्त, हालाँकि चीज वही थी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उद्देश्य वही था।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: उद्देश्य वही था, लोग वही थे करने वाले, चीज वही, लेकिन हवा दूसरी, मौका दूसरा, वो counter-revolutionary हो गया।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपने यह फरमाया कि वो individuals की बात थी। लेकिन वह individuals का तो action नहीं होता था। उनकी parties होती थीं, मुनज्जम लोग थे वे।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: अरे, क्या parties होती थीं? वो छोटे-छोटे गिरोह होते थे सौ-पचास के, दस के, बीस के। और एक और बात बुनियादी थी। हिन्दुस्तान के सामने जो सबसे बड़ा सवाल था, और जिसको गांधीजी ने पकड़ा, वो एक psychological, दिमागी, था कि हिन्दुस्तान के दिमाग को बदलना और दिमाग से डर निकालना। डर निकालने की बात थी। यह चीज बढ़ाती थी। यानी एक इंसान का जो करे, वो अपनी जान पर खेल जाता था, उसका कहिये डर निकल गया। लेकिन उसके act से दस हजार आदमी डर जाते थे, घबरा जाते थे, छिपते थे, बचते थे। दिल में उसकी कदर करें, लेकिन अपने को बचायें। यानी आम हवा डर की होती थी, क्योंकि repression होता था।

अब गांधीजी के आने के ज़माने में आप देखिये। हमारे बड़े से बड़े आदमी पर जब कोई मुकदमा चलता था, sedition वगैरह लगता, तो उनकी अदालत में वो अपने को बचाते थे यह कहकर कि हम sedition नहीं करते। बड़े से बड़ा आदमी ऐसा करता था। एकदम से कितना फर्क हो गया कि मामूली किसान, कोई मामूली कार्यकर्ता तक कहता था जाके अदालत में कि हाँ, साहब, मेरा पेशा है करने का यह। दुनिया बदल गई। आप देखिये न। और इससे ज़्यादा revolutionary बात कोई नहीं हो सकती कि कौम का दिमाग एकदम से बदल दिया जाए, जो गांधीजी ने बदला। वही लोग थे सब, लेकिन एक atmosphere create किया उन्होंने, क्योंकि देखा कि क्रांतिकारी काम में individual हिम्मत कर जाता है, और डरके भागते हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन individuals को inspiration मिलती थी। मैं अपनी बात कहता हूँ कि मुझे मिली बहादुरी की प्रेरणा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: भाई, individuals एक हो या हजार हों, वो individuals हैं और...

रामनारायण चौधरी: ठीक है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ... और उनकी कदर और लोग करें। यह भी ठीक है कि उसने बहादुरी दिखाई। लेकिन उसका एक तो यह पहलू है, जैसा हमारी कांग्रेस में भी कहा जाता है, कि बचो, बचने की कोशिश करो, पकड़े न जाओ। गांधीजी इसके बहुत ख़िलाफ थे, क्योंकि उन्होंने उसकी एक बुनियादी psychology पकड़ी, बचने की, अपने को बचाने की। बुज़दिली की बात है। वह कम से कम ऐसी हवा फैलाती है जो कभी नहीं होनी चाहिए। और एक बात थी कि secret काम जो होता है उसमें, अलावा violence को छोड़िए, उसमें ख़ामख़्वाह वह बात आ जाती है। अगर आप secret करते हैं तो छिपाते हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: माने हैं बचने के।



जवाहरलाल नेहरू: उसके माने ही हैं बचने के। उसके खिलाफ थे वो। मेरी राय में उन्होंने ऐसी ज़बरदस्त चीज पकड़ी थी, psychological चीज, कि जहाँ खुल्लमखुल्ला हुआ, वहाँ डर निकल जाता है। किसका डर फिर? जो कुछ हुआ उसका सामना कर लिया।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उनकी हिंसा को आप defensive violence मानते हैं या offensive?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: Offensive, defensive violence के तो माने नहीं हैं। जो क्रांतिकारी लोग माने जाते हैं यहाँ, उनकी violence मामूली, छोटे पैमाने पर, लेकिन offensive थी, सिवाय इसके कि वो घिर जाएँ कभी, अपने को बचायें, तो वो अलग बात थी। जैसे चन्द्रशेखर आज़ाद<sup>276</sup> वहाँ घिर गया और उसने बंदूक चलाई जब तक पकड़ा नहीं गया, टांग टूटी, नहीं पकड़ा गया, मारा गया। वो और बात है। वो तो उसका एक नतीजा सा है। लेकिन बाकी तो offensive थी। यों कहिये कि जो मुल्क गुलाम है उसकी जो violence हो वह defensive है। वो तो पहलू हो जाता है उसको देखने का। यह सवाल कि वो कहाँ तक justified है, मुनासिब है या नहीं है, यह तो फिर एक ethical सवाल हो जाता है। और आमतौर पर उसका जवाब यह होगा कि अगर कोई और ज़रिया नहीं है तो justified है। लेकिन फिर दूसरा उसका यह होगा कि justification के अलावा वो एक effective method भी नहीं रहा।

आजकल mass movement का होता है मौका। कोई चीज जो secret है वह mass नहीं हो सकती बुनियादी तौर से। Masses पर थोड़ा सा कभी असर भले ही हो जाए, लेकिन mass movement हो ही नहीं सकती आजकल के ज़माने में तो। दूसरे, हिंसा की शक्ति, state के हाथ में इतनी ज़्यादा है कि उसका कोई individual groups मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते। यह डेढ़ सौ बरस में हुआ। French Revolution के ज़माने में तो बहुत फर्क नहीं था दोनों में, state में और लोगों में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा। इतना organised नहीं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नहीं, organised नहीं, हथियारों में बहुत फर्क नहीं था। एक मामूली सी बंदूक थी। उसके और पहले जाइये, और भी कम फर्क था। वो हुल्लड़बाजी थी। किसी के पास तीर है, कमान है, लाठी है, जो है। वो भीड़ चली फौज बनकर। लोग इधर-उधर कर दिये गये। ज़रा सा इंतज़ाम ज़्यादा हो। French Revolution के वक्त वो ही था, ज़रा

276. (1906-1931); involved in the Kakori Conspiracy case, 1925, the shooting of a police officer at Lahore in 1928 and the bomb explosion in the Central Assembly, 1929; killed on 27 Feb. 1931 in a police encounter in Allahabad.

blunderbusses थीं। लेकिन हल्के-हल्के इतना फर्क होता गया है कि अब कोई मुकाबला नहीं है। कोई मुत्तज़िम फौज को नहीं हरा सकता है दुनिया में, violence में, सिवाय इसके कि फौज खुद बलवा करे। दूसरी बात हो जाती है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: खुद ही ...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वो तो रही नहीं। इसलिये violence उसका method रहा नहीं, सिवाय इसके कि मुर्दा कौम को जगाने के लिये की जाए। और मुर्दा कौम को जगाने के लिये भी वो तरीके जो गांधीजी ने दिखाये, बहुत कामयाब हुए। उनकी जड़, बुनियाद थी कि secrecy न हो। खुल्लमखुल्ला मैदान में आके करो। उससे दिल बढ़ जाता है। आखिर क्या होगा? तुम जेल जाओगे, लाठी खाओगे, मर जाओगे, और तो कुछ नहीं होगा। एक दिल को इतमीनान कर लिया कि तीन-चार बातें हो सकती हैं। बस ख़त्म हुआ किस्सा। नहीं तो दिन-रात मरना, डरके मारे भागे-भागे फिरना।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उस हिंसा ने देश को या समाज को कोई नुकसान पहुँचाया?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैं दे चुका जवाब इसका। नुकसान तो गांधीजी की तहरीक के ज़माने में जो कुछ हुआ सो हुआ, जैसे चौरी चौरा के मामले में।<sup>277</sup> वह इस किस्म का तो था नहीं। वह तो इत्फ़ाक़न गुस्से का था। रोक दिया सब उसकी वजह से। जाहिर है कि वो बातें साथ नहीं चल सकतीं। अगर आप समझें कि किसी मुल्क को हथियारबंद लड़ाई करनी है आज़ादी के लिये, तो एक गौरतलब बात है। उसको तराजू पर तौल लीजिये, क्या हो सकता है, किस ढंग से, क्या आपकी ताकत है, क्या नहीं है। हुआ है। यह नहीं कि नहीं हुआ है, और मुल्कों में भी। लेकिन यह individual violence, न हथियारबंद लड़ाई, न कुछ है, यह तो महज़ इक्के-दुक्के को मार देना है, ताकि डर पैदा हो उनमें। अब यह गलत ख़्याल है कि इक्के-दुक्के को मारने से एक बड़े मुल्क को डर हो जाएगा। हज़ारों लोग हैं उसकी जगह लेने के लिये। हाँ, यह होगा कि उसके दिल में एक कांटा चुभता रहे। इधर लोग भी ज़रा जागेंगे। इतना फ़ायदा होता है। गलत वक़्त पर करने से उसी का नुकसान हो जाता है।

[Translation begins]

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: With what activity you began your public life?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult to say when exactly I began my public life. There was such a phase even when I was a student. But broadly speaking, I

277. See fn 58 in this section.



started participating in Congress work when I returned from England.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Which year was that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In 1912. We had particularly two agitations at that time. One was in connection with the Indians in South Africa. I remember we had mainly organised meetings and collected funds to be sent to South Africa. I took an active part in that. I was the secretary of the committee that was collecting funds,<sup>278</sup> at least in our city or perhaps in the province. I do not remember exactly. Then there was a movement in Fiji.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It was about Indians.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: About indentured labour.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It was to put an end to indentured labour. C.F. Andrews played a role in the movement and I joined it on his appeal. So, gradually I got more and more involved in Congress movements.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: When did you attend the Congress for the first time?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I went to Congress session even as a child. My father had taken me there as a visitor in 1904. As far as I remember it was held in Bombay under the presidency of Sir Henry Cotton. Well, that was in my childhood. But I went as a delegate for the first time in...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You must have been between ten and twelve years?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, in 1904, I was fourteen.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Fourteen!

Jawaharlal Nehru: I went as a delegate for the first time in 1912<sup>279</sup> and since then I have attended a large number of Congress sessions. After 1912, I did not

278. See fn 266 in this section.

279. See fn 267 in this section.

attend in 1913<sup>280</sup> and 1914.<sup>281</sup> The sessions were held in Karachi and somewhere else. And then the war period started in 1915. I attended again when the session was held in Lucknow,<sup>282</sup> and since then I have attended practically every year.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: The same Lucknow session in which the Hindu-Muslim Pact was signed?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The one which Lokmanya Tilak attended. Yes, after that I have attended practically all the sessions except two: once when I was in jail and once when I was out of the country. I have attended about forty-two Congress sessions, forty-one or forty-two.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Really, almost all your life.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes. And all my public activities took place within that ambit.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Were you ever connected with the revolutionary movement?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I used to meet those people sometimes, but I had no other connection.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You did not take part in any of their activities?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No. I have never felt any attraction towards that. I had some respect for them and so I gave them some help; by help I mean I gave them some monetary help occasionally if they came to me in a starving condition.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did anyone stay with you?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In my house? I don't remember. An odd individual might have stayed for a day or so but not many such persons; because right from the beginning, even before Gandhiji came on the scene, this method seemed futile to me. It was a different matter that I respected the revolutionaries for their courage. But it did not seem to me that their method would yield much. There

280. See fn 268 in this section.

281. See fn 269 in this section.

282. See fn 270 in this section.



was only one virtue in it: one was their courage, of course; and the second was that they drew the attention of the public to the fact that the conditions were unbearable. Well, I suppose that method might have been useful occasionally. But it was not something which would have brought about revolutionary changes. So when Gandhiji came the people's attention was diverted elsewhere and many of the old revolutionaries also joined him in those days. Then gradually... So I have answered several of your questions.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: How did you regard it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just told you what I thought of it.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: How did it benefit the country?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult to measure that. But it was essentially an immature movement. There were no signs of maturity in it. There were no signs of maturity in it. However, when an immature movement, being helpless to do anything concrete, expresses its anger, it results in some good at least. It makes people wake up; otherwise they remain suppressed. But it has no strength. It has a little potential to awaken the people, but it lacks the real strength to bring about changes, to bring about a revolution. That is...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: This is your view today. What was its impact on you at that time?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no, what can I tell you about that time? I cannot think clearly what its impact on me was then. But it is obvious that the impact was not much. The mind was perplexed and in search of something that would have an impact. Though I had respect for the revolutionaries, somehow it did not seem to me that their movement could take us far. So I had not made up my mind and the quest was on. And as Gandhiji's programme unfolded, the mind immediately jumped at it. I thought, well, this was the thing I was looking for, a dignified thing, an effective thing that might take us far and...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You had a spirited temperament. So, I should have thought this movement would have appealed to you.

Jawaharlal Nehru: A spirited temperament is not enough. After all, there is such a thing as mind also and the mind has the ability to judge. You will probably find the most spirited people in lunatic asylums.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you ever help a revolutionary in his task?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I did not help. I had many acquaintances among them and occasionally some of them had been in jail with me. Sometimes I used to help them with amounts, like 50 to 100 rupees, when they came to me in difficulty. It was not much but it was timely help.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you ever take up cases in their defence, etc.?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Cases, yes...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: In Kakori?<sup>283</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: I was interested in Kakori. I had arranged for that.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What about the first case in Banaras in 1915<sup>284</sup> in which Bose<sup>285</sup> and Sanyal<sup>286</sup> and others were involved?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not remember to have had anything to do with that personally. But I was interested in Kakori.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Who did you like the most among the revolutionaries?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult for me to say that. But, in a sense, I was most impressed by Jatin Das.<sup>287</sup>

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh! The one who went on hunger strike?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, and he died. I met him only once, when he was on hunger strike. I met him in jail. I mean I was not in jail but when I went to meet him I was allowed. He was in the Lahore jail. The suffering he was undergoing during his hunger strike and his innocent face—it all made a profound impression on me.

283. See fn 271 in this section.

284. See fn 272 in this section.

285. See fn 273 in this section.

286. See fn 274 in this section.

287. See fn 275 in this section.



Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What about the revolutionaries of UP?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Some of them were our companions and friends only. Sometimes they were in jail with us. I cannot be sure.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What do you think was the contribution of the revolutionaries in India getting her freedom?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just answered that question. Their contribution was to awaken the lifeless and to shake up some minds. People always resort to violence—well, I should not say always, but nevertheless, in India, when people find that the way to do some effective work in an appropriate way is blocked, they burst out. They do something or the other individually but an individual effort does not take anyone very far. That is an infantile thing, a childish act. But it is understandable in the sense that doing nothing amounts to being dead. If everyone in the country is cowed down, it is, in a sense, the end of life itself. Therefore, in such a situation, even the protest of one individual has value though it may not...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Go very far...

Jawaharlal Nehru: ...lead to success. But it has value in as much as it awakens the people and shakes them up a little. However, such an action has its value as long as it is well directed. Suppose somebody throws a bomb today. That would also be a case of bomb throwing but the social context is quite different. So the act has no value. Therefore, the word "revolutionary" is not correct.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Is the word "terrorist" correct?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, the word "terrorist" is also not quite correct. What I mean is that the act is the same; it is the same thing. Consider an act of killing. So dacoits kill people, albeit for their selfish purpose; and a patriot also kills. But there is a difference. Secondly, even a patriot's act should be in accordance with the situation that exists in the country at the time. If it is an act which is not relevant, it is futile to call it revolutionary. A revolutionary act is one which advances the cause of revolution. Mere violence is not revolutionary. It is obvious that even dacoits indulge in violence. Patriots may also indulge in senseless violence. Then violence is not revolutionary; it becomes counter-revolutionary. Something that advances the cause of a movement in any form, violently or non-violently, may be called revolutionary. A movement does not advance by being

violent. An act of bomb-throwing may scare away the people for a while instead of taking them in a particular direction. It is obvious that they are driven in a particular direction by the social, political and economic conditions prevailing at the time. Now, it is the function of a movement to organise the people and intensify their pace. Now, an act of terrorism or violence can sometimes do some good and sometimes can cause harm. How far we advance depends on the prevailing conditions. As I said, in 1905-06, it could be said that it did good and awakened an almost lifeless nation by setting examples of courage and bravery. That very same thing, when Gandhiji's movement was on, became completely counter-revolutionary and harmful. Rather than awakening the people it started holding them back. This was because at least the foundation of that movement was the principles of non-violence and peace, even if it could not be conducted completely in that fashion. So an obstacle of this kind upset that foundation and did greater damage than the repression by the British Government. Therefore, if Gandhiji's movement was revolutionary, then this act became counter-revolutionary at that time, although it was the same act.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: The goal was the same.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The goal was the same, the people were the same, the act was the same; but a different atmosphere was prevailing and the circumstances were different. So it became counter-revolutionary.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You said that it was related to just individuals. But the action was not of individuals; they belonged to parties.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What! Were these parties? They were small groups of ten, twenty or hundred members. There was another fundamental thing. The greatest problem that India faced, and which Gandhiji grasped, was psychological: to change the mindset of India and to exorcise fear from the minds of the people. So the the idea was to drive out fear. But this action aggravated it. That is, when an individual was prepared to stake his life, it could be said that he had overcome fear. But thousands of others got scared and terrified by his act; they would hide somewhere or try to escape. Maybe the people respected such an individual in their hearts but kept themselves away. So the general atmosphere was that of fear for there used to be repression.

Now, see the difference in the time of Gandhiji. Earlier even the biggest of our leaders, when they faced cases of sedition, etc., in courts, would defend themselves by pleading that they had not indulged in sedition. The biggest of them would do this. Then suddenly there was a huge difference and even an



ordinary peasant was prepared to go to court and plead guilty to charges of sedition. There was a world of difference. So, you see, there can be nothing more revolutionary than the sudden manner in which the thinking of an entire nation was changed. This was done by Gandhiji. They were the same people but he created a different atmosphere in the country, because he had noticed that during a revolutionary act, an individual could be daring, but the others were afraid and would run away.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But individuals got inspiration. This happened with me. I got the inspiration of bravery.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Whether there is one individual or a thousand, they are, after all, individuals and...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: This is true.

Jawaharlal Nehru: ...and it is right that they should be respected by other people. It is also a good thing that they showed bravery. But one aspect of that, as they said in our Congress Party also, is that one should try to escape; one should not get caught. Gandhiji was very much against this because he was able to understand the basic psychology behind this, that is, to try to save oneself, which is cowardice. Because that creates an atmosphere which should never be there. Secondly, apart from violence, anything that is done secretly inevitably brings on the tendency that if you are secretive, you are hiding something.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: The idea is to escape.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is exactly what it means. He was against it and, in my opinion, he grasped a very essential psychological factor behind the whole thing, that if anything is done openly, fear is just banished. Then why should one be afraid of anybody? One can simply face the consequences of one's action.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Do you consider their violence defensive or offensive?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Offensive and defensive violence has no meaning. Those who are considered revolutionaries here resorted to violence on a small scale but it was offensive in nature. It was a different matter that they sometimes used violence to save themselves when they were embushed. For instance,

when Chandra Shekhar Azad<sup>288</sup> was besieged, he continued to fire until he was caught; his leg got injured. He was not captured; he was killed. That is a different matter. So that was due to the circumstances. But basically it was offensive. You may say that the violence of a nation in bondage is bound to be defensive. That is one way of looking at it. The question as to how far it is justified, as to whether it is proper or not, is an ethical one. Generally speaking, the answer to that is that if there is no alternative, then violence is justified. But then the other answer could be is that, apart from justification, that is not even an effective method.

Nowadays there may be possibility of mass movements. Now, a thing which is secret cannot basically be a matter for the masses. The masses may be affected to some extent but a mass movement is just not feasible in the present times. Secondly, the state has such a tremendous power to do violence that no individual groups can challenge it. At the time of the French Revolution, the difference between the state and the people was not very great.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh! It was not so well organised?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, not well organised; there was not much difference in the weapons. Only the ordinary gun was used to be there. Earlier the difference was even less. It was a noisy crowd with bows and arrows and sticks with the pretensions of an army. At the time of the French Revolution, there were just the blunderbusses. But gradually such a great change has come about that there can be no comparison now. No one in the world can defeat an organised army today unless the armed forces themselves rebel. That is a different matter.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: The army itself...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Therefore, violence is no longer a feasible method except as a means of bringing back a dead nation to life. But even for that, the method shown by Gandhiji was extremely successful. It was founded on the principle that there should be no secrecy. Everything was in the open and above board. That boosts up people's morale no end. After all, the worst that could happen was that one went to jail or was beaten by a lathi or killed. Nothing more can happen. Once the heart is reassured on this score, there is no question of constant fear and attempts to escape.

288. See fn 276 in this section.



Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did that violence do any harm to the society or to the country?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have already answered that question. The damage was done in Gandhiji's time when the movement was at its peak and the incident at Chauri Chaura occurred.<sup>289</sup> It was not an act of violence by terrorists but an accidental flaring up of anger. Gandhiji immediately called a halt to everything. It was obvious that the two things could not go hand in hand. If you think that an armed battle should be fought for the country's freedom, it can be done after weighing the pros and cons as it has been done in other countries. But individual violence and killing and arson, etc., in order to create panic, was wrong. It was stupid to think that a big power would be cowed down by murdering a few persons. There are thousands waiting to take their place. The only good it may do is that the conscience will be constantly pricking. It will also shake the people up. That is all the good it may do. But such acts can be positively harmful if they are undertaken at the wrong time.

[Translation ends]

289. See fn 277 in this section.

## II. POLITICS

### (a) Indian National Congress

#### 19. Tasks before the Youth<sup>1</sup>

##### Task Before The Youth: Nehru's Advice

Baroda,

Nov. 2.

Prime Minister Nehru called upon the young people here today to break the wall existing between themselves and the uneducated masses and to work with them for their betterment.

The Prime Minister was inaugurating the Third All-India Convention of the Youth Congress.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi presided.

The Prime Minister flew here from Bhopal this morning to attend the Convention.

In his speech, Mr. Nehru asked the youth to keep their minds clear and fresh in order to understand the changing world. One's mind should always be flexible, he added. He said that the basic differences between the two generations were bound to exist.<sup>2</sup>

The Prime Minister stated that revolution in several countries came very suddenly but there was another process of revolution which was rather slow but more effective. That type of revolution was brought about by social changes. Unfortunately the people who preferred the fast type of revolution did not like the gradual social change.

Mr. Nehru said that people should not forget that when they compared India with other countries in the world there was another aspect also. There was a vast difference between India and countries like USSR, USA or Germany. Those

1. Report of speech at the inauguration of the third all-India Convention of the Youth Congress at Baroda, 2 November 1958. *The Hindu*, 3 November, 1958. 4,000 delegates attended.
2. *The National Herald* of 4 Nov. quotes Nehru thus: "You have a more difficult task but you also have a more glorious adventure before you and coming to the age I have come to, I envy those who are young today and who will see and work for great changes. I envy you and I give you my good wishes in this adventure. May you go ahead with your head high, with your spirits high, and always with the outlook of the morning in your eyes. We of our generation belong to the afternoon and evening. You are of the morning, so act up to it."



countries were highly industrialised. They had changed their social structure by increasing their production. In India the same thing was being done. But in a rather slow process which would certainly bring a change in their social structure also. After independence, the Prime Minister said, people were becoming more and more carefree. This was a bad thing. In that way they would not be able to maintain or strengthen the unity and independence of the nation. To safeguard the independence the people should always be alert. They could never face or fight the danger otherwise.

## 20. Need to Infuse Young Blood<sup>3</sup>

Strengthening Of Congress—Need To Infuse Young Blood:  
Nehru's Plea

Indore,  
Nov. 3.

Prime Minister Nehru to-day strongly pleaded for keeping the doors of the Congress "wide open" so that young blood could come in and strengthen the party.

Addressing above five hundred Congress workers from different parts of the State, Mr. Nehru deprecated what he called the tendency to create impediments in the way of young people joining the Congress and depriving them of opportunities to work. Such a tendency was suicidal for the party, he added.

Mr. Nehru said that yesterday he inaugurated the convention of the Youth Congress at Baroda<sup>4</sup> which was attended by about four thousand people from different parts of the country. From many quarters he received the complaint that young people were not being given opportunities in the Congress to work.

Mr. Nehru said that Congressmen should realise that the country was undergoing revolutionary changes. These changes had created new problems which would have to be tackled in a new way. For this it was necessary that enlightened people of the present generation should be attracted to join the Congress and allowed full opportunities to work.

Mr. Nehru said that allowing young people to join the Congress did not mean that they should be given offices in the organisation. They should be allowed full freedom to work so that their enthusiasm and energy could be utilised for the good of the party and ultimately of the country. The old guards in the Congress

3. Report of speech to Congress workers at Indore, 3 November 1958. *The Hindu*, 4 November 1958.

4. See item 19.

like him would be able to learn something new if the people of the present generation were allowed to join the party and work without impediments, he added.

Mr. Nehru pleaded for understanding between Congressmen belonging to the old generation and those of the modern times. Whenever the country underwent a revolution there was bound to be difference in the approach of the old and the young. But what was needed was that a proper understanding should be developed between the two so that both could contribute their mite for the advancement of the nation, he said.

Mr. Nehru said that he did not agree with those who held the view that after independence the Congress Party had lost its utility. At the present juncture when the country was passing through a very delicate period, it was the Congress and the Congress alone which could take the country successfully on the road to progress, he added.

Mr. Nehru said that in the light of the situation obtaining in the world and the country today, there was no party in India except the Congress which was capable of maintaining the unity and solidarity of the country without being affected in the least by communalism, linguism, provincialism and such other evils.

Mr. Nehru said he felt that it was the Congress Party which held India solid and united, and but for it, fissiparous tendencies would have grown, jeopardising the country's hard-won freedom.

Mr. Nehru said that the need of the hour was that the Congress should be further strengthened. The Congress would become weak not on account of external forces but on account of internal defections and bickerings within the party.

Congress, he said, had been a strong and lively organisation with a memorable past. The party had earned a good name throughout the world and no efforts should be spared to see that the name was not spoiled.

#### Amendments to Congress Constitution

Mr. Nehru referred to the amendments made in the Congress constitution at the Hyderabad session of the AICC and said that the provision disallowing one person holding office in the party consecutively for more than one term would prove beneficial to the organisation. He was not in favour of a few people monopolising the offices in the party and said that if new people were elected to the offices every year the party would have more trained and experienced people to shoulder other responsibilities.

Mr. Nehru said that in Uttar Pradesh the same person could not be elected to the office of the PCC President for more than one consecutive term. This was a



good system. Those people whose advice was required for the organisation could be included in the Working Committee and it was not necessary they should be given offices every time.

## 21. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>5</sup>

November 4, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,<sup>6</sup>

Someone has told me that because of the AICC resolution affecting Presidents and Secretaries,<sup>7</sup> the whole of the West Bengal P.C.C. Executive has resigned.<sup>8</sup> I have not myself seen this news anywhere. If this is true, this itself is an indication of the rotten state of affairs in the Bengal Congress. The object obviously is to demonstrate that the Congress cannot function in Bengal without the help of the present office-bearers and executive. To do this at any time would have been bad. To do it at a time when large-scale direct action is threatened by the Opposition parties is infinitely worse.<sup>9</sup>

Anyhow, the result is that the Congress has ceased functioning almost completely in Calcutta or perhaps in Bengal. In the normal course, I suppose elections will be held, but that will take some time. It might be advisable to appoint an ad hoc committee. If so, such a committee should be one which consists of people who are respected and who are capable of facing the situation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. JN Collection.

6. President, Indian National Congress.

7. The All India Congress Committee decided at Hyderabad on 26 Oct. 1958 that Presidents and Secretaries of Congress should not hold office for more than one term consecutively. See SWJN/SS/44/p.196-198.

8. The West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee decided on 3 Nov. to dissolve the existing Executive Council and to convene the PCC to elect office-bearers.

9. The opposition parties had been attacking the Congress Ministry in West Bengal over food and refugee rehabilitation policies, and police misconduct and ministerial corruption. The Congress Ministry had survived a no-confidence motion in Mar. 1958 by voice vote.

## 22. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>10</sup>

November 9, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,<sup>11</sup>

This evening, after I had seen you, I read the report you had sent me about the so-called Rewari incident when Dr. Gopichand Bhargava addressed a public meeting there.<sup>12</sup>

The incident itself was of no consequence, but it has assumed some importance because of publicity in the press and because no doubt it has been felt by some people that Dr. Gopichand was treated with discourtesy and pushed about by Congressmen who favoured you and therefore thought it desirable to exhibit their disfavour of Dr. Gopichand. The importance of this matter thus was not so much as to what happened at Rewari but because it was supposed to bring into the light the inner differences between groups in the Congress Party and even in your Cabinet. This was of course unfortunate and it cast rather a special responsibility on you because indirectly [you] or your supporters were supposed to be involved.

Reading your note, I find a detailed criticism of what Dr. Gopichand had written to you and your pointing out how Dr. Gopichand's report is a wrong one and further in some matters Dr. Gopichand behaved as a responsible Minister should not have behaved.

You make a particular point of Dr. Bhargava saying that some stones were hurled on the platform. About this you say that enquiries had revealed that no one in the meeting had been hit by the stones and the allegation of stone-throwing had not been established. This seems to be an odd way of dealing with your colleague's statement. It may well be that no one was hurt and when your colleague has said that there was some stone-throwing, his word has to be accepted. It may have been a minor stone-throwing, but I do not see how anyone can easily deny something of this kind. All he can say was that he did not see it. In any event, to say that Dr. Bhargava made an allegation which is not substantiated seems to me rather odd. That is not the way I would treat a colleague of mine.

Again, reference is made somewhere in your note to Dr. Gopichand saying that he was listened to in pin-drop silence except for one or two persons who

10. JN Collection.

11. Chief Minister of Punjab.

12. Gopichand Bhargava, Minister of Finance and Planning in the Punjab Government, complained of manhandling and stoning while he was addressing a public meeting at Rewari on 12 Oct. 1958.



intended to create some little trouble. This again is vigorously denied. How a statement like that can be denied, is not clear to me.

The whole point is that you are analysing each word that Dr. Bhargava said in regard to an incident where everybody must have been excited and it appears from your note that you wish to say that Dr. Bhargava is not telling the truth. That is not the impression I get from reading his statement. Of course in all such incidents no two versions can be exact. The point is, however, that you have treated a statement of a colleague of yours with scant respect and have pointed out minor discrepancies. In a matter of this kind I would accept my colleague's statement in preference to any police report. But, as I have said above, in a report of this kind there are bound to be slightly varying versions because people are excited and few persons see the whole picture. The impression I get from your note rather is that you have favoured other accounts even in regard to these minor matters in order to indicate that Dr. Gopichand was not telling the truth. I do not think that was a right course to adopt. If anything like this happened to any colleague of mine, the first thing I would do is to speak to him and even without an enquiry to express my deep regret at any discourtesy that might have been shown to him. The whole matter was trivial, but it brought out inner disputes and discordance. Either that discordance has to be encouraged and accentuated or it has to be minimised and discouraged.

So far as Abdul Ghani<sup>13</sup> is concerned, he is totally irresponsible and I can very well understand his behaving objectionably. But, the point that public is interested in, is the relation between you and your colleague. The press behaves badly and in such matters especially tries to exaggerate everything to your disadvantage. We should not play into its hands.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly.

### 23. To Jugal Kishore<sup>14</sup>

November 11, 1958

My dear Jugal Kishore,<sup>15</sup>

I have your letter of November 8.<sup>16</sup> It is true that when the questions were put to me at the Press Conference,<sup>17</sup> I had not read your correspondence.<sup>18</sup> Indeed I did not know that it was being sent to me. What I said however would not have been affected by that correspondence. I did not say that you were trying to embarrass the Chief Minister by seeking shelter behind organisational matters. I do not quite remember the words I used. What I said was that these conflicts in the U.P. had deeper causes and sometimes organisational issues head these causes. I think that that is a correct statement both generally and specifically. That has nothing to do with your trying to embarrass Dr. Sampurnanand on this issue.

I did not give any opinion on the question of principle that you had raised because I had not studied the matter or the facts relating to it. But I knew, as most people know, that there had been pulls in different directions in the U.P.P.C.C. for some time past and that these had been reflected in the Cabinet. Simple organisational issues thus become tied up with other matters. That is all what I said.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. JN Collection.

15. Congress leader and educationist from Uttar Pradesh.

16. Jugal Kishore, who had just resigned from the UP Ministry, protested at Nehru's remarks at the Press Conference about the recent resignations of UP Ministers. He said that if Nehru had known the facts he would not have concluded that they were out to embarrass the Chief Minister by raising organisational questions. He agreed with Nehru that a Chief Minister must have a coherent team to be effective. But he felt that in a democracy this must result from free discussion, not its stifling. He assured Nehru that their resignation was intended to explore the nature of joint responsibility of Ministers in matters of party organisation, not to embarrass the Chief Minister.

17. For Nehru's comments at a press conference in New Delhi on 7 Nov. 1958, see item 14, here pp. 215-216.

18. The correspondence between Sampurnanand, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, and Jugal Kishore was released to the press on 6 Nov. 1958.



## 24. People's Cooperation Essential in Solving Problems<sup>19</sup>

I send my good wishes to the next session of the Tamil Nadu Political Conference.<sup>20</sup> In the old days, such conferences mainly stated our political objectives and demands. Today, they have to deal with concrete problems. The success of a conference thus depends on how far it has dealt with the problems of the day.

Our primary problem today is that of food production. We have recently decided in the National Development Council for the State to take over the wholesale trade in foodgrains, and the Council has laid great stress on small village cooperatives being established all over the rural areas.<sup>21</sup> I consider both these decisions of high importance. The burden of carrying them out will fall on the States, and the sooner we carry them out, the better it will be for us. But even a State Government cannot succeed fully in its task, unless it has full assistance and cooperation from the people. The Congress organisation should, therefore, direct its energies towards this end.

But, above and behind all our problems is that of national unity. Without that, we cannot achieve anything.

## 25. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>22</sup>

November 17, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,

This evening a group of Congressmen from Calcutta came to see me. They told me that they were seeing you tomorrow morning. They gave me a copy of a letter that they had addressed to you and which no doubt they will hand over to you tomorrow.

I did not think it proper to give them any kind of assurance. All I said was that I agreed with them that elections should be fair and should further create an impression of having been fair.

But, reading through their memorandum, I was surprised to find that it is

19. Message, 14 November 1958. File No. 9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

20. The 45th Tamil Nadu Political Conference at Gobichettipalayam in Madras State from 6 to 7 Dec. 1958.

21. On 8 Nov. 1958.

22. JN Collection.

proposed to hold a meeting of the General Body of the P.C.C. on the 25th November and to elect Shri Bijoy Singh Nahar,<sup>23</sup> the present General Secretary, as the President. First of all, it is hardly right to hold a meeting before giving Dr. Roy<sup>24</sup> much of a chance of consultation. Dr. Roy is due back on the 24th November.<sup>25</sup> He might come then or he might be delayed. Anyhow even if he comes on the 24th, it will be too late for real consultation. It would appear, therefore, that some kind of an accomplished fact is to be presented to him.

Secondly, it would indeed be amazing if the outgoing General Secretary of the P.C.C., Shri Bijoy Singh Nahar, is to become the President. This man has been Secretary for the last nine or ten years together with Atulya Babu<sup>26</sup> as President. This changeover may not offend strictly the direction of the A.I.C.C. But it would be political trickery of the worst kind.

I should imagine that the meeting should be held after Dr. Roy has come back and has time to consult and consider and, in any event, persons who have held office for these many years should not stand for election to office.

I do not of course know whether the statements made in the memorandum going to be given to you are correct. But some of the examples they have cited are, on the face of it, very bad. I think that, now that this matter in Bengal has been opened out, we should take very good care that it settles down on right lines.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

23. (1906-1997); an active participant in the Quit India movement and imprisoned during the freedom struggle; Member, West Bengal Legislative Council, 1946-47 and 1952-57; Member, West Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1957-77; Minister in the West Bengal Government, 1962-67 and 1968; Deputy Chief Minister, West Bengal, 1971; left Congress and joined the Janata Party in 1977 and later elected the Party's General Secretary; Member, Lok Sabha, 1977-79.
24. B.C. Roy was Chief Minister of West Bengal.
25. B.C. Roy was on a 40-day visit to USA and Europe. He returned to Bombay on 22 Nov. 1958. P.C. Sen was the acting Chief Minister of West Bengal during his absence.
26. Atulya Ghosh, the President of the West Bengal PCC.



26. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>27</sup>

November 18, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,

I have seen tonight your two letters of today's date.<sup>28</sup>

I think that the whole purpose of the A.I.C.C. passing the resolution about the Presidents and Secretaries not continuing for more than one term will be vitiated if a long continuing Secretary takes the place of a long continuing President. So far as I know, Bijoy Singh Nahar has been Secretary for eight or nine years. If he becomes President of the B.P.C.C., it will be a tragedy apart from being, I think, trickery. I am surprised to learn that Dr. B.C. Roy agreed to this. Unless some new element is brought into the B.P.C.C. both for the office of the President and Secretary, the Congress in Bengal is doomed. To bring forward the argument that a person has been or has not been to jail is totally irrelevant in this connection. Naturally the person to be chosen should be a person of integrity and right views.

I do not know Saila Kumar Mukherjee<sup>29</sup> or anything about him except what I have heard. The fact that he is intimately connected with the Jalan group of industries is certainly not in his favour. I am sure there are other people in Bengal who might make suitable choices.

I think this attempt to rush this election before Dr. Roy is really back, is thoroughly bad. It will do little good. What can Dr. Roy do even if he arrives a day before the election? Everything is nicely fixed up then and no change is possible. Dr. Roy has been far too much under the influence of Atulya Babu and does not know where else to look for advice.

You suggest that we might get in touch with Dr. Roy in Bombay in some way as soon as he arrives. I doubt if this will help at all at that last moment. As a matter of fact, according to some people, the B.P.C.C. as constituted today can

27. JN Collection.

28. Dhebar's first letter described how both B.C. Roy and Atulya Ghosh had decided upon Bijoy Singh Nahar as President of the West Bengal PCC. Dhebar had suggested others but they were disqualified for not having gone to jail. He wanted to remind all PCC Presidents of the Hyderabad resolution and asked for Nehru's opinion on it. His second letter reported that Atulya Ghosh would accept Saila Kumar Mukherjee if B.C. Roy agreed. Saila Kumar Mukherjee was at present working for the Jalan Group of Industries, which he must give up if he is to become the President of the PCC.

29. Congress leader from Howrah and Minister for Local Self-Government and Finance in the ministries of B.C. Roy and Prafulla Chandra Sen.

hardly be considered properly elected. However, we cannot go into that matter now. But the two or three cases mentioned in the representation given to you certainly deserve enquiry.

It seems to me, therefore, that from every point of view the meeting of the B.P.C.C. convened for the 25th November should be postponed. A fresh date should be fixed after Dr. Roy comes and you have had time to consult him. In fact this matter is important enough to be considered by the Working Committee.

I agree with the draft letter that you propose to send to Presidents and Secretaries of the P.C.C.s.<sup>30</sup> My only suggestion would be that it might be stronger. This is hardly a question of a gesture being made but of the spirit of the A.I.C.C. Resolution being followed in its entirety.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 27. To Ram Subhag Singh<sup>31</sup>

November 24, 1958

My dear Ram Subhag,<sup>32</sup>

In the course of the Party meeting day before yesterday, you sent a paper to me offering your resignation as Secretary of the Party. I showed this to Pantji<sup>33</sup> who apparently put it in his pocket and took it away.

I spoke rather strongly at the Party meeting on the Banaras University issue because I felt that what you and some others had said was not right.<sup>34</sup> This was for two reasons the main reason being that motives were being attributed to our Education Minister<sup>35</sup> as well as others. Secondly whatever had to be said on this issue might well have been said at the Party meeting first.

30. Dhebar proposed to remind them of the Hyderabad resolution against prolonged and consecutive appointments; he added that a President becoming a Secretary or the vice versa would not be appreciated.

31. JN Collection.

32. Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament.

33. Govind Ballabh Pant, Union Minister of Home Affairs.

34. For details, see items 198 and 199.

35. K.L. Shrimali.



I have no wish to accept your resignation because you have done good work, but I felt that we must be frank with each other and I must tell you, as indeed I wrote to you and mentioned at the Party meeting, how I felt about it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**28. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>36</sup>**

November 27, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,

Thank you for your letter of the 27th November about Ministers etc., going to the Congress.<sup>37</sup> I entirely agree with what you have written. In fact, I mentioned this myself to some people from Nagpur.

I am rather worried about some of us who stay in Raj Bhavans. Apart from other reasons, I would like to stay with Sri Prakasa<sup>38</sup> who is a very old friend of mine and who has insisted on it, but the real difficulty is that all kinds of security precautions are taken, which are not feasible elsewhere.

What I do not like is that some of us are guests and have to pay nothing, while other delegates have to pay. I do not know how to get over this difficulty. I am prepared to pay, of course, any fixed sum that may be suggested. But who am I to pay it to?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

36. JN Collection.

37. The 64th session of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur from 9 to 11 Jan. 1959.

38. Governor of Bombay.

## 29. To B.C. Roy<sup>39</sup>

1st December, 1958

My dear Bidhan,

You must have probably heard that Mundhra<sup>40</sup> has stated in the course of the Vivian Bose inquiry<sup>41</sup> that he gave rupees 1,00,000 to the Congress at the time of the last general elections. I was not aware of this at all nor was Pantji.<sup>42</sup> I find that Morarji Desai<sup>43</sup> also knew nothing about it.

Pantji wrote to Atulya Ghosh and Prafulla Chandra Sen<sup>44</sup> to enquire if they knew anything about this matter. Both of them replied that they did not know anything about it. Prafulla Babu said that you had seen Pantji's letter.

On referring to some papers in my office I find a letter from you dated September 6th 1956 addressed to T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>45</sup> with which you had sent a cheque for Rs 25,000/- given to you by Mundhra. In that letter you stated that he had promised to pay Rs 1,50,000/- and had already paid Rs 1,00,000/- to G.D. Birla.<sup>46</sup>

From the account given to us by G.D. Birla of the monies realised by him for our election fund it appears that H.D. Mundhra gave Rs 1,25,000/- to him. This account is dated 12th January 1957. It is not clear to me whether in the figure given by G.D. Birla of Rs 1,25,000/- the sum of Rs 25,000/- sent by you to us directly was included.

I was completely ignorant of all these matters although the election monies received were deposited in the joint names of Morarji Desai and myself. In fact, I did not even know how much money had been collected till fairly recently. Now that we have to deal with this matter, we want to know the correct facts. Probably, we shall have to make a statement in Parliament.

39. JN Collection.

40. Haridas Mundhra was Chairman of the Mundhra Group of Companies.

41. Justice Vivian Bose of the Supreme Court headed the Board of Inquiry to investigate charges against the Life Insurance Corporation of India and H.M. Patel, the then Finance Secretary. For details, see SWJN/SS/41/pp.119-120,415-416.

42. G.B. Pant was Union Minister of Home Affairs.

43. Union Minister of Finance.

44. Minister of Food, Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation in the West Bengal Government.

45. Union Minister of Finance from 1956 to 1958; resigned from the Union Cabinet on 12 Feb. 1958 after the Chagla Commission found him guilty in the LIC affair.

46. A leading industrialist on close terms with many Congress leaders.



I am writing to you partly to refresh your memory about these matters and partly so that you might supply any further information on the subject.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

### 30. To Humayun Kabir<sup>47</sup>

December 2, 1958

My dear Humayun,<sup>48</sup>

I have rather rapidly read your draft statement on Congress ideology. There is much, of course, in it that is good, but I feel that there are some parts in it with which I do not agree. Also, that the broad approach is not, to my thinking, happy. There is too much of special pleading, and it is, in the main, a criticism of what has happened in the U.S.S.R. There are statements which are very controversial. It is difficult for me, in the course of a brief letter, to deal with all these aspects separately and fully. But, as you are going away in another day or two, I thought I might let you have my preliminary reactions.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 31. Women on the March<sup>49</sup>

Indian history is full of instances of outstanding women in almost every field of activity. There have been women saints and rulers, soldiers and politicians, educationists, mathematicians and doctors, and of course great patriots. And yet it is true that as a whole women in India have laboured under numerous disabilities. In the main, these disabilities have been due to law and social customs.

There has always been an attempt to get rid of these customs. But in the past success was limited. The reformers came and no doubt made some difference but the vast mass of our women-folk continued as before.

47. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

48. Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

49. Message, 20 December 1958, for the AICC's journal, *Women on the March*. File No. 9/2/58-PMP. Volume and issue no. of *Women on the March* not traced.

Then came Gandhiji and, in his own quiet, cooperative and persuasive way, called out the women of India to participate in the struggle for freedom. To the men of India, he said that they should treat their women-folk as comrades. Gandhiji's message spread not only in the towns, but in distant villages and the women came out to play their distinguished part in the struggle for freedom. Inevitably social reform was allied to the peaceful revolution that was going on in India and big changes began to take shape. But still there were many people who resisted these changes and obstructed every attempt at advance.

Since the coming of independence, this movement for the liberation of women from age-old bonds has taken a new shape. Our Parliament has passed laws in regard to marriage and inheritance, both of which affect women intimately and better their lot. As education spreads, tens of thousands of women are going through our colleges and universities and a much vaster number through our schools. Thus a major revolution is taking place, for the biggest revolution is one which affects the social life of the country and more particularly the women.

We should welcome this revolution and encourage it in every way, for a country's advance is ultimately measured by the position of its women-folk. Congressmen should especially bear this in mind, for they inherit the great tradition which Gandhiji started in a big way. We should encourage women to play their part in public life as well as in the home. They should come to our legislatures, to our local bodies and be members of our Congress Committees. In the many other departments of life, fresh avenues should be opened out to them, so that in this vast complex of India, men and women should advance together to the great goals that we have set ourselves.

## **32. Relevance of Indian National Congress<sup>50</sup>**

Every session of the National Congress has a certain importance. I think that the coming Nagpur session has a special importance. At Avadi, some years ago, we adopted formally the socialist pattern of society for our goal.<sup>51</sup> Since then much has happened to confirm us in that decision and, at the same time, much as happened to demonstrate that there are many forces, perhaps even within the Congress, which do not wholly approve of this objective.

50. Message, 27 December 1958. File No. 9/2/59-PMP.

51. On 21 Jan. 1955 at the 60th Indian National Congress at Avadi. For details see SWJN/SS/27/pp. 279-283.



I think that a great deal of clear thinking is necessary for Congressmen on this and like subjects. We cannot work effectively unless there is certain clarity in our approach to our problems. Mere goodwill is not enough, though that is very necessary.

Therefore, I think that we must clarify our minds a little more about the path we are to pursue. This will include our approach to planning in future.

I do not think it would be desirable for us to become rigid in our approaches to our problems. But, at the same time, we cannot remain in a state of flux so far as our thinking is concerned. In any social change, inevitably, there is a certain conflict of interests or groups or classes and therefore opposition arises. We do not believe in encouraging class conflict, but we have to recognise that such conflicts do exist in the modern structure of society. We wish to deal with them as peacefully and cooperatively as possible.

The Working Committee has already put forward some draft resolutions and statements which should help Congressmen to consider these broad problems in their right perspective.

### 33. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>52</sup>

December 28, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,

You were good enough to give me your draft Presidential Address this afternoon. I have read through it. If I may say so with all respect, it is a very good Address. I have no other comments to offer.

There is only one very very small matter to which I would refer. In paragraph 61, page 33, you use the word "job." I do not like this word anyhow. More especially I do not like it in connection with the Congress Presidentship. May I suggest that you might say "You called upon me to undertake this burden."

I am returning your draft Address to you.<sup>53</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

52. U.N. Dhebar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

53. Dhebar informed Nehru on 2 Jan. 1959 that he had done so.

### 34. To Jadabendra Nath Panja<sup>54</sup>

December 28, 1958

My dear Panjaji,<sup>55</sup>

I have received a letter from Shri Ramananda Das,<sup>56</sup> President of the Bengal Provincial Depressed Classes' League, with which he has sent me a copy of his letter addressed to you dated 19th December. In this he complains about the refusal to supply Congress enrolment forms to him.

I hope you will be good enough to look into this matter. Complaints have frequently been made about not giving enrolment forms and to the effect that partiality is shown in this matter. I hope that no one will have reason to complain in future.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 35. To Moolchand Deshlahra<sup>57</sup>

December 29, 1958

Dear Moolchandji,<sup>58</sup>

I am sorry for the delay in acknowledging your letter of the 25th November.

I know that various newspapers in Madhya Pradesh have been carrying on some kind of insidious propaganda which, I think, is very objectionable. I have made this clear to various people from Madhya Pradesh who came to see me. But I do not quite know what you would expect me to do about the matter. It is

54. JN Collection.

55. (1886-1961); participated in the non-cooperation movement after the special Congress session at Calcutta, 1920, suffered imprisonment in 1932-34 and 1942; Ex-Minister for Cottage and Small-scale Industries, Government of West Bengal; President, West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, 1958-61.

56. (1913-72); Harijan and Labour leader of Congress; organised various trade unions; represented India in the ILO Conferences at San Francisco in 1948 and at Geneva in 1951; Member, General Council, INTUC; Treasurer, Bengal Provincial National Trade Union Congress; General Secretary, Bengal Provincial Depressed Classes League; General Secretary, Bhartiya Depressed Classes League; Member of Lok Sabha from Barrackpore, West Bengal, 1952-57.

57. JN Collection.

58. General Secretary, Madhya Pradesh Congress Committee.



for Congressmen or your Committee to keep wide awake and meet this kind of underground attack.

I am sending your letter to the Congress President.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## (b) Social Groups

### 36. To P.C. Sen<sup>59</sup>

November 4, 1958

My dear Prafulla Babu,

I returned to Delhi today<sup>60</sup> and am trying to catch up with events.

I understand that the Communists and others have threatened some kind of direct action from about the middle of next month. The ground for this apparently is that the none of the displaced persons should be sent outside Bengal and that presumably they should continue to receive the doles they have been getting. It is patent that we cannot accept this proposition. It is on the face of it not only unreasonable but wholly impracticable.

Therefore, you will no doubt face this situation with vigour. There is no point in taking half-hearted measures which only make matters worse. We have to make it perfectly clear that the proposal made cannot be accepted by any reasonable person and in fact even those who make the proposal know this. I understand that the Communist Party chiefly, as well as some other Opposition groups, get regular contributions from the displaced persons in camps out of the dole they receive from Government. In fact I was told that this is done publicly on the day the doles are given out. Further that probably 30 or 40 thousand rupees per month are collected in this way chiefly by the Communist Party.

If this is a fact, I can very well understand the desire of the Communist Party to prevent a dispersal of these people from the camps. This will not only affect their income, but perhaps also remove some of their prospective voters. However that may be, it is impossible for us to lay down any policy amounting to about 10 crores of rupees a year on the camps alone.

I believe it has been stated in public and in newspapers about the collections made by the Communist Party out of the doles. I am surprised however that this

59. JN Collection.

60. After a tour of Bhopal, Baroda and Indore, 1-4 Nov. 1958.

very significant fact has not been publicised more. I should have thought that someone on behalf of Government, the Chief Minister preferably, would write to the Leader of the Communist Party drawing his attention to these reports and allegations made and asking him about it. If this is a public fact, he can hardly deny it. If he denies it, then presumably it will be possible to adduce proof. Anyhow, if direct action etc., are indulged in, your Government has to take strong action. What this action should be, it is of course for you and your advisers to determine. One thing should be clear. Whatever decision is taken, this should be acted upon with vigour and firmness. To surrender to an absurd demand because of pressure, will be a very bad thing. I realise the situation in Calcutta is a difficult one and I should not presume to advise. But I can see no alternative to strong action. When I say strong action, I do not refer to police firing and the like. I think these must be avoided. The action in fact should be to try to prevent such a situation from arising. I wonder if it will not be advisable to detain some people under the Preventive Detention Act.

Even apart from this threatened direct action, much has been happening in Calcutta, which is deplorable, frequent processions, holding up traffic and otherwise interfering with the life of the great city. I am told that it has become quite a habit for people to sit on railway lines and prevent trains from starting if they are displeased with something. This kind of thing has to be met some time or other. The sooner action is taken, the better.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **37. Removal of Displaced Persons from Purana Qila<sup>61</sup>**

This note from the Rehabilitation Ministry is rather curious. I do not understand how they can absolve themselves of their responsibility for clearing the Purana Qila in this way. I can understand their asking the help of the Delhi Administration, but the Delhi Administration cannot take any steps of a positive kind. They can at best remove the displaced persons forcibly from the Purana Qila.

It is true that the people in the Purana Qila have refused to move. But even when they are removed from there, alternative accommodation should be available to them.

61. Note to Vishnu Sahay, the Cabinet Secretary, 5 November 1958. JN Collection.



The fact that the Cabinet Committee a year and a half ago gave priority to the removal of squatters only from Kingsway Barracks and Tibbia College Chummeries has no significance in this connection. It may be that at that time a higher priority was given to those two places. Purana Qila, though given a lesser priority, still had to be tackled.

### 38. Films on Tribals<sup>62</sup>

Please reply to this letter from Mr. Botting.<sup>63</sup> Acknowledge it and say that I have read it. Normally we have no objection to films being made in India. In the past, however, there has been some trouble in tribal areas and, more especially in the Bastar area. The tribal people themselves, I think, object. I am not quite sure what the position is now. So far as I am concerned, I have no objection. But this is largely a matter for the State Government concerned to decide. I am forwarding his letter to the Ministry concerned here who will no doubt consult the State Government.

Please send the letter to Dr. Keskar<sup>64</sup> and say that in view of what is said in this letter, I do not myself see why we need object.

### 39. To Thomas Pothacamury<sup>65</sup>

7th November, 1958

My dear Archbishop,<sup>66</sup>

Thank you for your letter of October 30th. This is a matter, as you know, within the competence of the Mysore Government. You have already written to them on the subject. All I can do is to forward your letter to them.

62. Note to Kesho Ram, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, 6 November 1958. JN Collection.

63. Douglas Botting (b.1934); documentary filmmaker and investigative journalist from London; undertook exploration of the island of Socotra in the Indian Ocean and wrote the book *Island of the Dragon's Blood* (London: Steve Savage Publisher Limited, 1958); worked as BBC Special Correspondent to USSR; took part in the first balloon flight over Africa; made documentary films for organisations like National Geographic, BBC, Time Life and Royal Geographical Society; author of several books including biographies.

64. B.V. Keskar was Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.

65. JN Collection.

66. (1889-1968); ordained Priest, 1916; Bishop of Guntur, Andhra Pradesh, 1940; Bishop of Bangalore, 1942; Archbishop of Bangalore, 1953-68.

But I might explain the general position. So far as the Scheduled Castes are concerned, they are defined by law and therefore anything laid down for them can only apply to the classes who are so defined. In fact the law or any rules do not recognise, so far as I know, Scheduled Caste Christians. I have been under the impression that Christianity has fortunately kept itself away from these caste distinctions. Unless, therefore, there is a change in the law itself, we cannot go beyond it.

Apart from this, scholarships and the like are provided for people who are economically backward or who belong to the economically backward groups. It is true that 80% or more of the population of India is economically backward and the only way to help them is to help all the people educationally and economically. So far as education is concerned, gradually we are making it free for more and more people. I hope that the time will come when there will be free education in the basic stage and help given to deserving people for higher studies.

I have only stated the general position as I conceive it to be. I do not exactly know the position in the Kolar Goldfields and in Bangalore. I am therefore sending your letter to the Chief Minister of Mysore.<sup>67</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 40. To Mohanlal Sukhadia<sup>68</sup>

13th November, 1958

My dear Sukhadia,<sup>69</sup>

I am sending you a copy of a letter I have received.<sup>70</sup> The suggestions made in the letter appear to be, *prime facie*, worthwhile. Could you please have this matter looked into immediately? Why should it take four and a half years to dispose of such a question? I see that the suggestion made is that the Backward and Scheduled

67. B.D. Jatti.

68. File No. 33(9)-H, PMS.

69. Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

70. Suraj Narayan Chaudhary, nephew of Ramnarayan Chaudhary, the Information Secretary of the Bharat Sewak Samaj, wrote that the landless Backward and Scheduled Castes had asked for the grant of 1,000 bighas of land in the Nim ka Thana Tehsil of Rajasthan at least four and half years previously. Since then they had been applying repeatedly to various authorities, but a powerful caste leader, Kurdaram, and his community blocked them. Chaudhary asked Nehru to direct the State Government to allot the land.



Castes should form a cooperative to cultivate this land. If you can give effect to what is said, it will not only be helping the backward community and promoting cooperative effort, but also adding to food production.<sup>71</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 41. To N.S. Weakey<sup>72</sup>

November 17, 1958

Dear Shri Weakey,<sup>73</sup>

I have received your letter of the 5th November. All I can do at present is to refer it to the Chief Minister of Bombay<sup>74</sup> and to request him to enquire into this matter. I am doing this.

Broadly speaking, we are against ejectment, but in any application of this principle, naturally, all the facts have to be considered. Here round about Delhi, there is continuous unauthorised occupation. It begins with occupation, then a small house is built, then a bigger hut and then this is rented out to others at fairly high rates because of shortage of accommodation in Delhi. If we allowed this unauthorised occupation to go on, this would be very unfair.

However, as I have said above, I am referring this matter to the Chief Minister of Bombay. He is anxious, as all of us are, to give every help to members of the Scheduled Tribes and Castes.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

71. On 6 Feb. 1959, Sukhadia replied that most of the land was forest and not cultivable. However, available Government land would be allotted to the landless for cooperative cultivation and the necessary instructions had been issued.

72. JN Collection

73. N.S. Weakey was President, Nag-Vidarbha Adiwasi Mandal, Chanda District, Bombay State.

74. Y.B. Chavan.

## 42. Settlement of Displaced Persons in West Bengal<sup>75</sup>

R.B. Gour:<sup>76</sup> Will the Minister of Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the United Central Refugee Council of West Bengal has submitted any proposals to the Government of India for resettling displaced persons from East Pakistan in West Bengal;
- (b) if so what are the proposals; and
- (c) whether Government have taken any action thereon?

P.S. Naskar:<sup>77</sup> (a) to (c). A Memorandum was addressed by the United Central Refugee Council to the Chief Minister of West Bengal who had issued a press statement<sup>78</sup> in reply to the points raised therein, a copy of which is laid on the Table of the Sabha. (See Appendix XXIII, Annexure No. 6)

R.B. Gour: May I know, Sir, whether the Government is aware of a press statement made by the Chairman of the United Central Refugee Council<sup>79</sup> in

75. Reply to questions in Rajya Sabha, 27 November 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIII, cols 336-339.

76. Communist Party MP from Andhra Pradesh.

77. Union Deputy Minister of Rehabilitation and Congress Lok Sabha MP from Diamond Harbour, West Bengal.

78. The United Central Refugee Council (UCRC)'s memorandum urged rehabilitation of camp refugees in West Bengal and dismissing the Government's claim that the State had reached saturation point in refugee rehabilitation. In a press statement of 1 November 1958, it criticised B.C. Roy's (Chief Minister of West Bengal) reply which listed obstacles to land reclamation and the setting up of industries as suggested in the memorandum. Refugees therefore had to opt for rehabilitation outside West Bengal. The Council urged B.C. Roy to treat the refugee rehabilitation programme as an integral part of the State's progress.

79. Hemanta Kumar Basu, MLA, and President, United Central Refugee Council, in the course of a statement on 14 Nov. 1958 said: "We once again urge upon the Government to adopt a realistic approach to the problem and make earnest effort for reclamation of land in Sunderbans, Kaleghat and other schemes as shown in our memorandum and for harnessing the possibilities of West Bengal in the interest of development of the State without chasing for a golden goose in other States.... The rehabilitation of a large number of families in about 40,000 acres of land in the Sunderbans was one of the schemes suggested by us.... It once again proves the contention of UCRC that large number of refugees can be rehabilitated in the Sunderbans suitably if earnest efforts are made by the Government."



which he has pointed out that the contentions of the West Bengal Chief Minister are incorrect and unsustainable?

P.S. Naskar: A press statement issued by the Chairman was seen. But the original memorandum was addressed to the State Government and the State Government has replied to that and we are abiding by the State Government's decision in the statement.

Chairman:<sup>80</sup> He wants to know whether you have seen any reply to the Chief Minister's statement issued by the Chairman of the United Central Refugee Council. Has your attention been drawn to it?

P.S. Naskar: I have seen a press cutting.

Chairman: But you adhere to your original decision – that is what you say.

Bhupesh Gupta:<sup>81</sup> May I know, Sir, whether in view of the fact that the proposal made by the United Central Refugee Council has had the support of all opposition parties in West Bengal the Government discussed the problem with the refugee organisation as well as with the representatives of such parties before arriving at those conclusions?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This matter has been very carefully considered repeatedly not only by the Ministry of Rehabilitation, not only by the West Bengal Government but by the Government of India as a whole. If I may say so with all respect to the honourable Member and the United Central Refugee Council, the attitude taken up by this United Central Refugee Council seems to me completely unjustified, without basis, foundation, logic or reason. Therefore, we propose to adhere to the decision we have taken whereby as many people as can be rehabilitated in Bengal should of course be, but according to our information they cannot be, and it is not a possibility to rehabilitate all of them in West Bengal; also it is not a desirable thing indefinitely to continue the camps and doles. We are rehabilitating them, spending vast sums of money, and I entirely fail to understand how any responsible organisation, even supported by all opposition parties, can put forward a proposal which can only lead to misery, to continued misery for those people.

80. S. Radhakrishnan.

81. Communist Party MP from West Bengal.

Bhupesh Gupta: The Prime Minister has said something very much about us. May I know, Sir, in that case whether the Prime Minister is prepared to place all these proposals and the Government proposals and others before a competent body which commands the confidence of the Government and of the Opposition and wait as to what they have to say?

[No reply]

M.P. Bhargava:<sup>82</sup> May I know, Sir, whom does this big United Central Refugee Council of Bengal represent?

Bhupesh Gupta: Refugees. I have not got my answer, Sir.

Chairman: You have given a suggestion ...

Bhupesh Gupta: Well, if he does not answer I don't press for the answer. The only thing is he cannot answer easily.

I put another question. Now may I know, Sir, whether the Prime Minister is aware—since the Prime Minister has been good enough to answer this question—whether he is aware that the State Government and the Central Rehabilitation Ministry have put out the threat that until and unless the refugees go to Dandakarnya all these camps will be closed down by July next year?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir, I am aware of it.

Bhupesh Gupta: May I know, Sir, whether he understands the implications of such threat against the refugees?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The issue is a very simple one. There is no question of threat or anything. We offer to rehabilitate the people in the best possible way in various places, some in Bengal, and some elsewhere, and to put an end to these camps. We want to put an end to these camps by a certain date if they refuse to be rehabilitated. If we do not make arrangements for their rehabilitation the responsibility will be ours. On the other hand, if we have made arrangements and they refuse to be rehabilitated, then we have said that we are unable to continue the doles.

82. Congress MP from Uttar Pradesh.



**43. To Mehr Chand Khanna<sup>83</sup>**

December 12, 1958

My dear Mehr Chand,<sup>84</sup>

Hifzur Rehman<sup>85</sup> came to see me the other day and spoke to me about helping the Muslims in Hyderabad who had suffered greatly at the time of the Police Action. He reminded me that when Dr. Mahmud<sup>86</sup> went there long ago he had proposed a scheme for Rs. 50,000/- a year to be given for ten years and that we had agreed to it. I do not quite know what happened. Do you know?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**44. Evacuee Houses for Muslims<sup>87</sup>**

The Rehabilitation Committee of the Cabinet decided that evacuee houses in certain areas of Delhi should be offered to Muslims at prices to be fixed or perhaps by auction, giving them preference.

When this matter was notified and the sale was going to take place, it was announced that the Health Ministry had objected on the ground that these might have to be acquired by the Town Planning Organisation. Thereupon I wrote to the Health Minister and the Minister of Rehabilitation.<sup>88</sup> I have now received the reply from the Health Minister. You might keep in touch with this matter and see what happens.

I was approached on this question by Moulvi Hifzur Rehman.

It is of course quite possible that these houses might have to be acquired for the purposes of town planning. Presumably they are in the slum areas. Perhaps a person might be allowed to buy a house there on the clear understanding that these houses might be acquired later.

83. JN Collection.

84. Union Minister of State for Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs.

85. Mohammad Hifzur Rehman was Congress Lok Sabha MP from Amroha, Uttar Pradesh, 1952-67.

86. Syed Mahmud was Congress Lok Sabha MP from Gopalganj, Bihar, 1952-62.

87. Note to Kesho Ram, 14 December 1958. JN Collection.

88. Nehru wrote to D.P. Karmarkar, Union Minister of State for Health, and Mehr Chand Khanna, Union Minister of State for Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs, on 12 Dec. 1958.

#### 45. To M.R. Krishna<sup>89</sup>

December 20, 1958

My dear Krishna,<sup>90</sup>

I have received today a letter dated 20th December signed by 72 persons, among whom your name also appears. I am replying to you immediately as I am leaving Delhi tomorrow morning.<sup>91</sup> I should like you to share my letter with the others.

I am sorry I cannot meet the signatories of that letter in the near future as I shall be away from Delhi.

The report in *The Statesman* of what I said is more or less correct, but it is an abbreviated version of what I said. I am, therefore, giving my views somewhat more fully here. I would add though, that I agree with what the Home Minister<sup>92</sup> said on this subject which you have quoted in your letter.

I did not say that I was not in favour of safe-guards. What I said was that I was not generally in favour of reserved seats. I do not like the idea of separating groups because that ultimately works to their disadvantage and the group concerned inevitably appears to have a lower status in life and social affairs. It is true that in fact some groups, like the Scheduled Castes, have had in the past and have even now, to some extent, a lower economic and social status. That is an unfortunate fact and we must try to remove that as rapidly and as fully as possible. Reservation of seats does not tend to do that, but perpetuates that division. It may be that for a short period such reservation is necessary in order to help that particular group. Thus, although the reservation is in the long run bad, in the short run it may be the lesser evil. I agree that in the circumstances which we had to face when we framed our Constitution, such reservation for

89. File No. 33(51)/59-64-PMS.

90. (b. 1924); took part in Quit India movement, 1942; arrested for conducting a meeting to overthrow the Razakar regime; General Secretary, All India States Subjects Scheduled Castes Federation, Hyderabad, State Scheduled Castes Federation and All India Depressed Classes League; Member, Lok Sabha from Peddapalli, Andhra Pradesh, 1952-72; Member, Estimates Committee of the Parliament; Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education since 1962; Union Deputy Minister, (i) Defence, 1967-70, and (ii) Industrial Development and Internal Trade, 1970-71.

91. Nehru left for Allahabad to deliver the special convocation address of Allahabad University on 21 Dec. 1958 on its 70th anniversary. From there he arrived at Santiniketan on 22 Dec. on a three-day visit. He delivered the convocation address of Visva-Bharati University on 24 Dec.

92. Govind Ballabh Pant.



the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was necessary. For how long this may be necessary, I cannot say now. That is a matter which will have to be considered at the right time. But I do wish people to realise, and more especially the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes that this is not a good thing from the point of view of raising certain social classes.

In my speech I laid stress on the other methods being employed to raise them. The most important one is education of all types. The next is economic. Indeed these two methods are rather linked together. Thus, there is no question of safeguards not being extended in future. They are essential. But I want much greater stress to be laid on the positive aspects of removing inequalities and raising those who may be in a lower scale, than on passive and negative aspects like reserved seats.

Further, I should like this help, educational and economic, to be given to individuals and groups who may stand in greatest need of it from the economic point of view. I do not particularly like large classes of population to be labelled Scheduled or Backward.

This is my broad approach to this question. But, as I have said above, this has no immediate application and we shall have to consider this question when the time comes for it, as the Home Minister had said.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 46. To Asoke K. Sen<sup>93</sup>

December 28, 1958

My dear Asoke,<sup>94</sup>

You will remember that the question of Muslim Waqf came up before either the Cabinet or the Rehabilitation Committee of the Cabinet, and the matter was referred to the Law Ministry.

There is one aspect of it which has some urgency. This relates to Waqf properties which came to the possession of the Custodian of Evacuee Property. As a matter of fact, this possession was theoretical only, as other people seized them and started living there. This has continued for a number of years. It is said that after another nine months or so, the entire limitation period will end, and

93. JN Collection.

94. Union Minister of State for Law.

then this unlawful possession will be validated, and nobody will be able to challenge it. Something has to be done to prevent this happening.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### (c) Language

## 47. The Language Question<sup>95</sup>

Hindi And Regional Languages Hostility Vitiates Atmosphere:  
Nehru's Advice

Bhopal,  
Nov. 1.

Prime Minister Nehru stated here to-day that if they had not given to Hindi a place of prominence in the Constitution, it would have developed and become popular more easily. For then, he explained it would not have presented a problem to the non-Hindi people. When the problem presented itself they got ready to fight, which was, of course, "not necessary".

Mr. Nehru, who was inaugurating the first Conference of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan of integrated Madhya Pradesh, declared that the feeling on the part of some that Hindi was sitting on chest of other languages was harmful to Hindi itself. All the languages of India were great—Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Tamil.<sup>96</sup> He paid a tribute to Tamil as one of the oldest languages and one known as the younger sister of Sanskrit. "There is no room for hostility and enmity among languages. For, apart from that hostility leading to waste of energy, it also vitiates the entire atmosphere and then literary men cannot do justice either to themselves or to the language".

Mr. Nehru made a passing reference to opposition to Hindi in the South and said that this opposition could not be done away with by adopting a hostile attitude towards the languages of the South. To win over the opponents it was necessary

95. Report of speech of 1 November 1958. *The Hindu*, 2 November 1958.

96. On 3 Nov. 1958 the *National Herald* reported Nehru saying that Hindi and Urdu were branches of the same tree, that Urdu survived despite neglect, and that in Delhi supporters of Hindi were publishing Urdu newspapers because they had a ready market.



that the protagonists of Hindi should work for the progress and advancement of Tamil and other South Indian languages, he added.

Mr. Nehru deprecated the tendency among some champions of Hindi to feel superior to people speaking other languages and said that such an attitude was most harmful for Hindi.

Hindi was given the status of "official language" because it was spoken and understood by a vast majority of the people of the country and there was no question of Hindi dominating the others, he added.

### Inner Vitality

During the last ten years, Hindi had progressed rapidly and was progressing. But then, he warned the Hindi-speaking people that languages grew because of their inner vitality and not because of some law or constitution or official order. "One can teach languages in schools and elsewhere and one can clear their path of some of the obstructions, but it has to develop by itself. No law can put life into a language. It is just like a plant that cannot be ordered about to grow, but will grow only by watering and manuring it and then it will grow in a delicate and tender way".

"You must keep the doors and windows of Hindi open", Mr. Nehru told the Sammelan, "and allow the air of the thoughts of other languages to come and beat upon you". It was incorrect to say that a language was big or small by taking into account the number of people who spoke it and instanced the case of Iceland, which, with its one-and-a-half lakh population, had a literature that was so famous, that one of the writers in that language, won the Nobel Prize.<sup>97</sup> Counting of heads or the number of people who spoke the language, was no measure of its greatness.

Mr. Nehru commended the appeal made in the speech of welcome by Dr. K.N. Katju, Chief Minister, that they should develop and make use of simple Hindi. Referring to the language used in Hindi newspapers, Mr. Nehru said that servants and others reading them, were unable to follow and understand and it looked as if the writers wanted to show off their knowledge of language. The tendency to use long words must be deprecated.

Referring to scientific terminology, Mr. Nehru said that the language of science all over the world was one. Warning against coining new terminology, full of tongue-twisters and jaw-breakers, Mr. Nehru said that "it sets up a wall between ourselves and others". This, of course, applied to all languages, he said.

97. Halldor Laxness (1902-1998) was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1955.

## 48. Technical Terminology<sup>98</sup>

I have read this Report, though rather hurriedly, and I agree with the general approach of the Report and broadly with its recommendations. There are, however, some points to which I should like to draw attention, and I would be glad if my suggestions could be incorporated in the Report in some form or other. Partly these suggestions are one of emphasis.

2. I am glad that the continuance of English, in addition to Hindi being the principal official language of the Union, is suggested, and no rigid time-limits for this are laid down. There should be a good deal of flexibility about this matter. The Draft Report deals at some length with language changeovers in the courts. It has not perhaps paid enough attention to science and technology, although reference to this has been made. It seems to me obvious that the development of science and technology will take place at an ever faster pace in future, and these subjects will play an increasingly dominant part in our national life. They require, therefore, rather special treatment. The language policy we adopt in regard to this matter will condition this development of science and technology in India. It may encourage it, or it may prove a check.

3. This means not only that the terminology used should be such as facilitates this process and keeps us in contact with the international world of science and technology, but also that the teaching of these subjects will be conditioned by it.<sup>99</sup> At the meeting of the National Development Council held two days ago, this question was raised, and the Council was of the definite and unanimous opinion that we should adopt as far as possible technical terms which are in international use, and further that there should be uniformity in India in all the languages. Some stress has been laid in the Report about uniformity in India. I think we should go a step further and try to encourage uniformity over the wider international sphere in this matter. Indeed, there is not likely to be any uniformity in India in this matter unless that is based on international usage. The two are intimately connected.

4. At present, no student of science and technology can make any progress unless he knows one or more foreign languages. The output of literature of these

98. Note on the Draft Report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language, 10 November 1958. File No. 52(13)/58-63-PMS. Nehru accepted it with some amendments, and it was tabled in the Lok Sabha on 22 Apr. 1959.

99. Humayun Kabir wrote to Nehru on 31 Oct. 1958 on this matter. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 540-541.



subjects is tremendous, and it is very difficult to keep pace with it even for the normal scientist. I am told that fifty per cent of this output is in the English language and the second language which covers over thirty per cent is Russian. German, French and other languages are also, of course, important. In these European languages, there is a great deal of translation work to be done, so that the scientists can keep in touch with each other's work. In Russia, there is a vast department for this purpose, which is in charge of translating immediately every important article and book on scientific subjects. In addition to these translations, scientists have to learn foreign languages at least so as to be able to read scientific works and be able to understand discussions.

5. For us, the obvious foreign language is English, both because of its importance in this field and our knowledge of it. Russian is rather beyond our reach in any large way. Even now, however, the Perspective Division of the Planning Commission has made arrangements for translations of Russian and Japanese works in regard to industrial development and planning.

6. All this leads to the conclusion that English must occupy a dominant place from the point of view of science and technology in India. Further, that the technical terms used in our languages must closely approximate to the international terms or the English terms. The Education Ministry has produced, I believe, long lists of these technical terms in Hindi. These lists are far removed from the international terminology, and if we adopt these lists, we shall be cut off from international usage. Also, it will be difficult to impose these Hindi words on the other Indian languages. It seems to me, therefore, of great importance that these lists prepared by the Education Ministry should be revised from this point of view, and that they should be adopted in all the Indian languages. Some Committee, consisting chiefly of scientists drawn from various States in India, should be put in charge of this revision. It is not much good asking non-scientists, however eminent they may be in a particular language, to undertake this work. Non-scientific people translate words very literally without sometimes understanding the real content. During the last fifty years, and more especially during the last thirty years, the whole concept of the physical world has changed because of very remarkable developments in mathematics and physics. In fact, physics and higher mathematics have overlapped each other to a good extent. No man can be a real physicist today unless he is a mathematician of a high degree. Innumerable new words have been coined and are in current use. I think that some thousands of new words are being introduced every year. Any kind of translation into Hindi would be artificial and probably will not convey the exact meaning.

7. I suggest, therefore, that a Committee should be appointed for this purpose of revising entirely technical terminology in regard to science and all allied subjects.

8. In the Draft Report, reference is made to the appointment of "a Standing Commission consisting of legal experts representing the different national languages of India for the proper planning and implementation of the entire programme relating to the translation of statutes in Hindi and preparation of legal terminology and glossaries". I think that this principle should be adopted in regard to science and technology, and a similar Standing Commission should be appointed to keep pace with the advance of these subjects, which are moving forward with great rapidity. Unless we control this development linguistically right at the beginning, we may well be lost in a maze of different terms and words and phrases in various languages.

9. In regard to the form of numerals to be used, the Committee has suggested that "the Union Government should have a uniform basic policy regarding the use of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals depending on the public intended to be addressed". While this proposal, as stated, may be agreed to, the fact remains that this dual approach is likely to be confusing. From the point of view of science, technology, statistics and the printing of any document requiring a large number of numerals; it seems to me that it is inevitable for us to use the international form of numerals. The Japanese adopted this form long ago to facilitate their work. In India, the international form has been adopted in Tamil-speaking areas. I think, though I am not sure, that the Chinese are doing likewise. In fact, while languages differ all over the world, the form of numerals has become the same over vast areas. Probably, the only major parts of the world where these international forms are not in common use are Western Asia, where the Arabic or Persian script is used. Even there, I have no doubt; the international form will be used more and more. Thus, we have to encourage the use of the international form. Certainly in all scientific, technical, industrial, statistical and other matters, this form of numerals is the only possible one. There is no harm in the purely Hindi form being used in literary works. The question of an official language however, concerns chiefly scientific, technical and statistical matters, and not literary books. To say that the form of numerals should be determined by the subject matter of the communication, and some kind of basic policy should be laid down about the subject matter, seems to me a very confusing recommendation. Are we to make long lists of types of communications and indicate the kind of numerals to be used? Logic and reason indicate that the international form should be encouraged everywhere in official communications. Sentiment may sometimes point the other way. That sentiment does not go far when you have to take into consideration different language areas in India. Thus, it seems to me that, while the Devanagari form of numerals might be used, every stress should be laid on the international form.



10. Somewhere in the Report, a brief reference is made to the content of Hindi and that it should be simple etc. It is said that it should take words from Hindustani and other Indian languages. I do not understand the use of the word "Hindustani" in this connection, because Hindustani itself is supposed to be an amalgam of Hindi and Urdu. By using Hindustani in this way, we seem to indicate that Hindustani is the same as Urdu. That is not a correct use. But the question of content, of course, is very important. All the arguments that make the use of a national language incumbent upon us, apply to that language being not the language of a small coterie of people, but rather the common language. I realise that in dealing with rather complex ideas, language tends to become complex also. It is well known, however, that the best writers in any language use simple forms. It is a sign of bad writing to use difficult words and phrases and long sentences. In this matter, probably Hindi as at present used, is a greater sinner than some of our other national languages in India. Probably, the gap between literary Bengali and popular Bengali is relatively little. The tendency in Hindi has been the other way, and it is one of the most common of complaints that the Hindi language used now in publications etc., is largely incomprehensible to many persons. The kind of nomenclature that has been evolved recently is entirely above the heads of most people. Even at railway stations, notice-boards and names given to educational or other departments, quite incomprehensible words have often been used. This has created a greater reaction against Hindi than almost anything else that has been done. It is, therefore, of some importance to make it clear that this approach must not be encouraged, and the test of a good word is that it understood by most people.

#### 49. Using Internationally Accepted Terms<sup>100</sup>

I understand that the Ministry of Education is finalising lists of technical terms in Hindi and that the different Ministries and Departments of the Government of India have been sent the particular lists appropriate to them.<sup>101</sup>

100. Note to K.L. Shrimali, Union Minister of State for Education, 1 December 1958. JN Collection.

101. B.V. Keskar, Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, noted on 30 Nov. 1958 that his Ministry had examined proposals from the Education Ministry and recommended that technical terms need not be translated into Hindi for the time being. Translation could be considered later when a scientific vocabulary is generally accepted in the country.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

2. When these lists in some form or other came up before the Cabinet, it was pointed out then that the names should be simple and should approximate to international usage.

3. Recently, at a meeting of the National Development Council, it was specially stressed that scientific and technical terms should, as far as possible, not only be similar in all the languages of India, but should fit in with international usage. I understand that the Official Language Committee has said something to this effect also, although their report is not yet out, and I am not quite sure about their exact recommendation.

4. It is quite clear to me that if scientific and technical knowledge is to advance in India, as it must, it is of the utmost importance not to coin new terms which nobody knows and which will be completely different from the terms in use internationally. Any specially coined phraseology in Hindi is also likely to cut us off from some of the principal Indian languages. Science and technology have, broadly speaking, developed a common terminology all over the world. If we cut ourselves adrift from this, it means that we deal a mortal blow to the advancement of both science and technology in India.

5. I hope, therefore, that this matter will be carefully reconsidered, as indeed the National Development Council has suggested. It would be impossible to function if novel terms are suddenly introduced in connection with the sciences and technology. It is far better for international terms to be used as they are.

(d) The Press

### 50. To B.V. Keskar<sup>102</sup>

7th November, 1958

My dear Balkrishna,

Your letter of November 3rd about the Press Club.<sup>103</sup> When this matter was originally mentioned to me by Shri C.R. Srinivasan,<sup>104</sup> I was under the impression that the journalists in Delhi would be provided for. I had no idea that this was a place meant for some rather superior persons and that the ordinary journalists would not have adequate facilities there.

102. JN Collection.

103. This letter has not been traced. The Press Club of India was formed in 1958 at the initiative of a few editors in Delhi. It represents the entire country and not just cities as the press clubs all over the world do.

104. Private Secretary to Nehru.



It is unfortunate that the All India Newspapers Editors Conference<sup>105</sup> is now shifting from the position they took up in their letter to Sardar Swaran Singh.<sup>106</sup> I do not know what to advice from a legal point of view, but I think these facts should be brought to their notice and they should be asked to pay the difference between the concessional rate and the market value. If they refuse to do so, at any rate, we should not have recourse to the law. But I suppose that the agreement is in our favour and something can be done.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 51. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>107</sup>

November 26, 1958

My dear Pantji,  
Nawab Zain Yar Jung<sup>108</sup> came to see me this evening and said that the Nizam<sup>109</sup> was much distressed by the writings in some Urdu newspapers in Hyderabad about him. He does not want to take any legal action. Nevertheless he has sent me a bundle of cuttings with the request that I should forward them on to the Home Ministry for examination. Apparently all that he wants is that some kind of a hint should be conveyed to these newspapers for not attacking the Nizam. I am sending you these cuttings which somebody in your Ministry may look through.<sup>110</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

105. A voluntary professional organisation of editors of newspapers and periodicals, dating from 1940.

106. Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

107. JN Collection.

108. Architect; Agent General of Hyderabad State under the Standstill Agreement; Minister for PWD and Railways in the Military Government, Hyderabad, 1949.

109. Mir Osman Ali.

110. Nehru wrote about this to N. Sanjiva Reddy, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, on 26 Nov. 1958.

## 52. National Unity through Newspapers<sup>111</sup>

I send my good wishes to the “Samyukta Karnatak” Daily Newspaper on the occasion of its starting a Bangalore Edition. Newspapers today, even more than before, have a very important function to perform. They can do much good to the public or direct their minds into wrong courses. Today one of the most important things is to build up the unity of the country and to lessen provincial feelings which have done so much harm to our national cause. I hope that the “Samyukta Karnatak” will foster this unity and will discourage linguism and provincialism as well as casteism and communalism.

(e) Union and States

(i) Delhi

## 53. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>112</sup>

November 13, 1958

My dear Pantji,<sup>113</sup>

I enclose a letter from Brij Krishen Chandiwalla<sup>114</sup> about Delhi. I do not know anything about this matter. But, as your Ministry is dealing with it, I thought I might forward it.

In one thing, I agree. The administration of Delhi has been singularly unsuccessful more particularly from two points of view: (1) It has hardly any relations with the public and is consequently unpopular. The whole attitude of the administration is quite unsuited to the modern age. (2) It is very slow moving, and there appear to be far too many officers and departments for such a relatively small place.<sup>115</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

111. Message, 20 December 1958. File No. 9/2/58-PMS. The Bangalore edition of the Kannada daily was inaugurated on 28 Dec. 1958.

112. JN Collection.

113. Union Minister of Home Affairs.

114. Convenor of the Delhi branch of the Bharat Sewak Samaj.

115. Nehru's note of 23 Nov. to Kesho Ram referred to Brij Krishen Chandiwalla's complaint about dispersed authority in Delhi. As a corrective, Nehru recommended cooperation between different authorities, namely, the Municipality, the Corporation and the DDA, and asked for information on procedures.



## 54. Alternative Accommodation for Squatters<sup>116</sup>

For many months past we have been much concerned, as you know, about the squatters in the Delhi University grounds. In any event they would have to be removed or transferred from there to some other place. But an element of urgency came in because of the Science Congress which is being held in the Delhi University grounds.<sup>117</sup> I have repeatedly written about this matter to the Delhi Administration people and the Vice Chancellor<sup>118</sup> and also the Mayor<sup>119</sup> and they have tried their best.

We could not ask them simply to move away without providing alternative accommodation for them. The Delhi Corporation has in fact found suitable land for them and has spent nearly two lakhs of rupees in preparing this by laying on water, electricity, light and I think drainage, etc. The land is thus quite ready except for the absence of houses or huts.

There are 800 families. They have, after much persuasion, agreed to go to this new piece of land, but they say that they have no resources to build even sheds there and they would like to be helped. At present they live in rather broken down sheds. There is hardly anything which they can remove to the new place.

The question thus has arisen as to how we can help them to put up some temporary sheds at least, if not something better. I met the Mayor as also Professor Thacker<sup>120</sup> who is interested in the Science Congress. The Mayor told me that these families are agreeable to shift if they could be given this little help for erection of sheds. A sum of Rs. 125 per family was suggested. This by itself would not be enough and they would add to that themselves or, if they thought, ask some contractors to put up these sheds and pay him back in installments.

These people are building workers and nightmen. They are not refugees and therefore the Ministry of Rehabilitation has nothing to do with them.

If we arrange to give Rs. 125 per family, this will amount to Rs. 1 lakh for 800 families. This would not only help in removing them from the present site but would go a long way in rehabilitating them in better surroundings where amenities such as water, light and drainage are provided. While they might live in sheds or huts for the present, they might gradually build better houses there.

116. Note to Kesho Ram, 12 December 1958. JN Collection.

117. The 46th session of the Indian Science Congress was held in New Delhi from 21 Jan. 1959.

118. V.K.R.V. Rao was Vice Chancellor of Delhi University.

119. Aruna Asaf Ali was Mayor of Delhi.

120. M.S. Thacker was Director General, CSIR.

I might add that they have already been shifted from place to place three or four times previously and I think we owe it to them to try to settle them. Anyhow they have to be removed from there very soon as the Science Congress will be held in about five or six weeks' time.

The Mayor told me that she proposed to make each family pay some nominal rent which she thought would probably be Rs. 3 per month. In addition to this, these people would pay Rs. 5 a month to the contractor for the money borrowed from him. It may be that after they pay back the contractor, they might be able to pay more for the Corporation.

In these circumstances, I think it would be desirable for a provision of Rs. 1 lakh to be made for this purpose. Will you please find out if this is possible?

(ii) Jammu and Kashmir

## 55. To Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah<sup>121</sup>

November 8, 1958

My dear Sheikh Saheb,<sup>122</sup>

Three or four days ago I received your letter of the 27th October. Presumably this came by post. I did not meet your nephew, Sheikh Abdul Rashid. He had gone away to Jaipur, I think, before I returned from my tour.<sup>123</sup>

I have naturally read your letter with some feeling and old memories have revived. You say that my struggle may have ended. But no struggle of this kind ever ends and the further one goes, the steeper is the climb. In any event, I have valued and value our old associations to which you refer.

You ask me for my advice in the selection of a suitable counsel to defend you. I do not know what advice to give you in this matter. Personally I am not

121. JN Collection.

122. Sheikh Abdullah was under house arrest from August 1953 to 8 Jan. 1958, released, and rearrested on 29-30 Apr. 1958 and lodged at the Kud prison in Jammu.

123. Nehru returned to Delhi on 4 Nov. 1958 after a tour of Bhopal, Baroda and Indore.



acquainted with lawyers, and in any event the choice should be yours. I am sure that your lawyer will be given full facilities to carry out his work properly.<sup>124</sup>

I trust you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 56. Pakistani Propaganda in the Security Council<sup>125</sup>

The letter of the Permanent Representative of Pakistan<sup>126</sup> dated November 10th, 1958, addressed to the President of the Security Council,<sup>127</sup> is in disregard of the facts and even of his own statements made in his previous communications to the Security Council. I regret that the Permanent Representative of Pakistan should continue to use the medium of the United Nations for propaganda purposes.

2. In his letter dated May 6th, 1958, the Permanent Representative of Pakistan objected to Sheikh Abdullah's arrest without trial. He argued that Section 3 of the Kashmir Security Act, under which the arrest was made, required no trial, and that this was conclusive proof of the fact that the Jammu & Kashmir Government "was unable to substantiate its allegation with any evidence which could be sustained in a court of law". In other part of the same letter, he added that Sheikh Abdullah's arrest could not be given even a semblance of legality

124. On 7 Nov. Nehru wrote to Ghulam Mohammed Bakhshi, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, that he had heard from Sheikh Abdullah on 5 Nov. He felt it would be discourteous not to reply; he could not recommend a lawyer to Sheikh Abdullah, but the lawyers chosen by him should be given all the normal facilities. On 21 Nov., S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President, had forwarded to Nehru a similar request from Sheikh Abdullah. On 22 Nov. Nehru wrote to Radhakrishnan that it would be inappropriate for them to recommend defence counsel, and that Abdullah was perhaps directly approaching some eminent lawyers for this purpose.

125. Nehru's draft of a letter to be sent by Arthur S. Lall, the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, to members of the Security Council, 21 Nov. 1958. JN Collection.

The draft of this draft was prepared by M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA. Nehru wanted the revised draft to be sent to Arthur S. Lall, who should show it to V.K. Krishna Menon, the leader of the Indian delegation to the UN General Assembly, and incorporate his suggestions.

126. Prince Aly Khan.

127. Gunnar V. Jarring.

because of the Jammu & Kashmir Government's failure to find "any plausible excuse to bring him to trial under ordinary law".<sup>128</sup>

3. The Permanent Representative of Pakistan thus took exception to the fact that Sheikh Abdullah was not being tried under ordinary law. It is curious, therefore, that he now objects to the decision of the Jammu & Kashmir Government to try Sheikh Abdullah under ordinary law. He must be aware that one of the accusations in the case is that in furtherance of the alleged conspiracy to overthrow the lawfully constituted Government of Jammu & Kashmir and to facilitate the wrongful annexation of the territory of the State by Pakistan, certain persons involved in this case obtained aid in various forms from Pakistan agencies and officials.

4. The Permanent Representative of Pakistan, in his letter, has stated that "India's allegations against the Kashmir leaders are false and frivolous". This is a matter which will have to be decided in the court proceedings in due course, and I do not wish to commit the impropriety of discussing matters which are *sub judice*.<sup>129</sup>

5. As was stated by Indian Representatives in the Security Council on various occasions and in my letter dated April 24th, 1958, the State of Jammu & Kashmir acceded to India in accordance with constitutional procedures as laid down in an enactment of the British Parliament, namely the Government of India Act 1935 as amended. Under this accession, which was legal, lawful, complete and final, Jammu & Kashmir became a constituent State of the Indian Union. The Security Council resolution of January 17th, 1948, and the UNCIP resolutions of August 13th, 1948 and January 5th, 1949, all proceed on the basis of India's sovereignty over Jammu & Kashmir.

6. As has been pointed out previously, the Government of Pakistan have committed aggression against India in the Jammu & Kashmir State and have refused to vacate this aggression, even after admitting the obligation to do so under the Security Council resolution of January 17th, 1948, and the UNCIP resolutions of August 13th, 1948, and January 5th, 1949. On several occasions, the Government of Pakistan concealed vital information from the Security Council as a matter of policy, and denied before the Council and the United Nations Commission the facts which it knew to be true and which were subsequently found by United Nations agencies to be true. Throughout the last eleven years, the Government of Pakistan have violated all canons of law and

128. Arthur Lall replied on 11 June that Sheikh Abdullah's public statements were inflammatory and that he was collecting funds to organise a private army of "volunteers".

129. Emphasis in the original.



propriety, and now their Permanent Representative objects to the normal administration of law and justice in a free society in a neighbouring country.

7. I request that this letter be circulated to the member of the Security Council as a Security Council document.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

## 57. To Ghulam Mohammed Bakhshi<sup>130</sup>

November 23, 1958

My dear Bakhshi,<sup>131</sup>

I have been much distressed by certain reports that have reached me and I feel that I should write to you about them.

One of these reports relates to a Press Conference that was addressed by you in Srinagar on October 2nd, 1958, Gandhi Jayanti day. The subject to which you referred in this conference was a dispatch by one Sadhu, a correspondent of the *Sunday Standard*, in which he had said something about smuggling of rice across the Kashmir border into Pakistan.<sup>132</sup> Whether that report was correct or not or whether it was bona fide or not, is a question which I cannot answer. I have read that report in the press and I think that it was not a very correct or good report. We are, of course, used to this kind of thing in the press. As you well know, strong attacks are often made on our Government here. Sadhu's report, though I think incorrect, did not make any personal charges against you or your Government. But, quite apart from what Sadhu wrote, in your remarks at that Press Conference, as reported to me, much was said that has distressed me exceedingly. Probably you lost your temper. Even so, I would have hoped that you would not have said what you are reported to have said about the Government

130. JN Collection.

131. Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

132. By J.N. Sadhu, published in the *Sunday Standard* (of the *Indian Express*) on 28 September 1958.

of India and Delhi.<sup>133</sup> This kind of thing, apart I think from not being correct, was not right and creates bad blood and misapprehension.

The press in India, whether it is good or bad, has according to our laws a great deal of freedom and they exercise it. So far as we are concerned, we allow them this freedom both because of our laws and because we think that this is the best way of dealing with them. If these pressmen are ill-treated and feel so, they can misbehave and write much that is objectionable. It will be difficult for us to deal with them.<sup>134</sup>

The second report that reached me was of an incident that happened on the same day, October 2nd, when, it is said, that a lady doctor at the Chest Diseases Hospital in Srinagar, Dr. Shanta Munshi, was physically beaten with fists and kicks by your son Bashir. From the report it appears that your son had been misinformed as to what she had said and this had angered him. Subsequently I understand that he expressed his regret. It also appears that the real person who had misbehaved had probably carried this false tale to your son. In any event, this kind of beating of a woman is most deplorable.

You know that I am always distressed at beatings and rough treatment which encourage the wrong elements in a country and they affect the reputation of Government. Such a thing ceases to be a personal matter and has wider repercussions and the prestige of Government suffers.

I have written to you about these two matters because it has been my privilege to have you as a friend and colleague and I do not think that I should keep from you anything that I have in mind and which distresses me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

133. J.N. Sadhu's confidential report to Nehru reported Bakhshi saying: "I would have kicked this Prime Ministership long ago but I don't know what holds me here. It is preferable for the Muslims of Kashmir to eat pork rather than take the rice from Delhi. Does not smuggling go on in India? There is corruption in India everywhere. What is going on in the Central Government? Look to LIC and other concerns. Those fat Lallas—with their big bellies—are taking lakhs of rupees and dealing in smuggling day and night. Why they are not exposed? If a Kashmiri Muslim takes a four anna bit as a bribe, he is being badnamed everywhere. But those Lallas are Hindus. Those smugglers and corrupt people are bearded Sikhs also. But Kashmiri Muslims—bastards—are Muslims because they have acceded to India."

134. Criticising the press Bakhshi said: "...This dispatch aims at bad naming Kashmiri Muslims .... I will send Sadhu to a court of law and he will have to prove it there. I am disaccrediting him here and now .... Sadhu perhaps thinks that he alone knows his bosses. I am going to Delhi very soon and I will see to it that he is shown his proper place." [Ed. note: His expression "bad naming" is coinage from the Urdu badnam, meaning malign or slander]



## 58. Settling the Kashmir Issue<sup>135</sup>

*The Hindustan Times* today has a big headline "Diefenbaker offers good offices",<sup>136</sup> and then "Early settlement of Kashmir issue". Lest this should create any wrong impression, I want to put down that there was no discussion of the Kashmir issue at all with the Prime Minister of Canada. In fact, Kashmir was hardly mentioned in the course of our several conversations. Once, rather casually, Mr. Diefenbaker said that in Pakistan people seemed to be full of the Kashmir issue.

2. What he, however, asked me once was about our border problems. He had read about this in the statement made by us in Parliament and he wanted to know the nature of these. I told him briefly about the Radcliffe Award<sup>137</sup> and the Bagge Award<sup>138</sup> which had settled many points at issue, but still some remained because of differing interpretations, etc. I might add that the story in *The Hindustan Times* about my having a 90-minute discussion with the Canadian Prime Minister at lunch yesterday is also without any foundation. There was no discussion at all. Most of the time was spent in lunch or in general talks with others present.

## 59. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>139</sup>

December 20, 1958

My dear Pantji,<sup>140</sup>

Shankar Prasad<sup>141</sup> came to see me today and spoke to me about the recent developments in Kashmir. Among other things he mentioned that Mittar, the

135. Note to N.R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt, and M.J. Desai, Secretary General, Foreign Secretary, and Commonwealth Secretary, respectively, at the MEA, 24 November 1958. File No. 13-2/58-UK, MEA.

136. John Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, in Delhi, 18-24 Nov.

137. For details on the Radcliffe Award, see SWJN/SS/4/pp. 3-5.

138. For details on the Bagge Award, see SWJN/SS/14 Pt II/p. 448.

139. JN Collection.

140. Union Minister of Home Affairs.

141. Special Secretary, Kashmir Affairs.

senior lawyer, whom we have engaged in the conspiracy case,<sup>142</sup> had not proved a success. The opening address he intended to make in the conspiracy trial had many statements in it which would have harmed us. I was indeed surprised to learn of some of these statements which any one at all acquainted with conditions in Kashmir and the political aspect of the question could have possibly made. It was fortunate that that address was not made at the time as the case was postponed. Otherwise we might well have been in a quandary.

It would appear from this that Mittar has no political judgement in such matters and the conspiracy case is essentially one of political judgement. I gather that you and Asoke Sen<sup>143</sup> considered this question fully and felt that someone else should be engaged as senior lawyer in this case. Pathak's<sup>144</sup> name was mentioned and approved by you. Pathak apparently is agreeable.

Pathak is fully acquainted with the political aspects of the Kashmir problem and also a top-ranking lawyer. I think his choice would be a very good one. The fact that he is not particularly a criminal lawyer is not very important in such a case. He will have juniors to help him etc. Another important advantage in favour of Pathak as against Mittar is the fact that Pathak knows Urdu and most of the papers are in Urdu.

I asked Shankar Prasad about Mittar. If Pathak came, as was proposed, then it seemed to me that Mittar continuing in this case was unnecessary. I gather from Shankar Prasad that no clear decision had been taken about this. It had however been suggested that Mittar might be allowed to stay on to work under Pathak.

I think that it would not be right for Mittar to be asked to stay on in this way after Pathak is engaged. Apart from the heavy expenditure involved, which would not be justifiable, I do not think Mittar would be very helpful in those circumstances. Also I think that Pathak and Mittar, two senior men, instead of helping each other, are more likely to come in each other's way. We will thus have to face fresh and novel difficulties from day to day. I feel therefore that it would not be wise or fair either to us or to Mittar or to Pathak, for Mittar to continue in the case.

The only consideration is one of courtesy to Mittar. I appreciate that and

142. On 23 Oct. 1958 Sheikh Abdullah was charged with conspiracy with Pakistan to create religious disturbances in Kashmir and receiving funds from Pakistan for his private army. He was also listed as an accused in what was known as the "Kashmir conspiracy case" in which already a former Revenue Minister, Mirza Afzal Beg, and 24 others were accused of attempting to overthrow the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

143. Asoke Kumar Sen was Union Minister of State for Law.

144. Gopal Swarup Pathak, a judge of the Allahabad High Court, represented Indian Delegations to the UN several times during 1946-59.



we do not wish to be discourteous to him. But that is not enough reason for us to do something which is not only necessary but may prove harmful and lead to internal tensions. I feel it is only fair to Mittar that he should be told frankly our difficulties and requested to retire from the case.

Shankar Prasad told me also that Mullik, the D.I.B.,<sup>145</sup> had suggested that we should engage Nageshwar Prasad<sup>146</sup> of Patna to assist Pathak. He is supposed to be a good criminal lawyer. I am rather reluctant to add additional lawyers. In fact I think that the bunch of juniors in Srinagar might well have been pruned. In any event I feel that if Pathak is to lead in the case, he should be consulted about his juniors before we take any decision. It is easy to engage a person but difficult to disengage ourselves from him later.<sup>147</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

### 60. Elections in the State<sup>148</sup>

Please send a copy of this letter<sup>149</sup> and telegram to Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed. Also to Shri Shankar Prasad who is in Delhi today.

Send a reply to the letter as follows:-

“Dear Sir,

Prime Minister has received your letter of 30th December together with the copy of a telegram. He has found in the past that whenever any kind of election takes place many charges are made rather irresponsibly. However, he is referring this matter to those in charge.

Yours faithfully,”

145. B.N. Mullik.

146. (b. 1890); Senior Professor of History, Bihar National College, Patna; appointed judge of Patna High Court, 1949; resigned when new Constitution came into force; engaged by the Government of India to conduct prosecution of Sheikh Abdullah and others in Kashmir Conspiracy Case; Member, Senate of Patna University and Syndicate of Patna and Bihar Universities; President, Bihar Council of Education and Indo-Soviet Cultural Society; one of the founders of Commerce College, Patna.

147. Finally, on the advice of the Law Minister, Nageshwar Prasad and Surendra Prasad, advocates from Patna, were appointed as senior and junior counsels respectively in the Kashmir Conspiracy Case with effect from 29 Dec. 1958.

148. Note to M.O. Mathai, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister, 30 December 1958. JN Collection.

149. Raj Bahadur Gour, Communist Party Rajya Sabha MP from Andhra Pradesh, complained on 30 Dec. about election malpractices in Jammu and Kashmir.

(iii) Kerala

**61. Water Resources of Kerala<sup>150</sup>**

Exploitation Of Kerala Rivers—Nehru Presented With Master Plan

New Delhi,

Nov. 6.

A Master Plan for development of water resources in Kerala state so as to harness and exploit to the full the state's numerous rivers for both irrigation and electric power, prepared by the Kerala engineers was formally presented to Prime Minister Nehru this morning by Mr. V.R. Krishna Aiyar, the State's Minister for Irrigation and Power at a function held in the Kerala pavilion in the India 1958 exhibition. (Details of the Master Plan have already been published).

Mr. Nehru, in a brief speech, said there was no doubt Kerala had great potential for irrigation and water supply and the report would be most carefully studied by him and the Central Government.

Mr. Nehru reiterated his view that the yield per acre in the country should be increased. Even a five per cent increase in the yield per acre would mean quite a good achievement. Though the poor yield at present was a depressing factor yet there was every hope that by adopting new methods they could increase the yield.

As for irrigation, Mr. Nehru said that while mighty projects like Bhakra-Nangal were bound to produce great results, they should also think in terms of small schemes for irrigation and for production of electricity to run small machinery and to light the villages. In the Defence pavilion, he said he saw a machine meant for generating electricity to light a small village. They would do well to concentrate on small schemes which would bring good results.

Mr. Nehru then went round the Kerala pavilion.

150. Report of speech at the Kerala Pavilion in the 'India 1958' exhibition, New Delhi, 6 November 1958. *The Hindu*, 7 November 1958.



**62. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>151</sup>**

November 14, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a letter from Ramakrishna Rao.<sup>152</sup> He spoke to me about this matter when he was here. I told him that I did not think it desirable for him to leave the Governorship of Kerala in the near future. Obviously, if he retires now, this will create some difficulties for us.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

**63. Motion of Privilege<sup>153</sup>**

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume further consideration of the following motion regarding the question of privilege moved by Shri M.R. Masani, and amendment thereto, moved by Dr. K.B. Menon, on the 27th September, 1958:

151. JN Collection.

152. B. Ramakrishna Rao was Governor of Kerala.

153. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 27 November 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXII, cols 1669-1670 and 1707-1712.

On 4 September 1958, Asoka Mehta, Praja Socialist Party MP from Muzaffarpur, Bihar, and Yadav Narain Jadhav, Socialist Party MP from Malegaon, Bombay State, moved an adjournment motion in the Lok Sabha relating to "the stabbing on political grounds of P.N. Velayudhan of Karamukku village, Manalur, Trichur District, who is now in a precarious condition; other cases of assaults and murders by Communists and the state of insecurity in the State of Kerala where Government is no longer carried on in accordance with the Constitution". The Speaker, M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, did not give his consent to the adjournment motion. But K.B. Menon, Praja Socialist Party MP from Badagara, Kerala, wanted to make a statement regarding this. Meanwhile, the Kerala Chief Minister, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, sent a telegram to the Union Home Minister, G.B. Pant, on 20 September 1958 and contended that a state subject could not be discussed in Parliament without the concerned State getting an opportunity to explain its position, especially when some Members of Parliament raised the question and "tried to slander the State Government in the name of explanation". On 23 September M.R. Masani, Independent MP from Ranchi, Bihar, moved a motion regarding the breach of privilege by the Chief Minister of Kerala and on 27 September K.B. Menon moved an amendment to Masani's motion urging the Speaker to take action against the Chief Minister.

“That the attention of the House having been drawn by an Honourable Member on September 23 to the telegram sent by Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, to Pandit G.B. Pant, Home Minister, extracts from which are contained in a report based allegedly on official sources issued by the Press Trust of India from Trivandrum on September 20 and published in *The Times of India*, Delhi and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, on September 21, in the course of which Mr. Namboodiripad has attributed the motive of slander to some Honourable Members of this House; and having taken note of the subsequent telegram from Mr. Namboodiripad to Pandit G.B. Pant, which was read to this House by the Honourable Speaker on September 23; this House resolves that the matter be referred to the Committee of Privileges for investigation as to whether a breach of privileges of the House and of the Honourable Members concerned has been committed; and whether any contempt of the House thus committed has been adequately purged; and that the Committee be requested to present its report and recommendations for appropriate action at the first day’s sitting of the next session of the Lok Sabha”.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was not present in this House on previous occasions when this matter came up for some kind of discussion; but, naturally, I tried to follow what had happened, to understand it, because it was a matter, in a sense, of grave consequence from many points of view.

I suppose it is difficult, when such a matter came up, for Members of this House entirely to shed their party character or their preconceived ideas. It is not an easy matter. Nevertheless, it is obvious—and I agree with Shri Anthony<sup>154</sup> in what he said—that the matter has nothing to do, ought to have nothing to do with groups, parties or other political ideas that people may have.

However, I do not think we can entirely forget or we should forget the fact that the person who is charged with an impropriety or against whom the allegation is made is the head of a State Government. It is a fact and I do not know why we should forget that and merely imagine that we are dealing with a simple matter as one citizen to another citizen; of course, in the ultimate analysis it is between a citizen and another citizen, but all these factors are relevant and important.

I think all of us will agree that where any kind of—may I use the word without any impropriety—slander is done to any Member of the House, in whatever way it may be, or, in fact, anything is done which attracts the privileges

154. Frank Reginald Anthony was the nominated Anglo-Indian MP.



of this House; every party and every group in this House should defend the House and should take steps to prevent that kind of thing happening. We are all, I hope, jealous of the reputation that this House should have and should build up for itself. So there can be no doubt, no argument—even though we may in our heart of hearts differ—about that basic issue.

There may be sometimes, of course, argument whether in the name of defending the privileges of this House we do not sometimes act in a rather thin-skinned way; we do not import other considerations than the immediate ones at issue. I know it is difficult. None of us can avoid importing other consideration to some extent. Nevertheless, the issue should be decided apart from those other considerations.

If I may respectfully submit, Sir, I did not, well, agree with what has been said, the manner in which it has been said about importing other considerations by either the honourable Member Shri Asoka Mehta or the Leader of the Communist Party here, Shri Dange,<sup>155</sup> when he talked about the cold war, I am not very efficient with cold war as he said he was, and, personally I dislike the cold war wherever it occurs, even in the wider international sphere and much more so, of course, if we have it in our own country or in this House. So I cannot, apart from other reasons, because I would find myself rather incompetent to meet such a situation. Anyhow, it is not desirable for us to bring that in here. Therefore, I do not wish to say anything on that issue although I think some of his remarks were very uncharitable, so far as the Government is concerned, in that connection.

I know my colleague the Home Minister and I, who have most to do with State Governments, have tried to the very best of our ability to deal with the Kerala Government as we deal with other State Governments. We may have made a mistake; I do not say we are infallible, but we have only tried to do that. We have differed in some matters with them who pointed out our differences, but we have not to my knowledge done anything which we would not have to done to another State Government in that position. In fact, if I may say so, speaking for myself, there has sometimes been an element of bending backwards in this matter lest we be suspected of having done something to a Government which is controlled by a party which is opposed to our party and Parliament. So, we have been particularly anxious about it. Again I say that I do not claim any particular virtue. I do not say we might not have made mistakes or said something which should not have been said. But this has been our attitude, and

155. S.A. Dange was Communist Party MP from Central-South Bombay and General Secretary, AITUC.

therefore, I was a little distressed at what Shri Dange said,—that we were leading some kind of crusade against the Kerala Government. However, I do not wish to refer to that matter in this connection, because, I would like this House to try, and every honourable Member to try, not to bring in these issues, important as they may be in other contexts, in the consideration of the particular matter before us.

Having said that, I would also like to say this. I am not quite sure we as a Government should function at all in this matter, as a Government. As individual Members, of course, we have equal right with other Members. I go a step further. As a party also, I do not think these are party matters that a party should function in a particular way. So, my request to the Members of this House will be that they should not get entangled in their other pre-conceptions what they think of the Kerala Government or the conditions in Kerala. They should keep that apart and try to judge this matter on the bare facts before us.

I would have preferred—I shall be quite frank to this House—if this motion had not been brought, not in order to protect the Chief Minister of Kerala, although, if necessary, it is my duty to protect him or help him—that is a different matter—but because I am a little anxious that we should not enter into a path of conflict in such matters, because this kind of thing might be overdone. There are things said, often enough, which are not desirable and things said in the heat of the moment which, a person, thinking more would not have said.

If we pursue every person who makes a statement like that, I do not know how many of us will be completely innocent of never making any remarks which might not be held up against. We are all human beings, and I know that I err sometimes, Sir, though I hope not too often. So, from that point of view, if my mind was quite clear, that if it was a deliberate flouting of the dignity of Parliament or of any individual Member of Parliament, then, of course, there can be no doubt that that challenge has to be met. But where in other contexts, in the heat of the moment or in a controversy something is said, I would personally prefer this House not to take too much notice of it. But, as I said, this is my personal reaction which I place before this House.

When I read about it on the first occasion, I did feel that perhaps it would have been better if this matter had not been pressed. But there it is. The House is seized of it, and it is now for each individual to decide on this issue and in which way he should vote. I cannot give an advice. I can function by myself as I think best. But I would repeat again that we have heavier tasks before us, tremendous difficulties and tasks before us, and if we get into this groove of challenging each other, over every petty thing or words spoken and of importing what Shri Dange was pleased to describe as an atmosphere of cold war here, it would not be good for this House or for the country outside.



I would only beg Shri Dange, when he says that, to advise his own partymen—not here, for, here we know each other, but outside—to speak a little more, shall I say, gently, to write a little more politely, and not always to behave as if the Heavens were falling, and therefore this fact had to be announced in square headlines.

I confess, maybe, I have become too old for this kind of thing, but it distresses me—this continuous shouting and running down people. It is a question of a Member of the House here; he can take exception to it and ask you, Sir, to protect him or the House to protect him. But who is to protect all others outside this House who are being held up to ridicule or slander or whatever the word may be? It is too much, and I am not for the moment thinking in terms of even any particular group. There is a tendency, far too big a tendency, in the country to that effect, and it distresses me.

As I said, maybe I am not in tune with modern ways of thinking and I am ageing, but I do think it is a good thing, to be courteous; it is a good thing not to shout too much at each other and to speak a little gently and try to solve problems in that way.

Therefore, all I have to say is that this is a matter for each individual to decide, as indeed it is, and it is not for me as Leader of the House or leader of the majority party in this House to tell them what they should decide in this matter. It is a matter of dignity of an individual and if that dignity has been affected in the wrong way, if somebody else has acted in a wrong way in so far as a Member of this House is concerned, I have expressed my own views about it, and I leave it to others to decide what they should do.

(iv) Naga Hills-Tuensang Area

**64. The Case of Natwar Thakkar<sup>156</sup>**

Natwar Thakkar<sup>157</sup> has come to see me. For some three or four years, he was in Assam in the Naga Hills area. About two years ago, he offered his services to the Adam Jati Sangh to work in some part of the Naga Hills area. They gave him some assistance and an Ashram called "Gandhi Ashram" was started at Chuchu-Yimlang, District Mokokchung. The Assam Government also helped him. I think they gave Rs. 20,000/- which was chiefly meant for some buildings to be put up.

2. Then came the constitution of the new territory, the Naga Hills-Tuensang area. The Assam Government then went out of the picture and he has had to deal with our new administration of this area. He says that he has received very little sympathy or help from them. He has been given a grant of Rs. 5,000/- chiefly because Dr. Verrier Elwin<sup>158</sup> recommended him strongly.

3. In the Ashram, he has twelve Naga boys who are taught tailoring and carpentry. They live there. Other people come and go.

4. Apparently he has given a scheme for Rs. 50,000/- chiefly for buildings. It is not easy to find accommodation in these villages and he has his wife with him. The boys have to live in some kind of a hostel and some other simple buildings. Also for running expenses and the boys etc., have to be fed.

5. I cannot give an opinion about the work that is being done in this Ashram. But the mere fact of a young and earnest Indian couple living there and quietly, seeking to serve the Nagas is a good thing and Dr. Elwin has apparently commended this man's work there. We have few contacts there apart from strictly official ones and a non-official working there should normally be helped. I do not know why our administration in the Naga Hills-Tuensang area looks upon Natwar Thakkar with some disfavour as he says. I have met

156. Note, 16 November 1958. JN Collection.

157. (b. 1932); Gujarati by birth; groomed as a Gandhian voluntary worker in Kakasaheb Kalelkar's entourage, 1951-54; founded the Nagaland Gandhi Ashram in 1955 through the Bharatiya Adam Jati Sevak Sangh and administered it thereafter; social service in the Chuchu-Yimlang village; supported in his work by his Naga wife Lentina; Chairman, North-Eastern Zonal Committee, 1994-99; received Mahatma Gandhi National Integration and Communal Harmony Award, 1964, Jamnalal Bajaj National Award for outstanding contribution in the field of constructive work, 1987 and Padmashree, 1999.

158. Verrier Elwin was a British anthropologist and adviser to the Governor of Assam on tribal affairs from 1954; became an Indian citizen in 1954.



this young man more than once and he has produced a good impression upon me.

6. I think you might enquire from Shri Luthra<sup>159</sup> about this young man and his Ashram. We should try to help him to continue there. As he told me that if he is not approved of, he will pack up and come back. He does not wish to stay there unless we want him to stay.

### 65. To K.L. Shrimali<sup>160</sup>

December 8, 1958

My dear Shrimali,

I am sending you a letter from Jairamdas Doulatram<sup>161</sup> about a Naga girl<sup>162</sup> who has just come back from the United States. He speaks highly of her. In fact, that she is a Naga girl is also important and it would be a good thing if we could use her services.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

159. P.N. Luthra was Commissioner of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area.

160. JN Collection.

161. Leading Congressman of Sind; Governor of Assam, 1950-56.

162. Jairamdas Daulatram's letter of 8 Dec. gave her name Achilla Imlong Chang.

**66. To Saiyid Fazl Ali<sup>163</sup>**

December 9, 1958

My dear Fazl Ali,

Thank you for your letter of November 30.<sup>164</sup> I have been terribly busy. Hence, the delay in acknowledging it.

I cannot advise you as to what should be done. You are the best person to judge. You will of course discuss all these matters with Thimayya when he goes to Shillong.

There was a recent incident which has disturbed us much. This was when a number of arms were taken away by the hostiles from our newly formed home guards or whatever they are called.<sup>165</sup> It appeared that some of the home guards were privy to this. In such cases, as far as possible, swift and effective action should be taken. Possibly a fine on the village might be considered. Also we have to be rather careful in enrolling them in these home guards.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

163. JN Collection.

164. Fazl Ali, Governor of Assam, agreed with Nehru that troops should be withdrawn from the Naga Hills gradually in the course of two or three months, not abruptly; further, nothing should be done which might help contribute to propaganda that Pakistani pressure was leading to army withdrawal from the Naga Hills. He hoped to settle the matter of troop withdrawal with K.S. Thimayya, the Chief of Army Staff, who was due to visit on 7 Dec. Fazl Ali reported the Assam Rifles controlled Tuensang and there were 14 battalions of the army altogether in the Naga Hills. Fazl Ali recommended energetic action against insurgents as they were abusing the Amnesty Order for extortion. He also complained against Imkongliba and Kheloshe who were sympathetic to the insurgents and were terrorised by the murder of the two Dobashis in the new unit.

165. In early Dec. 1958, insurgents seized nearly 20 rifles and ammunition from Naga village guards at Lumani village and kidnapped a Civil Liaison Officer of the same village.



## 67. Situation in Naga Areas Unsatisfactory<sup>166</sup>

This was a serious incident and does not speak well for our organisation. The fact that in spite of previous warnings and suspicions, Yeloi was placed in a responsible position like this, does stand out and deserves enquiry. In such cases, punitive action should certainly be taken.

2. I had a talk with General Thimayya today about the whole Naga area situation. He was dissatisfied with the present position. He pointed out that owing to dual command, any necessary action was always delayed and, therefore, seldom produced any results.

3. He further thought that our policy tended to be rather too lenient and that nothing could be achieved unless it was made perfectly clear to the hostile Nagas that we meant business. He praised Commissioner Luthra's work very much, but said that he was a little apprehensive of unfavourable reactions in case some action was taken. Hence, action was often not taken.

4. I told General Thimayya that responsibility was principally his, and he must give thought to this matter and then discuss it with us further.

### (v) Punjab

## 68. To N.V. Gadgil<sup>167</sup>

November 23, 1958

My dear Gadgil,<sup>168</sup>

I have read your letter to the President dated 20th November.

I wish success in your efforts to bring about some settlement in this language question in the Punjab.<sup>169</sup> But I should like to make it quite clear that so far as I am concerned, absolutely no assurance of any kind was given to

166. Note to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 29 December 1958. JN Collection.

167. JN Collection.

168. Governor of Punjab.

169. The Arya Samaj had been leading a Save Hindi agitation in Punjab since May 1957. Educationally, it wanted absolute freedom for both languages, Hindi and Punjabi; and administratively, treatment of the Hindi region as unilingual and the Punjabi region as bilingual. It also wanted Hindi to replace English in administration. For earlier references, see SWJN/SS/38/pp. 209-212, 216-222, 227-231, SWJN/SS/39/pp. 385-388 and SWJN/SS/40/pp. 412-413, 415-435.

Ghanshyam Singh Gupta,<sup>170</sup> and so far as I know, Pantji gave no assurance either, except that if the people concerned agree we would be happy.

Logically it would of course be much better to adopt the Nagari script for Punjabi, but the whole trouble is about the script and some of the Sikhs at least think that the Gurmukhi characters are a part of their religion. I do not think therefore that at this stage they will agree to give up their Gurmukhi characters in favour of Nagari. As a matter of fact, one third of the Gurmukhi characters are same as the Nagari ones and it is easy for anyone to learn the rest within a few hours or, if you like, days.

If there was no controversy about this, the Nagari characters would undoubtedly replace the Gurmukhi characters. But that can only take place spontaneously and not under pressure.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 69. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>171</sup>

December 7, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,<sup>172</sup>

I received a deputation from the District Congress Committee (Rural) of Amritsar today. They complained, among other things, of wrong people being appointed to the Marketing Committee, Gehri. Those appointed, according to them, have no position and almost all of them are communalists or communists. People who have been dismissed even from the primary membership of the Congress are also chosen.

We cannot lay down that only Congress should be appointed to such committees. At the same time it would be odd for only anti-Congressmen to be appointed. The deputation that came to me seemed to think that this was a deliberate policy of the Ministers concerned and, therefore, they raised this objection. Further I was informed that parties are given by undesirable persons and Ministers attend them, thus encouraging those people. I cannot say anything about any particular instance but, broadly speaking, Ministers should avoid attending parties which raise controversial issues of this kind.

170. An Arya Samajist and President, Sarvadeshik Bhasha Swatantrya Samiti (All-India Language Freedom Committee).

171. JN Collection.

172. Chief Minister of Punjab.



Most of these complaints refer to Giani Kartar Singh<sup>173</sup> who, it is said, frequently tours the Amritsar area in the company of persons who opposed the official Congress candidates or have been turned out of the Congress.

I am enclosing the two letters that were given to me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 70. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>174</sup>

15th December, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,

This evening, five of your MLAs came to see me and gave me a letter, a copy of which I enclose.<sup>175</sup>

This is about the proposed amendment to the Gurdwara Bill. I do not know anything about this matter except what I have occasionally seen in the press. But reading through this letter and what these MLAs told me, it did seem to me rather odd that an amendment of this type should be introduced suddenly and in a special session. For matters of this kind which affect or are thought to affect religious questions, a great deal of consultation is considered desirable. Apparently there was no consultation whatever and a private member's amendment has been accepted by Government.

What is odd is that a number of nominated members should be given the power to co-opt, even more than their number. On the fact of it, it appears to be packing the committee with its own nominees.

173. He was the Forests Minister in the Punjab Government and a Member of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee.

174. JN Collection.

175. The letter, written by Sarup Singh, Harguranad Singh, Atma Singh, Udham Singh and Umrao Singh, accused Giani Kartar Singh of misusing his position in the Government and the Congress Party by sponsoring an amendment to the Sikh Gurdwaras Act. This amendment enabled creating an electoral college of 25, consisting of 12 co-opted members of the SGPC and 13 Government nominees from the Gurdwaras Interim Board of the former Pepsu Area; and it would have permitted this college to co-opt as many as 35 more members to the SGPC. The letter objected that it was undemocratic to empower nominated and indirectly elected members to further co-opt other members. Second, an electoral college of 25 could co-opt more members (35) than its own strength. They wanted Nehru to put a stop to this, to circulate the bill for public opinion, and to allow the SGPC to frame proposals for the representation of Pepsu Sikhs.

I understand that it is proposed to have elections next year and this is a temporary phase. It is not clear to me why there should be some other arrangement for a year than the one that exists now. Perhaps the elections themselves could have been expedited.

Anyway all that I am concerned with is to avoid unnecessary ill will and trouble and I fear this kind of thing may cause that ill will. What I have written is based on what I was told today as I do not know the other side of the question. All I told the deputationists was that I would enquire about this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 71. To N.V. Gadgil<sup>176</sup>

December 27, 1958

My dear Gadgil,

This morning, a man from the Punjab came to see me.<sup>177</sup> I vaguely remembered him. Then he reminded me of what had occurred soon after the partition when he had got into trouble with the Akalis and had actually been wounded and I sent him to hospital etc.

He gave me a copy of a letter which he had addressed to you. I do not know if this has reached you. Anyhow, I am enclosing the copy. I cannot, of course, say anything about his difficulties with some piece of land. All I can say is that he deserves sympathy and I hope you will be good enough to look into this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

176. JN Collection.

177. S. Chanan Singh, a resident of Khambra, Jullundur District.



## 72. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>178</sup>

30th December 1958

My dear Partap Singh,

Master Tara Singh<sup>179</sup> wanted to see me yesterday but I had no time to give him. Then he asked to see me this morning and I met him at 9.30 a.m. I need not repeat what he told me because you know all that.<sup>180</sup> He particularly complained of the hurry with which the things were being done and of the S.G.P.C. not being consulted. When the meeting of the S.G.P.C. was requisitioned, an injunction was taken out from the court. He referred to the convention that no amendment should be made to the Act without the mutual agreement of the S.G.P.C. and the Government.

Then he said that 40 days given under the proposed amendment were not enough even to object to the wrong people. Further that some of the basic principles of the Gurdwara Act<sup>181</sup> had been bypassed such as people who were not really Sikhs had been included in elections etc. The qualifications laid down in the Act were ignored now.

According to him in Pepsu or even in Patiala city, the supporters of the new amendments dare not address a public meeting. When an attempt to hold a convention was made at Patiala, there was a lathi-charge.

Master Tara Singh said that the situation was very critical and the Sikhs could not tolerate that control should pass out of their hands. If all the doors were closed, then they would be driven to certain courses of action. Everybody had been consulted except their colleagues.

I have given you about in brief what Master Tara Singh said to me. I told him that it was Government's policy not to interfere in these religious matters and we intended to adhere to this. I did not wish to interfere. When the Akali delegation came to see me,<sup>182</sup> I sent on their memorandum to the Chief Minister

178. JN Collection.

179. Prominent Sikh leader of Punjab and President, Akali Dal, 1954.

180. Master Tara Singh presented a memorandum to Nehru which apparently alleged that the Congress Government in Punjab was interfering with the administration of Sikh Gurdwaras and urged that the Gurdwara (Amendment) Bill be withdrawn.

181. The Gurdwara Act was passed on 28 July 1925. It provided for a Central Gurdwara Board elected by the Sikhs as the custodian of Sikh places of worship. The Government also recognised the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee as a representative body of the Sikhs.

182. Sikh Congress legislators, led by Atma Singh, met Nehru on 15 Dec. 1958 to canvass support for Master Tara Singh's stand on the Gurdwara (Amendment) Bill.

of the Punjab. I proposed to do the same with the papers that Masterji was giving to me and to report to you that he had come to see me. I did not pretend to understand these matters in detail. It seemed to me, however, that this was some kind of a conflict between the Sikhs inter se.

I enclose the papers he gave me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(vi) Rajasthan

### 73. Compensation to Small Jagirdars<sup>183</sup>

Thakur Bikram Singh came to see me this evening and he gave me the attached papers. I read through them rather hurriedly and told him that when I agreed to arbitrate in this matter, it was clearly understood that I would deal only with the compensation to the smaller jagirdars.<sup>184</sup> I cannot therefore go beyond this and indeed I would not have agreed to anything else.

Further I told him that his papers had raised a wide number of basic issues. I could not possibly discuss them with him without going deeply into every aspect of this problem.

I then told him that when he talked of the Bonds being the only source of income now left to them and for future generations, this exhibited an amazing lack of understanding of the modern world and the direction in which all of us were going. We do not want any future generations to live on pensions or the work of others.

I mentioned also that the question of ceiling was an all-India policy and had long been delayed and I did not see how we could leave out an area of India except for very special reasons and within limitations.

I pointed out to him also that we had been particularly careful in regard to this matter referred to me and a great deal of work had been done by some

183. Note to Kesho Ram, 24 November 1958. File No. 7(79)/58-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

184. The Bhooswami Sangh, an association of small jagirdars, had been agitating after the abolition of the jagirdari system by the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs Act, Feb. 1952. See SWJN/SS/32/pp.174-175, SWJN/33/pp. 283-290, SWJN/35/pp. 241-243, SWJN/38/p. 247.



experts in the Planning Commission. I shall send these papers also to them, though I do not think that most of these points come within the scope of the reference to me.

Please therefore send these papers to the Planning Commission (Shri Tarlok Singh)<sup>185</sup> with a copy of my note.

## 74. Bhooswamis' Representation<sup>186</sup>

Harish Chandra Mathur:<sup>187</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 222 on the 19th August, 1958 and state:

- (a) whether representation from Bhooswamis of Rajasthan has since been examined and a report submitted to the Prime Minister; and
- (b) if so, the conclusions he has arrived at and what advice he has given in the matter?

Sadath Ali Khan:<sup>188</sup> (a) and (b). The various representations from the Bhooswamis of Rajasthan were referred by the Prime Minister to the Planning Commission and they were fully examined by some senior members of the staff there. They have now submitted a report to the Prime Minister who is considering it.

Harish Chandra Mathur: May I know the honourable Prime Minister's own approach in that matter, and whether he had given any guidance to these officers to examine this question in the context of certain circumstances such as the resettlement of the Bhooswamis?

Jawaharlal Nehru: When this representation came to me, it was in regard to the original representation regarding certain compensation for the small holders; and I agreed to deal with the matter on that issue only and no other; the representation subsequently dealt with other matters too. I may make it quite

185. Additional Secretary, Planning Commission, 1958-62.

186. Reply to questions in the Lok Sabha, 11 December 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, cols 4352-4355.

187. Congress MP from Pali, Rajasthan.

188. Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs and Congress MP from Warangal, Andhra Pradesh.

clear that I can only deal with a particular matter which had been referred to me, and I did; I can also say that I cannot go into long discussions and disputations. But I proposed to send it to some experts who had no partiality in the matter; they would advise me, and then I shall consider it fully. So, it was sent to the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission appointed two of their best men dealing with land to consider it.<sup>189</sup> They have done so at great length and with great trouble, and met representatives of the Bhooswami Sangh as well as of the Rajasthan Government. Just about four or five days ago, I have received their report, which I have not fully considered yet.

There is no question of my approach to it. I do not understand what the honourable Member means by my approach. I did not give any directions to the Planning Commission people at all. I said, examine it and report what you think about it.

Harish Chandra Mathur: May I know the number of persons affected, and the amount involved in respect of compensation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot say the number of persons affected. I am sorry I have not got the figure. As for the amount involved, that depends upon the compensation to be given. That is the very matter being considered.

Basappa:<sup>190</sup> Some time back when I visited a few places in Rajasthan, I saw a lot of satyagraha agitation going on in connection with this matter. May I know whether that agitation has stopped now?

M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar:<sup>191</sup> If it is still going on, the honourable Member will read about it in the newspapers.

Basappa: When I visited a few places in Rajasthan some time back, they were courting arrests and satyagraha was going on. May I know whether that kind of agitation has stopped?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I really do not know. It cannot be a very wide-spread agitation, because I have not heard about it. It may be some local affair.

189. Nawab Singh and Tarlok Singh of the Planning Commission examined the Bhooswami Sangh's representation and reported by the end of November. On 15 Dec. Nehru requested Nawab Singh to forward the report to, Mohanlal Sukhadia, the Chief Minister of Rajasthan, and ask him to keep it confidential.

190. C.R. Basappa was Congress MP from Tiptur, Mysore.

191. Speaker, Lok Sabha.



Jadhav:<sup>192</sup> May I know whether the matter was referred to the Rajasthan Government by the Planning Commission, and if so, what their reaction was?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No. I would not have accepted this matter for consideration, had not the Rajasthan Government also agreed to my accepting it. If I may say so, both the parties, the Rajasthan Government and the Bhooswamis, asked me to do it; only then I agreed to do it.

Vajpayee:<sup>193</sup> As there is a problem of Bhooswamis in Rajasthan, in the same way many areas of Bombay State are having the problem of small zamindars which needs eradication.

M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: This samasya is all over India.

Vajpayee: My request is whether the Prime Minister intends to extend the settlement made with Bhooswamis of Rajasthan with the rest of the country?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As you mentioned, there are problems all over the country and efforts are made to stick to one principle in solving them. However, situations vary from province to province. I do not know what is the situation in Kutch.

Harish Chandra Mathur: May I know the quantum of compensation claimed by the Bhooswamis and the amount conceded by the Rajasthan Government?

M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: The honourable Prime Minister has said that he is looking into the report.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give the figures. It is no good my mentioning figures which may not be accurate. So, I would rather not give any figures, because I have not at the present moment seen this report fully. I do not really remember these figures.

Khadilkar:<sup>194</sup> While giving consideration to the case of Bhooswamis, is it the intention of Government to create a case of landholders exempt from

192. Yadav Narain Jadhav was Praja Socialist Party MP from Malegaon, Bombay.

193. Atal Bihari Vajpayee was Bharatiya Jana Sangh MP from Balrampur, Uttar Pradesh.

194. R.K. Khadilkar was Mazdoor Kisan Party MP from Ahmednagar, Bombay.

the general pattern laid down by the Planning Commission regarding land policy?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I believe there is no question of policy arising here. The general pattern continues, but there is always the type of compensation that should be given. There are groves; there is this and that, one hundred and one things which are different as land tenures are different in various parts of the country. The particular policy has to be pursued everywhere.

(vii) West Bengal

**75. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>195</sup>**

November 5, 1958

My dear Pantji,

Your letter of November 4 about the Tollygunge Club.<sup>196</sup> I think that what Dr. B.C. Roy proposes to do is eminently reasonable. It is not reasonable for the Club to retain a vast area in the heart of Calcutta. Ten acres of land are being allowed to them including the buildings. These ten acres are quite enough for indoor and outdoor games, except of course a golf course. It is absurd to have a golf course in the heart of Calcutta when other people do not have even accommodation.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

195. JN Collection.

196. The Tollygunge Club of South Calcutta, popularly known as the Tolly, established in 1895.



**76. To B.C. Roy<sup>197</sup>**

November 27, 1958

My dear Bidhan,

I have received some letters protesting against my unveiling Gandhiji's portrait in Calcutta.<sup>198</sup> I am disturbed by this kind of thing. In this connection I do not mind demonstrations or the like in the normal course of things. But to have a possible demonstration at the time of unveiling the statue and to make this a matter of controversy is a thing I do not like. I do not quite know what to do about it. I am in your hands. Personally I always avoid unveiling statues and have discouraged people.

Another unfortunate factor appears to be that there is a feeling that Subhas Bose's statue has not been put up.<sup>199</sup>

I enclose one of the letters I have received.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

**(viii) Other States**

**77. Dacoits<sup>200</sup>**

The old Madhya Bharat State had to face a continuing menace of dacoits. Indeed, the story of these dacoits functioning in that area and the adjoining States is a very old one and, I believe, goes back to nearly a hundred years. Anyhow, this menace of notorious dacoits moving about in bands troubled the old Madhya Bharat State as well as the Central Government a great deal. The area in which

197. JN Collection.

198. Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury's bronze statue of Mahatma Gandhi at the intersection of Park Street and Chowringhee Road, Calcutta, was unveiled by Nehru on 30 November 1958. For Nehru's speech on the occasion, see item 7.

199. On 25 Nov. 1958, B.N. Mullik, the Director of the Intelligence Bureau, informed M.O. Mathai that Nehru could face demonstration in Calcutta, first against the Nehru-Noon Pact transferring some territory in Cooch-Bihar District to East Pakistan, and second for a Subhas Chandra Bose statue. Mullik suggested announcing a Bose statue before unveiling Gandhi's to pre-empt such agitations.

200. Message, Indore, 3 November 1958. JN Collection. It is not clear to whom this message was sent, but it seems to have been addressed to the Madhya Pradesh Police.

they functioned was full of ravines which made it very difficult for any police force to function. Some little success was attained, but, in effect, the menace continued.

Since the formation of the new Madhya Pradesh,<sup>201</sup> including Madhya Bharat, this new State has had to face this menace.<sup>202</sup> Two days ago in Bhopal I saw a small exhibition which not only displayed a large collection of fire arms etc. which had been recovered from these dacoit gangs, but also indicated by charts and otherwise, the various steps taken by the police force in this matter, and the success they had obtained. I should like to congratulate the Madhya Pradesh police on this success and I hope they will succeed in putting an end to this menace.

## 78. To D.K. Kunte<sup>203</sup>

December 14, 1958

Dear Shri Kunte,<sup>204</sup>

Thank you for your letter of 11th December which I have read with care.

You have raised a question in it which has been often present in my mind. It hurts me to think that a large number of people in Maharashtra are unhappy over the present state of affairs. Quite apart from any views about linguistic provinces and the like, this fact alone disturbs and distresses me, because I have a high opinion of the people of Maharashtra and their great capacity in various ways. I do not want them to feel frustrated in any way.

My own personal opinion has been in favour of a unified Bombay State, as it is today. This seems to me to give the people of Maharashtra everything that they wanted and indeed more. However, it is not for me to impose any opinion on anybody and ultimately the will of the people prevails in a democratic set-up. The question at issue is really not a matter of principle but of balancing various factors and looking at the good of the nation as a whole. It distresses me that

201. On 1 Nov. 1956.

202. On 26 Sept. 1958, K.N. Katju, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, announced the following statistics: 124 killed by dacoits in 423 dacoities in Bhind and Morena districts of the State in 1956-58; from 1 Apr. to 31 July 1958, 14 dacoits killed, 182 arrested, 60 weapons, 502 cartridges, and property worth Rs 51,065.49 seized from them.

203. JN Collection.

204. Speaker of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1952-56.



occasional violence on a big scale has taken place because that is not the way to settle any question. It only makes it worse. I am always prepared to talk to friends and old comrades.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### (ix) Inter-State Disputes

#### 79. To R.K. Khadilkar<sup>205</sup>

November 8, 1958

Dear Shri Khadilkar,<sup>206</sup>

I have your letter of the 7th November.

At Bhopal I said that disputes should be dealt with from the administrative point of view. I did not say that they were purely administrative problems. I realise very well that these disputes are sometimes deep and evoke considerable feeling.

As for the Bombay-Mysore border dispute,<sup>207</sup> I said that it was a pity that this was sought to be settled by Satyagraha<sup>208</sup> and the like. It was eminently a case that should be settled by the Governments of the two States. For my part, I would have no objection to impartial arbitration. I think that the Home Minister<sup>209</sup>

205. JN Collection.

206. Mazdoor Kisan Party Lok Sabha MP from Ahmednagar, Bombay State.

207. See item 14, fn 203.

208. On 1 Nov. 1958, twenty-four volunteers of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti were arrested in Belgaum and Karwar towns in Mysore State. The two Samitis had set off a "Border Satyagraha" for certain predominantly Marathi speaking areas to be restored to Bombay State. These areas had been included in Mysore State following the States Reorganisation of 1956.

209. G.B. Pant.

is of the same opinion and he is trying to get the parties to agree to some course of action which will lead to a settlement.<sup>210</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 80. To B.D. Jatti<sup>211</sup>

November 16, 1958

My dear Jatti,<sup>212</sup>

When you came to see me, I forgot to speak to you about a particular matter I had very much in mind. This is the trouble between Bombay and Mysore States of certain areas round about Belgaum etc.

I am much concerned about this matter, and it is obvious that some way has got to be found to settle it. The proper way would have been for some settlement between the two Chief Ministers. Soon after the general election, Nijalingappa<sup>213</sup> had agreed that he would do his best to settle this matter. Now recently, your talks with Chavan<sup>214</sup> did not yield any result.

What then is to be done? It is rather absurd for this matter to be left to the tender mercies of the so-called satyagrahis and the police. Obviously if there is no direct agreement, then the matter should be referred to someone else - either an arbitrator or, anyhow, some third person to advise. This is not against the prestige of any party concerned.

During the Hyderabad A.I.C.C. meeting,<sup>215</sup> I understood that some such thing was likely to be agreed to. But, later, I learned that you did not agree to it. If I may say so, this is not a helpful attitude at all.

210. On 22 Oct. 1958, Nehru had written to Nath Pai, PSP Lok Sabha MP from Bombay State that he would not impose a decision, that he would discuss the issue with the Chief Ministers concerned, and that the representatives of the Governments of Bombay and Mysore should meet.

211. JN Collection.

212. Chief Minister of Mysore.

213. Chief Minister of Mysore from 1 Nov. 1956 to 8 May 1958.

214. Y.B. Chavan, Chief Minister of Bombay.

215. The AICC meeting at Hyderabad was held from 24-26 Oct. 1958.



## II. POLITICS

Today, I met a number of M.Ps. from Mysore and they asked me why some action was not taken to settle this question. They then suggested arbitration which they said Mysore would accept.

I do hope you will consider this matter afresh.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 81. To B.D. Jatti<sup>216</sup>

November 27, 1958

My dear Jatti,

I wrote to you some time ago about the Belgaum matter.<sup>217</sup> I am very much distressed over this issue. Quite apart from merits, it seems to me an anomaly and an absurdity that two State Governments, both Congress, should be unable to come to an agreement as to how to proceed with this matter, and further that so-called satyagraha should take place. It is bad enough if an Opposition party organises this within a State, but what are we to say when two States are concerned? If the two States cannot come to an agreement, the obvious course is for some third party or an arbitrator to be entrusted with this matter. Surely, we cannot allow this kind of conflict to continue. It has larger repercussions all over the country.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

216. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to Govind Ballabh Pant, the Union Minister of Home Affairs.

217. See item 80.

**82. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>218</sup>**

December 4, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,<sup>219</sup>

Pantji, Morarjibhai and I had a little talk today about these linguistic matters. There was a reference to Belgaum and also to Maharashtra and Bombay State. We decided that we should meet again together with you on Tuesday, the 9th December, at 3.30 p.m. in Parliament House. I hope you will be able to come.

It was suggested that Jatti, Chief Minister of Mysore, might be asked to come to Delhi on the 13th and 14th December, when the Working Committee is meeting. We might then have a talk with him and Chavan.<sup>220</sup> Probably, Pantji will also be inviting Chenna Reddy<sup>221</sup> on that occasion.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**83. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>222</sup>**

December 28, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,

The last two months have compelled me to behave in a manner which shames me. Many letters have remained unanswered. I have found this evening that two of your old letters are among these unanswered ones. Please forgive me for this dereliction of duty.

218. JN Collection.

219. President, Indian National Congress.

220. The Chief Ministers of Bombay and Mysore, Y.B. Chavan and B.D. Jatti respectively, met Nehru and G.B. Pant at Delhi on 13 and 14 Dec. to discuss the border disputes between the two States relating to Belgaum, Karwar and Nipani. U.N. Dhebar, S. Nijalingappa, former Chief Minister of Mysore, Veeranna Gowdah, President of the Mysore PCC and Chennaiah, former President of the Mysore PCC, attended. Pant suggested three options: 1) direct negotiations between the two States, 2) agreeing on the principles of demarcation and entrusting the work of adjustment to a special body, and 3) arbitration. The talks were inconclusive but were to resume in the first week of Feb. 1959.

221. M. Chenna Reddy was Member, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly.

222. JN Collection.



One of these letters relates to a letter and note sent to you by General Cariappa<sup>223</sup> about Coorg. He wrote to me also, and I think I sent him a brief reply. I would suggest to you that you might also send him a brief reply without arguing with him about the present or future of Coorg. Cariappa is a man who is liked by most people who know him and who also commands a certain respect because of the high positions he has occupied. He is a frank and straight forward man. But few people attach much importance to his judgement or views.

It is manifest that we cannot start pulling out Coorg from the Mysore State now. It is true that Coorg occupied a rather special position in the past and now it is merely a small part of the Mysore State.<sup>224</sup> It is natural, therefore, for many people in Coorg to feel rather unhappy about it.

As for his suggestion that societies should be formed to collect facts and elicit public opinion, I really do not know what good this will do, but it is certainly open to anybody to do so.

I am returning to you Cariappa's letter and note.

Your other letter dealt with our nationals accepting service in foreign countries on low terms. There may be such cases. Generally, they get much higher terms than they would in India. We do not encourage them to go abroad at all unless they get a suitable post consistent with their dignity and our dignity. But private individuals do as they like without our permission.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

223. K.M. Cariappa had been Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army from 1949 to 1953 and High Commissioner to Australia and New Zealand.

224. After Independence, Coorg became a part C State of India with Mercara as its capital. By the States Reorganisation Act of Aug. 1956, Coorg was included in Mysore State.

(f) Goa and Pondicherry

84. To C. Subramaniam<sup>225</sup>

November 15, 1958

My dear Subramaniam,<sup>226</sup>

I am writing to you about Pondicherry. The de jure transfer of this to India has been long delayed.<sup>227</sup> Perhaps, General de Gaulle<sup>228</sup> might bring it off. At any rate, so he has told us. But one can never be sure after so many set-backs.

There is one thing the French people feel strongly about. That is that Pondicherry should be kept by us as a separate unit. In our Treaty with them, we have agreed not to make any change there without the consent of the people of Pondicherry and Karaikal. Nevertheless, they are a little anxious about it. Personally, I think that from every point of view, we should keep Pondicherry as a separate unit for some considerable time at least.<sup>229</sup> If it was absorbed in Madras State, it would tend to lose its identity, and the centres of French culture that we are developing there, might not succeed. As a matter of fact, it is a considerable burden on the Central Government. But the main reason is that we want to show to the world and to France especially, that we can continue these cultural centres as separate entities. This has a considerable effect on Goa. Obviously, we cannot tie ourselves down for the distant future.

I am mentioning this so that no statements might be made by any responsible person in Madras hinting that Pondicherry will be absorbed in Madras State soon.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

225. JN Collection.

226. Minister of Finance and Education, Government of Madras.

227. Pondicherry was ceded to India by treaty on 28 May 1956; it was ratified by the French Parliament in July 1962.

228. Charles Andre Joseph Marie de Gaulle was Prime Minister of France, 1958-59; President of France, 1959-69.

229. Pondicherry was administered directly by the Government of India through a Chief Commissioner and six elected Councillors.



## 85. To Purshottam Kakodkar<sup>230</sup>

November 15, 1958

My dear Purshottam,<sup>231</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 14th November.

I do not have any doubt about the fact that the Goa question will be solved and the Portuguese occupation being brought to an end. However, this question has become so deeply entangled with the other issues in the world that it has become almost impossible to make it an isolated issue.

We have to work with a cool mind. Only then we will have desired results.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 86. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar<sup>232</sup>

November 16, 1958

My dear Mr. Speaker,

I am writing to you with some hesitation. There are, I believe, a number of questions, perhaps motions, in the Lok Sabha relating to Goa. I quite understand the anxiety of Members of Parliament about this matter, and I should like to give them all the information I have. There is, however, a possibility of some developments there, such as the release of prisoners in the near future.<sup>233</sup> I would not like anything said in Parliament within the next week or two to come in the way of this possible release. If it is possible, therefore, I would like questions and other matters relating to Goa to be postponed for about two

230. JN Collection.

231. Nationalist leader from Goa and Founder-member, Goa National Congress. Arrested in Goa in 1946, imprisoned in Lisbon, released in 1952, sent to India in 1956.

232. JN Collection.

233. P.N. Kaul, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, had noted on 8 Nov. that Salah El Abd, Chargé d'Affaires of the UAR Embassy, had reported that Indian prisoners in Goa may be released shortly; therefore the Portuguese Government did not want the matter discussed in Parliament lest it appear that they were released under pressure of Indian public opinion. Salah El Abd hoped that those who had tabled questions on the release of Sudha Joshi and others might be asked to withdraw their questions. The UAR was mediating between India and Portugal.

weeks. The matter is entirely for you to decide and, naturally, I shall gladly abide by your judgement.<sup>234</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 87. Prisoners in Goa<sup>235</sup>

Shri Gilani<sup>236</sup> has spoken to me on two or three occasions about Goa, more especially when he has gone abroad. He is a man of some consequence in so far as Roman Catholics are concerned and, in Rome, he has some definite position. I think he was given some Papal honour about three or four years ago. Therefore, when he told me he was going to Rome and asked me if he should speak about Goa there in Vatican circles, I told him that he could do so on his own account and in no way on our behalf or committing us. Further, I told him that we cannot agree to any arrangement with Portugal which meant Portugal's continuance in Goa. I rather laid stress on the issue of prisoners in Goa, both Indian and Goan, and said that this was a subject on which he might lay stress.

2. He is a muddle-headed person and it certainly is risky for him to talk about Goa and make other people think that he might be representing our viewpoint. You might suggest to Shri Harishwar Dayal<sup>237</sup> to inform him that I have seen his note as well as the letter of Mr. Garin.<sup>238</sup> I am surprised to read these documents as suggestions contained in them are entirely opposed to our views. On no account can we agree to what Mr. Garin has suggested or what Shri Gilani has said in his note. This should be clearly understood. Shri Gilani should, therefore, not discuss these matters or any other political question relating to Goa. He can mention the question of a large number of prisoners in Goa who have been kept there for years under bad conditions. In fact, there was a recent arrest of a young woman,<sup>239</sup> a Goan, who returned to Goa quite

234. Nehru also wrote to S. Radhakrishnan, Chairman, Rajya Sabha, on 20 Nov. on similar lines.

235. Note to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 18 November 1958. JN Collection.

236. Belte Shah Gilani was a Roman Catholic.

237. Minister in the Embassy of India in Washington.

238. Vasco Vieira Garin was the Portuguese Ambassador to Canada and Permanent Representative of Portugal to the UN at this time.

239. Mrs Laura D'Souza was arrested in Goa on 11 Nov. 1958.



peacefully in the ordinary course. This retention of all these prisoners there is a constant irritant in India.<sup>240</sup>

## 88. Anti-Indian Propaganda by Goan Leaders<sup>241</sup>

I agree with you that we should take some effective measures against those merchants in India who are trading with Goa via Aden, Singapore and other neighbouring countries. You suggest that import licences should be refused to them. This should not offer any difficulty. If you have their names, you should communicate them to the Commerce & Industry Ministry and ask them to blacklist them from the point of view of granting them import licences.

2. So far as Goan leaders indulging in anti-Indian propaganda on Indian soil are concerned, we would like to take steps against them. Exactly what steps we take, would depend on each case. I am not quite clear in my mind as to what steps we can take against them. If they are Portuguese by nationality, we can, of course, send them back to Goa.

3. I think that the case of Daman<sup>242</sup> should be considered separately. What we do in Daman has probably little effect on the major Goa situation. If we relax our restrictions in particular cases there, it would bring relief to a number of poor people. I would, therefore, like to have this matter examined from this point of view.

240. On 19 Dec. 1958, Lakshmi Menon, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, stated in the Lok Sabha that Salah El Abd, Chargé d'Affaires of the UAR Embassy, discussed a number of questions affecting Indian interests with the Acting Governor-General of Goa, particularly the release of Sudha Joshi.

241. Note to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 17 December 1958. JN Collection.

242. Daman was occupied by the Portuguese in 1531 and was formally ceded to Portugal in 1539 by the Sultan of Gujarat. It remained a Portuguese colonial possession until it was annexed by Indian forces on 19 Dec. 1961.

(g) Sikkim and Bhutan

89. To Palden Thondup Namgyal<sup>243</sup>

November 17, 1958

My dear Maharajkumar,<sup>244</sup>

Thank you for your message of good wishes on my birthday. That reminded me of my recent visit to your beautiful country and of the friendship and hospitality that we received there.<sup>245</sup> It was particularly pleasing to note the marked progress that Sikkim was making.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

90. Bhutan in Chinese Maps<sup>246</sup>

Wodeyar:<sup>247</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Government of India have given an assurance to the Government of Bhutan to protect its boundaries; and
- (b) whether it is a fact that the maps of People's Republic of China show the territory of Bhutan as an integral part of People's Republic of China?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) No specific assurance has been asked for or given in regard to this matter. Article 2 of the Treaty between India and Bhutan runs as follows:<sup>248</sup>

“The Government of India undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part the Government of Bhutan agrees to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations”.

243. JN Collection.

244. Maharajkumar of Sikkim.

245. Nehru was in Gangtok on 16-17 Sept. and 1 Oct. on his way to and from Bhutan.

246. Reply to questions in the Lok Sabha, 8 December 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, cols 3602-3603

247. K.G. Wodeyar was Congress MP from Shimoga, Mysore.

248. Treaty of Perpetual Peace and Friendship between India and Bhutan signed at Darjeeling on 8 Aug. 1949.



External relations include the question of defence if need arises. No such need, however, has arisen or is likely to arise.

(b) It would seem, that in some of these maps, a part of Eastern Bhutan has been shown as part of the Chinese State. The attention of the Chinese Government was drawn to these maps and it was pointed out that they were erroneous. The Chinese Government have recently informed us that their maps are drawn on the basis of maps published in China before the liberation and that they have not yet undertaken a survey of China's boundaries nor entered into consultations with other countries concerned, and that after a lapse of time, a new way of drawing the boundary of China may be decided on in accordance with the results of their survey and consultations with neighbouring countries.<sup>249</sup>

The main frontier of India as also of Bhutan is quite clear and there can be no dispute about it.

## 91. Special Position of Bhutan<sup>250</sup>

In my note on Bhutan<sup>251</sup> after my visit there,<sup>252</sup> I gave an account of my talks with the Maharaja<sup>253</sup> and his Prime Minister.<sup>254</sup> Subsequent to that, I think I have written another note<sup>255</sup> on this subject.

In this later note I made it quite clear that there can be no question of our stationing or sending any armed forces to Bhutan. We are quite incapable of doing so, having regard to the physical terrain, difficulties of communications, etc. Further I do not want any such idea to enter into the head of the Bhutan Government. This might on the one hand alarm them and make them feel that we want to interfere in their internal affairs, which we have no intention of doing or alternatively, it might produce a sense of reliance in them for armed help if an emergency arises, which also would be wrong.

Therefore, no question arises of our preparing for or thinking in terms of such armed assistance.

249. On 14 Dec. 1958, Nehru also wrote a personal letter to Chou En-lai, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, drawing his attention to these maps. See item no. 266.

250. Note to the Defence Ministry, 27 December 1958. JN Collection.

251. For Nehru's note of 26 Sept. 1958, see SWJN/SS/44/pp. 311-322.

252. 18-29 Sept. 1958.

253. Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, 1952-72.

254. Jigme Palden Dorji, 1952-64.

255. For Nehru's note of 28 Sept. 1958, see SWJN/SS/44/pp. 324-325.

Nor was it my intention to make any public announcement to the effect that any hostile action against Bhutan would be met by India. What I meant was that it should be clearly understood by the parties concerned that Bhutan occupies a special position in regard to India and we are interested in its integrity and independence. That is a political matter and I believe that this is generally known. The fact that this is known may not come in the way of any deliberate aggression, if such was intended. I do not think any such aggression is intended or is at all likely. But this does come in the way, to some extent, of petty troubles on the border.

Anyhow, our Military authorities need not trouble themselves about it.

## 92. To B.V. Keskar<sup>256</sup>

December 29, 1958

My dear Balkrishna,

Your letter of December 25 about the proposal to establish a Radio Station in Sikkim. I think that this proposal is a sound one and has importance from many points of view. At present you have some kind of broadcasts in Tibetan from Delhi or Gauhati. This can be stopped and the Gangtok Station should deal with Tibetan and Sikkimese. I need not point out the advantages of this from many points of view.

Sikkim may be technically outside India, but it is not exactly a foreign country. It is a Protectorate of India and for this purpose at any rate, may be considered a part of our Indian commitments. The Radio Station in Sikkim will of course be under the control of AIR.

I think, therefore, that such a Radio Station should be started. The only other question that you raise is about the cost of it which I understand is likely to be about Rs 1,84,000 with a foreign exchange component of Rs 49,000. Some reduction in expenditure will probably be made in the AIR if you can give up Tibetan from here. I cannot judge of the various priorities in your budget, but I imagine that this Gangtok Station should have a higher priority than some other proposals. In any event I think it is worthwhile for this sum to be found by our Finance Ministry.

256. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to Foreign Secretary together with the file.



I understand that the Foreign Secretary<sup>257</sup> is writing to the Cabinet Secretary<sup>258</sup> on this subject.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**(h) Administration**

**(i) Accountability and Transparency**

**93. To Swaran Singh<sup>259</sup>**

November 6, 1958

My dear Swaran Singh,

You wrote to me the other day about the procedure adopted for allotting steel. That procedure seemed to me amazingly cumbrous and inevitably involving delay. Delay is bad enough, but it also gives many loopholes for corruption. I think that this matter should be considered and some simpler and more rapid procedure evolved.

Today, Subramaniam,<sup>260</sup> the Finance Minister of Madras was complaining about allotments of steel. He said that a very important project of his was held up because of lack of steel. His Engineers came and told him that there was plenty of steel available in the market at of course a much higher price. Ultimately because of the urgent need I think they bought this highly priced steel from the market. I think it was said that there was a thousand tons of steel available in the Madras Market.

Presumably this steel in the market could only have gone there by irregular means. Subramaniam said that this was constantly happening and there were many leakages which permitted this. It was rather odd that he could not get steel from the regular channels and yet the market was full of it.

I hope you will look into this entire matter of steel allocation and evolve some better and more effective process which avoids leakages and corruption.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

257. Subimal Dutt.

258. Vishnu Sahay.

259. File No. 17(318)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

260. C. Subramaniam.

## 94. Criticism of Ministerial Intervention<sup>261</sup>

When this article appeared in *The Statesman*,<sup>262</sup> I made immediate enquiries about it. Prem Bhatia<sup>263</sup> was sent for and asked who he referred to. He mentioned the name of an officer in the External Affairs Ministry, who has been serving at Bonn in Germany. Previously, he served in our Lahore Office. On further enquiries in External Affairs, it was found that a police investigation was being made in regard to this particular officer and that this was nearly complete and further action was going to be taken according to the rules. The insinuation in Prem Bhatia's article was completely unjustified. There was not the slightest attempt of any ministerial intervention. In fact, no such question arose, and we were merely waiting for the police enquiry to be over to take steps. His enquiry is now over and the officer concerned has been called back to headquarters. On his arrival, the necessary steps will be taken and charges will be framed, and he will be asked to answer them. So far as I know, there has been no delay in this, except such as is inevitable in having a police enquiry made.

2. Prem Bhatia's attention was drawn to these facts, and he said that he would correct his previous statement in his next article in *The Statesman*.<sup>264</sup> He did mention this in his next article, but not in a very clear or proper way as he should have done. In fact, he had made insinuations without the least evidence, and he ought to have apologised.

3. The facts of this case are given above. The Home Minister can frame an answer on the basis of these facts.

261. Note to G.B. Pant, the Union Minister of Home Affairs, 11 November 1958, JN Collection.

262. Prem Bhatia wrote on 28 Oct. 1958: "Ministerial intervention in trying to save a fairly senior officer of the Government against whom clearly culpable charges of corruption, fraud and embezzlement have been established through careful investigation. The case is familiar to the Prime Minister but he may be unaware of the Ministerial intervention. And if the Press helps to bring the matter to his notice, it is unfair to call newspaper writers liars or twisters".

263. Prem Narain Bhatia was the Special Correspondent of *The Statesman* at Lucknow and Delhi.

264. Prem Bhatia's article of 4 Nov. did not apologise but expressed satisfaction that he had elicited a response. It also pointed out another example of the Government refusing to divulge information in time. This was about the Vivian Bose Committee Report on LIC investments. It had been submitted some six weeks earlier and had indicted certain officers. But the Government refused to release the report on the ground that internal procedures of allowing these officers to explain themselves had to be completed. In which case, he asked, why could not the Government explain such a matter rather than allowing it to create doubt among the public.



## 95. The Case of Shanti Prasad Jain<sup>265</sup>

Two or three days ago I wrote to you<sup>266</sup> enquiring as to what had happened in Shri Shanti Prasad Jain's<sup>267</sup> case. He was alleged to have brought foreign currency from abroad to India and to have built up foreign accounts.

I am anxious to know what the position is now. I gather that every effort is being made by him and on his behalf to prevent any further action being taken against him and all kinds of approaches are being made to various influential people.

As I think I wrote to you, he had sent his son, Alok Kumar Jain,<sup>268</sup> and his General Manager, Shri Poddar,<sup>269</sup> to Germany in this connection. This was when he learnt that our Intelligence had sent a man there for enquiry. These two persons have now come back. I am told that Shri S.P. Jain is now staying at Ashoka Hotel, Room No. 504, and is chiefly engaged in trying to so manoeuvre as to suppress this matter.

It should be made perfectly clear that this matter has to be proceeded with full vigour.

265. Note to Kesho Ram, 21 November 1958. JN Collection.

266. On 19 November 1958.

267. (1912-77); industrialist and philanthropist; Chairman and Director, Sahu Jain Limited, Bennett Colernan and Company Limited, Jaipur Udyog Limited and Rohtas Industries Ltd at Dalmianagar, Bihar; developed Dalmianagar into an industrial town; Director, National Industrial Development Corporation Limited; President, Bihar Industries Association, Patna; President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Rajasthan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Bihar Chamber of Commerce; founder-trustee, Bharatiya Jnanpith (Academy), Varanasi; awarded the Shrivak Shiromani title by the Jain community.

268. Alok Prasad Jain (b.1935); industrialist; Chairman, Alok Udyog Ltd; trustee, Sahu Jain Trust; Member, Bharatiya Jnanpith Sanchalak Samiti.

269. Vishnu Prasad Poddar (b.1915); specialist in the manufacture of paper, cement and chemicals; Technical Director, New Central Jute Mills Co. Ltd; Director, Rohtas Industries Ltd., and Ashoka Cement Ltd.

## 96. To Jagjivan Ram<sup>270</sup>

December 19, 1958

My dear Jagjivan Ram,<sup>271</sup>

I see from the monthly report of the Special Police Establishment that a large number of cases are pending with the Ministry of Railways. I think that some effort should be made not to have this work of investigation into charges against officers delayed so long. I know that the Railway Ministry is a very big Ministry and deals with a vast number of people. But that appears to be no reason why there should be delay in enquiries in such matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 97. Transparency in Official Functioning<sup>272</sup>

I suppose the Office Memorandum, of which a draft is given in this file, has not yet been sent to the Lok Sabha Secretariat. If that is so, changes given below should be made in it.

I do not think it is right or necessary to say that for security reasons we are unable to publish the full agreement. I do not myself see anything to hide in it. But, apart from this, we have often stated that we only make open agreements with other countries and not secret ones. Any attempt to avoid publication obviously means that there is something secret in it which we do not wish to disclose. This will give rise to all kinds of speculations. There may be discussions in Parliament and ultimately we shall have to produce this agreement. Therefore I do not think we can, in this or any like case, take up the attitude that it is not in the public interest to disclose an agreement with any State.

The Lok Sabha is only sitting for another day, tomorrow. Therefore, as a matter of fact, there is not much chance of my having to make a statement during this session. But I am quite sure that we shall have to make a full statement during the next session.

270. JN Collection.

271. Union Minister of Railways.

272. Note to Surjit Singh Majithia, the Deputy Minister of Defence, 19 December 1958. JN Collection.



## (ii) Management of Religious Properties

98. To Mohanlal Sukhadia<sup>273</sup>

13th November, 1958

My dear Sukhadia,<sup>274</sup>

There is one matter which has been troubling me greatly and about which I have wanted to talk to you. This is about the Nathdwara Temple. Early this year, I think, the question of removal of valuables from some locked room in the temple arose and the Maharaj was accused of secretly taking away these valuables which were temple property. It struck me then that there was great slackness in dealing with this matter and in fact the Maharaj was given every opportunity to take these valuables away.<sup>275</sup> Subsequently, when I wrote to you and other people also drew attention to this matter, you appointed a committee of enquiry consisting, I think, of Chief Justice Wanchoo.<sup>276</sup> The Maharaj took objection to all this and the committee never functioned and Wanchoo came here.

The result is that the Maharaj has got away with something that is as near robbery as well as misappropriation of public funds as you can have anywhere. To allow this kind of thing to happen brings no credit on our governments.

Apart from this particular instance, the whole arrangement of the Nathdwara Temple appears to me completely defective. How any man of religion can tolerate such arrangements, I do not understand. The Mahant or Maharaj or whatever he is called is apparently a person as far removed from religion or spirituality or decent honest living and behaviour as anything can be. It is improper for public sentiment to be exploited for the greed and cupidity of individuals.

Apart from this personal aspect, which of course is very important, there is the public aspect that temple funds should not be at the disposal of any individual. They should be controlled completely by independent committees of high standing and the proceeds should be used for public purposes. We have a fine example of this in the temple at Tirupati in Andhra. Out of offerings made to that temple, many fine educational institutions have been built up, universities established and all that.

273. JN Collection.

274. Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

275. For more details, see SWJN/SS/41/pp. 529-530.

276. Rajasthan Government appointed a one-man commission of inquiry headed by K.N. Wanchoo, the Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court, to inquire into the matter.

To what good purpose is the income from Nathdwara Temple being utilised? Chiefly, I imagine, for political purposes. This cannot be allowed to continue and you must take urgent steps to put matters right.

Thus there are two aspects of this question. One is the broad aspect of complete reform of the administration and the present Maharaj being removed from it and a high-class committee appointed. On a previous occasion, some such arrangement was made with considerable benefit to the temple funds. At that time much too big an allowance was fixed for the Maharaj. Exactly when he should be paid any allowance at all is not clear to me. But if an allowance is to be paid it should be a moderate one.

Apart from this, the immediate question arises why a man who has been charged with something equivalent to robbery as well as misappropriation of funds should not be proceeded against and in fact should be allowed to continue where he can misappropriate more funds. I think urgent action is required and it is not right that the Rajasthan Government should take a lenient view of this and put the blame for delay on other persons.

I am sending a copy of this letter to our Home Minister.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 99. To Mangaldas Pakvasa<sup>277</sup>

13th November, 1958

My dear Mangaldasji,<sup>278</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 10th November about the Nathdwara Temple.<sup>279</sup> I have been much concerned about this for a considerable time past. This is for two reasons. Firstly, because I do not think it is at all proper for large public funds attached to temples etc. to be privately managed. They should be treated

277. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to Govind Ballabh Pant, the Union Home Minister.

278. A Congress leader and former Governor of Madhya Pradesh (1947-52) and Bombay (1954-55).

279. Pakvasa's letter of 10 Nov. 1958, from 29 Dongersey Road, Bombay-6, to Nehru, is reproduced here in full:

"I am writing this letter after a long time as I felt that in the midst of so much work I should not write to you and give you any trouble. But circumstances have now compelled me to write this letter.



You are aware that the temple of Shrinathji at Nathdwara is one which has devotion of over 8 millions of Vaishnavas of Vallabhacharya Panta, spread over the whole of India. It was originally at Mathura. But several hundred years ago by reason of the fear of tyranny of Aurangzeb it was shifted to Nathdwara near Udaipur in Rajasthan, to secure protection. Since then the Maharajas have been doing service to the Deity and manage the properties which runs into crores of rupees. Annual income runs into several lacs of rupees and the accumulated wealth after misappropriation and spending away runs into crores of rupees. For the several decades management has been hopeless and even devotees have felt it unbearable. Present Maharaja's grandfather was so disgusted with the conduct and character of his son i.e. father of the present Maharaj that he broke the law of Primogeniture and directed that his son Damodarlalji i.e. father of the present Maharaj should not succeed him, and the present Maharaj who was then minor (of very young age) should succeed him. There was a committee which was managing its affairs till the present Maharaj came of age. He took over the management and since then neither the purity of the Seva and services of the Deity nor protection of the properties is or can be called honest and pure. For the last five years a series of committees were appointed to look after the management of the properties and secure reasonably pure service of the Deity. The service was left with the Maharaj. There was appointed a committee of 11 by a Scheme of Management, approved by Shri Pantji (Home Minister) by Sukhadiaji, the Chief Minister of Rajasthan, and Shriyut Dhebarbhai, President of the Congress, at a meeting held in New Delhi at the place of residence of Shriyut Pantji. I had finalized the draft of management and secured the cooperation of leading Vaishnavas and above mentioned three leading personalities of India. After the scheme came into operation again, mismanagement and misappropriation started in December, 1957. Maharajshri broke open the old room and removed large quantity of goods and jewellery. After days of such removal which (in other circumstances would be considered to be robbery) the committee came to know of it. Maharajshri made an inventory after several days. Goods and jewellery which came to about less than 3½ lacs, while it is estimated that the jewels were worth over a crore of rupees. Again 28 bales of valuable cloth were surreptitiously removed by him. He had taken in the course of several years an amount of nearly 16 lacs of rupees. He got a havala made and transferred the amount by journal entries to expenditure account. These are some of the instances where money is being squandered, wasted, misappropriated and it is difficult to describe the tremendous waste of moneys, belonging to the Deity. When a complaint was made and matter discussed in public, Shri Sukhadiaji, appointed a committee to investigate into the removal of jewellery and goods as mentioned above. This enquiry committee was appointed about the end of February. The appointment of such enquiry committee was challenged by Maharaj and nothing further has been done in the said enquiry. The Committee itself has not been able to control Maharaj and the conditions are deteriorating fast both with regard to the security of properties and purity of service. It is difficult for an individual or a group of persons to do anything to stop this thing without the help of the Government.

In the committee of 11 members, as mentioned above was Shri Mulraj Kersondas who by reason of such happenings had to retire. Since then the conditions are deteriorating faster.

Unless the Government takes over possession of the properties and the management thereof and also arranges for the services of the Deity nothing can be done. I do not know

as public trust and used for public purposes. Secondly, because the reports we have had about the present management there have indicated that there is not only gross mismanagement but misappropriation of funds. I am quite clear in my mind that this kind of thing should not continue and I agree with you that some steps should be taken as soon as possible to vest these funds in a competent committee. The present Mahant or Maharaj or whatever he is called should be removed.

I am referring this matter to our Home Minister Pantji, as also to Sukhadia, the Chief Minister of Rajasthan. I shall be glad if you could let me have some specific proposals as to what should be done and how.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

whether the Government can do so by any ordinance or any other method. Legislation should also be there. That will take some time. The legislation should be of the type of the temple at Tirupathi in Andhra. If the steps are immediately taken to prevent colossal waste of public moneys given by the devotees for the Deity by reason of religious faith and devotion then they could be used for the public purposes as it is being done at Tirupathi. This matter requires careful consideration and immediate action and I am prepared to render such service as may be required by you. As regards legislation I am afraid and I believe the difficulties are likely to be raised by the parties on the ground that this is a private thing of the Maharaj because they have always claimed the Deity as their private one. Originally it may have been like that but at present it is not so. According to the decree passed by the High Court of Bombay regarding the temple of Shrinathji at Nathdwara, it was decided that Maharaj is only a manager and the assets of the temple belong to the Deity, it being a Public Trust. The public and therefore the court and therefore the State has a right to interfere. It was also the position taken up by the Udaipur State in the past.

If there are any legal difficulties that can also be solved. Personally I do not feel that there will be or can be any legal difficulties. My object in writing this letter is that this matter even in the midst of heavy work all round to be handled by the Central Government may be taken up as a very urgent matter and waste of lacs of rupees may be stopped. Anybody or a single individual or group of men cannot do this. Once the matter is taken up by the Central Government it will be very easy for disposal and it will receive cooperation from many quarters.

I hereby offer my heartfelt congratulations on your coming birthday and pray to God that you may not only enjoy a long life but he may continue to give and continue to preserve marvelous strength and energy which you have at present and which are wholly devoted in the service of our Motherland.

[End of Pakvasa's letter of 10 Nov.]



## 100. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>280</sup>

13th November, 1958

My dear Pantji,

On many occasions I have been approached by the Jamiat<sup>281</sup> people in Delhi, and more especially Maulana Ahmed Saeed,<sup>282</sup> about Wakf properties of evacuees. Many of these properties are in adverse possession and after a period of 12 years there will be no relief left and the adverse possession will become permanent. It is therefore sought that some step be taken to prevent this law of adverse possession applying to these Wakf properties.

I believe this matter has been brought to your notice and you have given some relief from time to time in the shape of extension of time. But the main question remains. Could we not do something to protect these Wakf properties permanently?

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

## 101. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>283</sup>

November 16, 1958

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th November about the Nathdwara Temple.<sup>284</sup>

The more I think of this subject, the more it distresses me. I am not referring to the Nathdwara Temple only, but the general tribe of Mahants and

280. JN Collection.

281. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind was founded in November 1919 by the Ulema of Deoband and was in favour of cooperation with the Congress.

282. Secretary, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind.

283. File No. 24/3/58-Judl II, MHA.

284. G.B. Pant wrote that Mangaldas Pakvasa and Mulraj Kersondas, Member of the Management Committee of Nathdwara Temple, had been in correspondence with him almost continuously about its management, that the Rajasthan Government had, at his suggestion, appointed a Commission under Justice K.N. Wanchoo, but unfortunately, the constitutionality of the Commission had been challenged in the High Court before the enquiry could begin, and that he had suggested to Mohanlal Sukhadia some months previously that suitable legislation be prepared for a statutory committee to run the Temple.

the like. I have today sent a letter to the Chief Ministers on this subject, a copy of which I enclose.<sup>285</sup>

I think that a Commission or Committee appointed by the Government of India would serve a useful purpose.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

## 102. To Chief Ministers<sup>286</sup>

November 16, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I have long been worried about the properties and large sums of money which are attached to our temples. A few of these manage these properties and monies with some sense of responsibility. But most of them do not do so. An example of good use of money is that of the Tirupati Temple<sup>287</sup> in South India where there is a competent Board<sup>288</sup> to look after the properties and to use the money for public purposes, chiefly education. But that is rather an exception.

In quite a number of cases, the Mahant treats the temple property as his own personal income which seems to me highly improper. Sometimes the Mahant is a notorious evil liver. It is bad enough that such a man should occupy a position of spiritual head of an institution; it is worse that the offerings should go to support his personal pleasures. These Mahants have recently and increasingly taken to marriage and look upon the income of the temple as hereditary personal property. I have no objection to their marrying, but I do object to this utter misuse of public funds.

In some States there has been some legislation to control this kind of thing. But I rather doubt if this legislation has served the purpose for which it was intended. I think that we should take some effective steps for the protection of these funds and for their use for public purposes more especially education. The funds thus made available would be, I think, considerable.

285. See item 102.

286. File No. 24/3/58-Judl II, MHA. Also published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-64*, Vol. 5, pp. 164-65. A copy of this letter was sent to the Union Home Minister.

287. Located in Andhra Pradesh about 108 kilometres north-west of Madras city.

288. The Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam.



I am inclined to think that it might be desirable to have a Commission of enquiry to find out what the position is. The subject is essentially a State subject, but perhaps an All-India Commission of enquiry<sup>289</sup> would be better than State enquiries. That would bring out all the facts.

Before we consider this matter further, I should like your own views on the subject and I would be grateful if you could tell me what steps have been taken by your Government in regard to it, including legislation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 103. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>290</sup>

December 2, 1958

My dear Pantji,

You will remember that I sent a letter to all Chief Ministers about the properties attached to temples and mutts.<sup>291</sup> I asked them to let me know what kind of legislation they had and pointed out that it was essential that these properties should be properly controlled and utilised in a profitable way, such as education, etc. I have received some replies from Chief Ministers which I enclose.

I had previously suggested to you that it would be worthwhile to appoint a small Committee to examine the question of temple and mutt properties and the existing law and then make recommendations. I think this would be desirable. It is better to confine this enquiry to Hindu temples, mutts etc., and not spread out to properties belonging to other religious groups.<sup>292</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

289. On 1 Mar. 1960, GOI constituted a Commission of Inquiry under C.P. Ramaswami Aiyer to inquire into Hindu religious endowments. It reported on 31 May 1962.

290. File No. 24/3/58-Judl II, MHA.

291. See item 102.

292. G.B. Pant wrote to Nehru on 5 Dec. 1958 that the Law Ministry had perhaps been considering some legislation and the Planning Commission had also set up a study group on the subject.

(iii) Services

104. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>293</sup>

November 6, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a note I have received from Verrier Elwin. I think there is much in what he says. Is it desirable to have a relatively small service cadre? This will not give many opportunities for a man to go ahead. Our Frontier Service has produced very good men. They would be specially suited for Manipur, Tripura and the Andamans.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

105. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>294</sup>

15th November, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I enclose copy of a letter which Indira has received<sup>295</sup> and which she has passed on to me. In this letter there is reference to Nirmal Bose. On receipt of it I telephoned to Humayun Kabir who said that the UPSC had recommended his appointment for the post mentioned in the Indian Museum in Calcutta and that the Home Ministry had forwarded it. It was proposed to issue the letter of appointment in a day or two. I told him that in view of what is said in the enclosed letter, this appointment might be deferred a little so that we can examine this further. I have written to Humayun Kabir also.

293. JN Collection.

294. JN Collection.

295. In his letter of 4 Nov. to Indira Gandhi, Ratanlal Badian of Calcutta had questioned the appointment of Nirmal Bose, a Reader in the University of Calcutta, to the post of Director, Department of Anthropology, Indian Museum, Calcutta. According to Badian, Nirmal Bose had approached the Calcutta High Court to annul the agreement between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan adjusting the boundaries between the two countries. Such a person, he said, was unsuitable for a responsible administrative position.



I am not at all clear as to who this Nirmal Bose is.<sup>296</sup> Humayun Kabir told me that he was the man who was with Gandhiji at Noakhali. I know him. He was rather a cranky kind of person then. Subsequently, after Gandhiji's death, he wrote a very objectionable book about Gandhiji. In fact, he ran Gandhiji down. It would therefore appear that Nirmal Bose is the same person who was with Gandhiji.

On inquiry from the External Affairs Ministry I am told that an application under Article 226 of the Constitution of India challenging the agreement arrived at between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan<sup>297</sup> about the exchange of enclaves and division between India and Pakistan of the area of Berubari Union has been filed in the High Court of Calcutta. This application has been filed by Nirmal Bose, son of Hirambo Kumar Bose of Jalpaiguri. Nirmal Bose is said to be 28 years of age and is Secretary of the All India Forward Bloc Bengal Committee. According to a press report he is a Professor in Political Science in a college at Calcutta.

I am not at all sure that the two Nirmal Boses are one and the same person. It is obvious that the man who was with Gandhiji is not aged 28 years. He must be nearing 50. Possibly, the press report about the age is wrong. Anyhow, this matter requires to be enquired into and I am writing to Humayun Kabir accordingly.<sup>298</sup> What the qualifications of the man are for the Directorship of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, I do not know. If he is the man who was with Gandhiji then it is a very odd choice because to my knowledge he knew nothing about Anthropology, apart from his rather bad record subsequently. If he is somebody else, who is a Professor in Political Science in a college in Calcutta that too is hardly a qualification?

Anyhow, it would seem to me that a man who has filed a complaint in the Calcutta High Court against the Prime Minister and the Government of India is hardly the right person to choose on this occasion for any Government post.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

296. Nirmal Kumar Bose, author of *My Days with Gandhi* (Calcutta: Orient Longmans, 1953) was also Director, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1959-64. In his book he described the last decade of Mahatma Gandhi's life particularly his courageous movement into areas with fierce communal violence (Noakhali, 1947). While Bose held Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy in high esteem, he was sceptical about his experiments with his own sexuality.

297. Nehru was referring to the Nehru-Noon agreement signed at New Delhi on 11 Sept. 1958.

298. See item 106.

## 106. To Humayun Kabir<sup>299</sup>

November 16, 1958

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 16th November about Nirmal Bose. Probably, there are two Nirmal Boses. It will be better, however, to clear this confusion up. If, as is likely, the Nirmal Bose whose name has been recommended by the U.P.S.C., is not the man who has brought a case in the Calcutta High Court, then that objection of course does not apply.

I did not like Nirmal Bose's activities after partition, but I do not think that is an adequate reason for us to come in the way of the recommendation of the U.P.S.C.<sup>300</sup>

I am sending a copy of this letter to Pantji.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 107. The Case of a Married Woman<sup>301</sup>

Her<sup>302</sup> resignation will have to be accepted ultimately. But, so long as she would normally stay in Peking, the fact of her marriage need not come in the way of her work. If she or her husband<sup>303</sup> has to be transferred, then obviously she cannot continue in the Service. I suggest, therefore, that for the present she may be allowed to continue to carry on her work. But she should be informed that we will have to accept her resignation if she has to leave Peking or we think that her period in Peking is over.

2. Merely to accept her resignation now would mean sending someone else in her place there immediately. We might avoid this for the time being. Married women have continued in our Service. If their marriage did not come in the way, I do not see why this particular marriage should come in the way of

299. JN Collection.

300. In a letter of 17 Nov. to Humayun Kabir, Nehru asked him to go ahead with the appointment of Nirmal Bose after he was sure that this Nirmal Bose was not the Nirmal Bose who had filed a suit in the Calcutta High Court.

301. Note to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 2 December 1958. JN Collection.

302. Mira Mallick.

303. S. Sinha, First Secretary in the Indian Embassy in Peking.



her continuing in service unless, as I have said above, some transfer has to be made which affects her service.

3. It is unfortunate that we spend a good deal of money in training a new entrant in the Service at the Training School and, perhaps, in a foreign country, and then that person has to leave us. The money we have spent on her training is thus largely wasted.

## 108. To D.P. Karmarkar<sup>304</sup>

December 10, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,<sup>305</sup>

I have seen a file in regard to Dr. H.C. Govel who has been studying in America with the help of a Rockefeller Fellowship for higher study in public health. This Fellowship was given to him on the express understanding that his services would be utilised in India after his return. Dr. Govel had written to me in July 1957 in which he mentioned this and had asked us for an assurance to the effect that his services would be utilised in India. I wrote to you then and you said in your reply dated 3rd August 1957 that in view of the rules of the U.P.S.C. etc., it was not possible to give any such undertaking.

This seemed to me rather an odd position to take up for us and I discussed it with the Minister of Finance and on his agreeing, I gave such an assurance to Govel and I wrote to you about it on August 10, 1957.

Now it appears that Govel has passed his various examinations and been awarded the degree of M.P.H. After some practical training he will be coming back probably during the course of this month. He enquired from your Ministry about his future. The reply sent by your Ministry on November 6, 1958 was exactly on the same lines previously taken by them and referred to the U.P.S.C. and advertising for posts etc. This reply was sent after five months of the receipt of Govel's letter.

All this seems to me rather extraordinary. When an assurance has been given by the Prime Minister, it was not right for your Ministry to reply as they have done. Secondly, it should not take five months for your Ministry to reply to a letter of this kind, where a young man is waiting anxiously to learn what is going to happen to his future. I think you should enquire into this matter.

304. JN Collection.

305. Union Minister of State for Health.

But the major question is that an assurance given by the Prime Minister is bypassed in this way and even ignored. The very least that your Ministry could have done was to refer the matter to me. I am very much put out by this.

I am having a letter sent to Dr. Govel saying that the assurance stands and that as soon as he comes back we shall look into this matter.

Will you please enquire into this? As this involves rather important matters of principle, it might even be necessary for us to consider it in Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### (iv) Other Matters

### 109. Harassment of a Foreign Couple<sup>306</sup>

Mr. Herbert Marshal<sup>307</sup> came to see me today. He has been in India for a number of years and has done a good deal of work for Government, especially the Bombay Government. He is a well-known film producer.<sup>308</sup> His wife, Fredda Brilliant,<sup>309</sup> has also been in India for many years. At present she is in England. She is a noted sculptor and has made busts of various people including the President, myself and a large number of others.

Mr. Marshal came to speak to me about his work. He mentioned also that for some odd reason, his wife and, to some extent, he himself were consistently trailed by C.I.D. men in Bombay. This appeared to me extraordinary as he had been here working for official organisations for many years. It was he who produced the Gandhi film for the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. As a matter of fact, he was associated with the Indian Independence movement even in the old days in England.

306. Note to Kesho Ram, 6 November 1958. JN Collection.

307. The correct name is Herbert P.J. Marshall; film, theatre and television producer for Government of India; producer, Natya National Theatre Company, 1957-60.

308. The Citizen Films Limited, London, with Herbert Marshall and his wife Fredda Brilliant as Directors, produced entertainment features, documentaries and educational films.

309. (1903-1999); sculptor and actress; married Herbert Marshall in 1935; famous for her statue of Mahatma Gandhi and busts of Indira Gandhi and Krishna Menon; made busts of Nehru in 1948 and 1951; Fellow, Royal Society of Arts; Member, Society of Portrait Sculptors; author of *Biographies in Bronze* (New York: Shapolsky, 1986).



He and his wife called on the Police Commissioner or some Police official in Bombay to find out what all this was about. No adequate answer was given. In the course of the conversation, his wife was asked if her parents were German. This angered her greatly as she is a Pole who has suffered much at the hands of Germans and therefore considered it an insult to be called a German. Apparently there was a bit of a scene. This is what Mr. Marshal told me.

What I should like you to find out both from the Intelligence in Delhi and from the Bombay Government why these people have been shadowed by the C.I.D. I have known them for many years since pre-Independence days and I know of no reason whatever why this should be done. It gives us a bad name abroad.

### 110. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>310</sup>

November 6, 1958

My dear Pantji,

Your letter of November 5 with which you have sent a note by Prafulla Chandra Sen about G. Mohiuddin's activities.<sup>311</sup> This note ends by saying that Mohiuddin has been placed under suspension and departmental proceedings are being taken against him.

In view of the facts that have come out after enquiry, I do not understand why the matter should be dealt with on a departmental level only. Surely this is a very serious case of misconduct.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

310. JN Collection.

311. Golam Mohiuddin was Curator, Indian Botanical Gardens, Shibpur, Howrah District, West Bengal, 1952- 58. On 21 July 1958, he was suspended from service during an enquiry against him by the Anti Corruption Department of Police. The charges included: promises of influencing a police inquiry against a restaurant in exchange for free meals; using his official residence for prostitution; securing permits for taxis for a person with a criminal record.

**111. To M.K. Jinachandran<sup>312</sup>**

November 8, 1958

Dear Shri Jinachandran,<sup>313</sup>

I have your letter of November 4 in which you complain that Central Ministers do not inform local Congress Committees or M.Ps. of their visit to Kerala. It is obviously desirable for such intimation to be sent. But sometimes it may be difficult to do so in a hurried visit for a particular purpose. Much depends on the purpose and nature of such a visit. If it is a regular tour, then undoubtedly previous intimation should be sent, as suggested by you. But a visit for a particular function and for a brief while would stand on a somewhat different footing.

Shri S.K. Dey, the Minister for Community Development, sometimes makes very hurried and rushed tours. We do not permit him much time anywhere. He is wandering about the whole country. In such circumstances it would often be difficult to send the kind of intimation that you suggest previously or to have much time for separate functions. I do not think there is anything improper for you to be invited to meet him at a certain place.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**112. To Naushir Bharucha<sup>314</sup>**

November 11, 1958

Dear Shri Bharucha,<sup>315</sup>

Your letter of the 30th October. As you refer in it to the Home Minister, I enquired from him as to what the position was. He tells me that he has exchanged several letters with you on this subject and in fact he met the various requests you made.

Your reference to "coolies" being given transport facilities is rather unfortunate both for the "coolies" and the M.Ps.

You refer to the M.Ps. in South and North Avenue. I should have thought that both these and especially North Avenue were very near Parliament House

312. JN Collection.

313. (1917-70); Member, Central Legislative Assembly, 1945-47; Member, Kerala Provincial Congress Committee; Congress Lok Sabha MP from Tellicherry, Kerala, 1957-62.

314. JN Collection.

315. Independent Lok Sabha MP from East Khandesh, Bombay State.



and transport was hardly necessary unless there was rain or the like. Also the M.P. allowance is supposed to include transport charges. Special arrangements to be made would necessarily cost something in addition to what has already been provided for.

Naturally we are anxious to accommodate M.Ps. in the best way possible. It was with this object that the buses were made to stop there. I do not quite understand how buses can go that way at different hours to suit different Members. If you can point out to me any feasible method, we can consider that. It might be possible to arrange some taxis in attendance for use when needed.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 113. To S.K. Dey<sup>316</sup>

November 15, 1958

My dear Dey,<sup>317</sup>

People often complain that most of the money spent on the Community Development blocks goes towards administrative charges. How far is this true?<sup>318</sup> It would be good to work it out for our information.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

316. File No. 17(28)/58-PMS.

317. Union Minister of State for Community Development.

318. S.K. Dey replied on 16 Nov. 1958, pointing out that these charges had been rebutted often in Parliament. However, the criticism of the public was meaningful with regard to the blocks which were not functioning well. And for that, Dey added, "We are taking all possible administrative measures to see that the indifferent blocks do improve. But the permanent answer, as you know, lies in the development of energetic local institutions which can begin to make their impact on the Government organisation from the ground upward". Lastly, Dey suggested that the answer partly lay in the State Government implementing the recommendations of the National Development Council about using the block organisation as the sole agency to carry out governmental programmes.

## 114. Greater Efficiency and Economy in Administrative Processes<sup>319</sup>

Pandit D.N. Tiwary<sup>320</sup> and others: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that some time back he had expressed a great concern over extravagance in administration and delays in routine administrative matters in a Circular to the Ministries;
- (b) if so, the nature of suggestions made by him; and
- (c) the steps taken to implement those suggestions and with what results?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) It is not customary to disclose the contents of confidential papers. It may be stated however that the Prime Minister has frequently addressed various Departments of Government as well as sometimes Chief Ministers of States, in regard to greater efficiency and economy in the administrative processes.

(b) The principal suggestions have dealt with further decentralisation of work and the delegation of financial and administrative authority. It has also been suggested that the system of repeated noting on files should be changed and that promotion to the higher grades should be by merit.

(c) A number of steps have been taken towards decentralisation and delegation of authority. A special work study team is also studying methods of work in various Ministries with a view to eliminating waste of time and energy. Some results have already been obtained as a result of suggestions made by this team.

319. Reply to questions in the Lok Sabha, 3 December 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, cols 2870-2871.

320. Congress MP from Kesaria, Bihar.



115. To K.C. Reddy<sup>321</sup>

December 4, 1958

My dear Reddy,

I have already had a brief talk with you in regard to your letter of the 3rd December.<sup>322</sup> This deals with accommodation of the bungalow type for some Members of Parliament.

Normally, in most other countries, no special accommodation is provided to Members of Parliament. The other day, when the Canadian Prime Minister came here,<sup>323</sup> I pointed out to him our MPs' flats in South Avenue. He was surprised to learn that we provided this accommodation in such large numbers.<sup>324</sup>

Personally I think that it is right and desirable to provide such accommodation here for two main reasons. One is the shortage of accommodation in Delhi, and the other, rather connected with it, is the tremendously high rents here. If we did not provide accommodation, there would be not only grave inconvenience to MPs, but also this would bear down heavily on many of our MPs as they cannot afford to pay high rents. It was because of this that we undertook the building of MPs apartments of various types. It was because of this also that rents for these apartments were reduced greatly and brought well within the capacity of any MP to pay. I think these were right decisions.

In regard to the bungalow type of accommodation, however, the position is different, and I am not at all sure that the heavy subsidy that is paid for such bungalows as are occupied by MPs is justifiable. I doubt very much if this kind of thing is done in any other country. The subsidy element in these houses is very great. Further, there is the painful fact that we are very short of such accommodation for others. There is a difference between others and MPs. This difference is that these others live all the year round in them while MPs live there only for the period of the sessions. Thus these bungalows which are so badly required for other purposes are not occupied at all by MPs for a good part of the year. Also the State's duty to provide comfortable accommodation

321. File No. 45(8)/57-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

322. K.C. Reddy, Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, had reported that MPs were subletting their official accommodation. Officials who did this were penalised, and he had discussed the problem with the Chairman of the Lok Sabha House Committee.

323. John George Diefenbaker, the Prime Minister of Canada, arrived in New Delhi on 18 Nov. 1958.

324. There were 737 MPs altogether.

for MPs does not extend, I think, to largish bungalows. I am told that these bungalows, and indeed some apartments also, are often sub-let, which is not only against the rules, but, as has often been said, highly improper.

If a person wants a bungalow and it is available, he can certainly have it, but it does not seem to me right that the State should pay this heavy subsidy on it just to provide larger accommodation.

There should be some exceptions to this in the case of leaders of recognised parties, etc., because their houses are often the meeting place of their Party members. In regard to Ministers, the position is that they have to have offices in their houses and carry on work there. Therefore, they are given such houses. Even in this case, I do not think that large houses should be provided. The old practice of giving these big houses should no longer be continued. As regards Parliamentary Secretaries, there is no particular reason for them to be treated as special cases, partly because they do not reside in Delhi throughout the year and only remain here for the session period, and secondly they do not need an office room at all for the type of work they have to do.

I feel, therefore, that gradually we should work up to having enough flats or apartments for all our MPs and no bungalow type of house need be provided for them at all, except in very special cases. Further, the question of rent of bungalows should be separately considered from that of apartments because the difference between the economic rent and the actual rent paid today is very great indeed. We have fixed a proportion of subsidy for the apartments. Possibly the same type of proportion may be applied to bungalows. A low ceiling in the case of bungalows does not seem to me justified. There are at least some MPs who can easily afford to pay higher rents for bungalows.

I feel, therefore, that the demand for more bungalow type of accommodation for MPs does not have much justification.

There is another aspect of this problem which has caused me much concern. This is the continued sub-letting of bungalows as well as, sometimes, apartments by MPs. This is not only bad in itself, but brings us into disrepute. I have received numerous complaints about this and have often written to your Ministry as well as drawn the attention of the House Committee of Parliament. I have been assured that efforts are being made to put an end to this subletting, but the results, so far as I know, have been inconsiderable, if any at all. I think this matter must be dealt with much more effectively and with vigour. I am sure that a large number of MPs disapprove of it because it brings this disrepute on them. The bungalow type of accommodation is apt to encourage this even more than the apartments.

I feel, therefore, that we should, for the present, allow matters to rest where they are in regard to the provision of bungalow type of accommodation for MPs and not add to them. In fact, we should keep as our objective that no



bungalows, except very few in special cases, should, in future, be reserved for MPs.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs<sup>325</sup> and the Chairman of the House Committee of Parliament.<sup>326</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 116. The Police Needs the Goodwill of the People<sup>327</sup>

I send my good wishes to the next meeting of the All India Police Athletics and Sports Meet. These meetings are helpful not only to raise the physical standards of the Police force, but also to give them a feeling of camaraderie and in other ways to increase their efficiency. The Police have a vital duty to perform in any community. That duty can only be performed adequately if they have the goodwill and cooperation of that community. Every effort should, therefore, be made to gain this cooperation. It should also be remembered that the Police have to build up a high reputation for integrity. Indeed it is only then that they can obtain their goodwill which is so necessary.

### 117. To S.K. Patil<sup>328</sup>

December 10, 1958

My dear SK,<sup>329</sup>

A Cabinet paper on the subject of Tourist Publicity has come to my notice and I have read it. This has been issued by your Ministry.

I can well understand that some difficulties and delays arise by dual control. A similar type of difficulty arose between the External Affairs Ministry and the I. & B. Ministry in regard to External Publicity. After full consideration and

325. Satya Narayan Sinha.

326. U. Srinivasa Malliah was Chairman of the House Committee of Lok Sabha and J.N. Kaushal was Chairman of the House Committee of Rajya Sabha.

327. Message, 7 December 1958. JN Collection. The message was forwarded to B.N. Mullik, Director, Intelligence Bureau, New Delhi.

328. File No. 27(50)/59-65-PMS, Vol. I. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to Vishnu Sahay, the Cabinet Secretary.

329. Union Minister of Transport and Communications.

consultation, we arrived at what might be called a compromise decision. Some brief reference is made to this in the Cabinet paper. This decision has been working satisfactorily.

Your Ministry's paper on Tourist Publicity is not quite clear about certain aspects of this question. In effect it is proposed that the budget allotment for this work should be transferred from the I. & B. Ministry to your Ministry and that the Tourist Department will as far as possible use the media units of I. & B. Ministry for production of publicity material but that, if necessity arises, the Tourist Department will use other sources for this purpose. I take it that this refers to printing work as well as films.

So far as printing work is concerned, it is, I believe, concentrated in the press under the control of the W.H. & S. Ministry. All the printing work for the I. & B. Ministry is done by them or through them. Of course all the directions are given by the I. & B. Ministry and W.H. & S. merely carry them out. In fact, W.H. & S. are our specialists in printing. Some time back we decided to get a modern first class press for good publishing. This was for the publication work of the I. & B. Ministry but even this press would be with W.H. & S.

Just as W.H. & S. are our specialised agency for printing I. & B. are our specialised agency for various types of publications and, more particularly, for film work. I think that these specialised agencies should continue to work in that field for all the Ministries. Otherwise the special point of having a specialised agency fades away and it will be open to any Ministry to do odd jobs which normally a specialised agency would do.

The specialised agency, of course functions in this respect under the directions of those on whose behalf it is carrying out that particular work.

It was on some such basis that a solution was found to the problem that had arisen between the External Affairs and I. & B. This solution has been found satisfactory. I do not see why some such solution should not apply to the Tourist Department's problems and difficulties. Going beyond this would lay down a new principle which may have much wider implications.

Presumably the idea of the Transport Ministry is that some publicity work, either printing or films, might be carried out outside India. I think that this will not be desirable, apart from the question of foreign exchange involved. On the whole, our production of printed stuff and films, is high-class. If it is not, we should improve it. To go abroad for this would again be rather an innovation and it would involve foreign exchange which we treasure now more than ever.

I entirely agree with you that duplication and dual control should be avoided. The type of control by many authorities to which reference is made in the Cabinet paper is obviously undesirable. All this should be simplified. In fact, in regard to both these matters, that is, printing and films, the real direction would be



that of the Transport Ministry and the I. & B. Ministry their technical agents to carry it through.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 118. To S. Radhakrishnan<sup>330</sup>

December 11, 1958

My dear Radhakrishnan,<sup>331</sup>

I have your letter of the 11th December about the proposal to have the general conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists in Delhi in 1960.<sup>332</sup> I had a similar letter from the Reverend Riri Nakayama<sup>333</sup> and I am seeing him tomorrow evening. Meanwhile I asked our Foreign Secretary to meet him.

As a result of the talk that the Foreign Secretary had with him, it appears that the Reverend Nakayama not only wants us to sponsor this conference, though indirectly, but also practically to meet the entire expenses. He thinks that about 180 foreign delegates and foreign guests are likely to attend. He wants us to pay their railway expenses from the port of entry to Delhi and back, to treat them as our guests here in Delhi and pay for their board and accommodation and also allow the use of the Vigyan Bhawan free. The conference is supposed to last a week in Delhi. Probably many of them would like to visit Buddha Gaya, Sarnath, etc. We are supposed to organise the Secretariat.

It is a little difficult to estimate the cost, but it is likely to be between forty and fifty thousand rupees at least.

But apart from the expenditure involved, there is the question of principle of the Government helping in every way a religious conference. Of course we would gladly give facilities, but they want us to do everything for the Conference. I feel that this will be an awkward precedent for us. We would have no objection

330. JN Collection.

331. Vice President of India.

332. Radhakrishnan sought Nehru's advice about holding a general conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists in Delhi in 1960.

333. Riri Nakayama, Director, Executive Council of World Fellowship of Buddhists, wrote to Nehru on 9 Dec. 1958 about the significance of the World Fellowship of Buddhists and surveyed the history of the conference from its inception in 1950 till the last session at Bangkok, November 1958. He asked for Nehru's support to hold the next session at Delhi in 1960 as decided at Bangkok.

to their holding the conference here without Government directly coming into the picture.

I am therefore inclined not to encourage the idea as it has been put forward to us. But I should like your advice in the matter.

I am returning Mr. Nakayama's letter to you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 119. Order of Precedence<sup>334</sup>

I do not know if this letter has come to me from you.

2. I spoke about this matter to F.S. today. I think the Mayor of Delhi<sup>335</sup> should be invited to the few official banquets that we give and that normally she should come there. We have pressed her to come to the Palam airport to receive the distinguished guests. It is right, therefore, that she should be present at the banquets.

3. As for the order of precedence, there are two points to be borne in mind. The order or precedence in Delhi should not be governed by the Warrant of Precedence. In fact, I do not think that the Mayor need be in the Warrant at all. That Warrant is meant for officials and not for non-officials. So far as non-officials are concerned, they can be placed anywhere at table or elsewhere regardless of any Warrant. It will depend on their general eminence. A distinguished scientist, educationist, doctor or any other distinguished person will not come after those in the Warrant of Precedence but according to what we think is his general place in the society. I have made that clear on previous occasions. The Warrant applies to officials only.

4. So far as the Mayor is concerned she is, from the official point of view lower in hierarchy than the Chief Commissioner.<sup>336</sup> But, nevertheless, she is the first citizen of Delhi and should be treated as such in her domain. For this purpose even New Delhi may be considered that domain. We are apt to think of the Mayor as we did of the old Presidents of Municipality. The position is different now. She is a distinguished civilian and a representative of the people of Delhi, which no official can be in that category. If the present Mayor was

334. Note to M.R.A. Baig, the Chief of Protocol, MEA, 11 December 1958. JN Collection.

335. Aruna Asaf Ali.

336. A.D. Pandit.



not the Mayor and was invited to a Banquet she would, even from the personal point of view, be given a fairly high place. Also, being a woman, she would normally be given a higher place than others considerations might warrant.

5. At the Palam airport reception, we have included her with the Cabinet Ministers. Broadly speaking, she should be given that place also in banquets.

6. As for the name on the table card, it should be "Shrimati Aruna Asaf Ali, Mayor of Delhi." This will help her neighbours to know who she is.

7. Banquets given to prominent guests are not purely governmental functions. They are State functions and this is somewhat different. Therefore, the Mayor, whoever he or she may be, should be invited. It does not follow, of course, that he or she should be invited to every State function. But normally they should be invited to banquets.

8. The question of dress does not matter much. Many of our guests wear Indian dress of various kinds. Indeed they should do so.

## 120. Legal Delays<sup>337</sup>

I am interested to know that the Incorporated Law Society of Calcutta is celebrating its Golden Jubilee soon. I send it my good wishes on this occasion.

In India we believe firmly in the Rule of Law and I hope that we shall continue to do so. But I have been much troubled, especially recently, by the long delays of the Law and how in some of the High Courts of India many appeals are not disposed of for ten years or more. I think this matter deserves the urgent attention of all of us and more especially of lawyers. At any time justice delayed is sometimes justice denied. In the modern world, with the increasing pace of events, these delays are particularly distressing.

337. Message to the Incorporated Law Society of Calcutta on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee, 16 December 1958. File No. 9/2/58-PMP. Also available in JN Collection.

**121. To Sampurnanand<sup>338</sup>**

December 27, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,<sup>339</sup>

Your letter of December 23 about Article 226 of the Constitution.<sup>340</sup> I quite agree with you that a lot of mischief has been caused by the language of this Article.

As a matter of fact, I am alarmed at the way our judicial procedures are leading to piling up of heavy arrears of work in the High Courts. The Allahabad High Court is to blame more than any other High Court. It is patent that there is something wrong about procedures, etc., and this is the result if justice is treated in this way.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

338. JN Collection.

339. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

340. By article 226 of the Constitution each High Court could, within its jurisdiction, issue orders or writs to any entity.



### III. DEVELOPMENT

#### (a) Economy

#### (i) Policy Issues

#### 122. To V.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

November 12, 1958

My dear V.T.,<sup>2</sup>

You will remember my suggesting to you some time ago that it would be desirable for the members of the Planning Commission to meet informally to discuss broad policies. You agreed to this. But, unfortunately, we have not been able to do so. Partly this has been my fault. I think, however, that it is of considerable importance that we should try to clear our minds about the basic policies we should pursue and the direction we should go. There is some confusion about this. This is not only necessary in the present and for the rest of the Second Plan period, but, even more so, in the approach to the Third Five Year Plan.

I mentioned this matter in our Cabinet today, and it was felt there by all of us that these basic policies should be discussed by us informally with the Planning Commission at an early stage. Once a large number of steps have been taken, it becomes a little difficult to go back on them or to vary them. I hope that this will be arranged on convenient dates.

The recent meeting of the National Development Council came to two major decisions.<sup>3</sup> One was about wholesale trading in foodgrains being controlled and organised by the State, the other was about village cooperative societies, panchayats, etc. Both of these, I think, are of high importance. I am very glad we took these decisions, though I know that they will involve a great deal of hard work at the Centre and in the States. However that may be, these decisions were inevitable, and we have to face the hard work. One thing rather worries me. For the present, we have to make the wholesale dealers our licensed agents. There is no other way. And yet, it is odd to make those very persons agents whose interests are against the State taking up this matter. They will thus be more concerned to see that this approach fails, than to work for its success. All we can do is to be

1. File No. Plan/51/4/58 Routine, Planning Commission. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.
3. The meeting was held at New Delhi on 8 and 9 Nov. 1958.

alert and to see that nothing wrong happens. It was suggested by the Council that the Planning Commission and the Food Ministry should jointly produce a scheme.

The National Development Council also decided to adhere to the figure of Rs. 4,500 crores for the Second Plan, even though our calculations were over Rs. 200 crores less than this figure. It is true that we have suggested that considerable economies should be made in various ways, especially in regard to construction works, and that we should raise more money by way of loans from our people. But still we took some risk in adhering to the previous figure. I think we were right in taking that risk. Whether we succeed or not, depends on the policies we pursue and the amount of earnest effort that backs them up. In any event, to have reduced that figure would have been, I think, unwise, and would have encouraged the very forces that tend to make our economy shrink, apart from the psychological reactions of our people. Obviously, we cannot take unrealistic views about our resources. But, equally obviously, there is no hope for us if we go on shrinking. Unfortunately, this process of shrinking has continued, and it is not easy to reverse it. But we should at least try to avoid any step which adds to it.

I can well understand that great care should be taken about foreign exchange. We cannot live on foreign credits for ever, and the burden of debt charges is already a heavy one. Even the political consequences of too much foreign help have to be kept in view. Already, foreign newspapers go on hinting that we should be very careful in husbanding our resources, and in fact that we should consult them as to what policies we should adopt in future, more especially about the Third Plan. Thus, we are gradually being limited and constrained in the interests of our foreign creditors, and an atmosphere of depression and recession is being created.

We cannot counter this by too much caution in regard to our internal resources. I am convinced that basically India has very great resources and, of course, very great manpower, an increasing part of it being trained to some extent. If we do not increase our productive activities in the country, there is no escape for us except to go on shrinking, and every step in that direction makes it more difficult for us to pull up. I am convinced, therefore, that we should consider this question from a wider point of view and even take risks. The greatest and most dangerous risk is to remain more or less static.

We have said that a great deal depends upon our food production. That, of course, is perfectly correct. But, in the field of industry also, we cannot remain where we are, or try to creep up slowly. I should like our private sector to flourish and more industries to grow up, whether public or private. But I am a little anxious that even this development should not come in the way of our basic policies, and this private sector should not overwhelm in a sense the public sector.



More particularly, I do not like the idea of foreign interests getting a grip of our economy. This is particularly important in regard to major industries.

We have always before us now, whether we like it or not, the example of China. It is not good enough for us to dismiss it by saying that they use compulsion. Obviously, we cannot pursue that path, and we do not want to. But the fact remains that we see there an abounding and expansive economy, showing a remarkable growth and creating an impression in the country and outside of this rapid progress. It is said, even though I do not know how far it is true, that the Chinese are complaining of a lack of manpower for all their agricultural and industrial schemes, in spite of their vast population.

All this will make people wonder if the policies we pursue are correct ones, and if they are likely to yield any adequate result. If shrinkage follows here, the contrast will become very marked. It seems to me, therefore, that we must face this question squarely and decide to expand our economy almost at any cost, in so far as internal resources are concerned. If that is even the modern capitalist approach much more so is it the socialist approach. We seem to think too much on lines which are rather out of date. Our planning consists of making lists of projects and schemes and totalling up how much they will cost. All that is necessary. But, that surely should come into the picture after we have decided on basic policies. In particular, this has to be kept in view about our Third Plan. If that Plan, as some of our foreign advisers seem to think, has to be severely limited, then there is hardly any planning for growth.

I have briefly indicated in this letter the problems that are troubling me. I have no clear solutions in view. But, of one thing I am certain; there is no hope for us if we do not go forward with some courage. There is another aspect. We have talked a great deal about socialist pattern of society. I do not myself see where socialism comes in the present policies that we are pursuing. It is true that we have some major industries in the public sector. That is hardly socialism. There is danger of our falling between two stools or two basic policies neither of which we follow with assurance. If we follow the broad capitalist approach, we might achieve something, though I do not think it will take us far, and I am sure it will result in a great deal of internal conflict and social troubles. If we follow the socialist path, as I think we should, then we should be clear about it and not mix it up with things that go counter to it. We might not go very fast in that direction, but the direction should be clear and there should be no reverse process.

It is because of all this that I have written that I feel that a number of informal talks are desirable.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 123. Importance of Cooperatives<sup>4</sup>

पंतजी और साथियो,

आपने आज की कार्यवाही इस ढंग से शुरू की कि मैं कुछ घबड़ा गया। ये वर्षगाँठ या सालगिरह आना एक ज़माने में खुशी का मौका होता है। फिर कुछ बाद में इतमीनान का और कुछ फिर परेशानी का। तो बदलते रहते हैं ज़माने। क्योंकि उसके साथ बहुत बातें याद आती हैं, पुरानी और कुछ ये भी कि जो नई बातें हैं या नये ज़माने हैं, कहाँ तक उसमें रहने और काम करने का मौका मिलेगा। लेकिन एक चीज़ तो हमेशा बहुत कीमती होती है, चाहे कोई भी ज़माना हो, नया या पुराना, छोटा या बड़ा, और वो अपने दोस्तों, साथियों और औरों का प्रेम और मुहब्बत। और, आपकी तरफ से, औरों की तरफ से, वो इतनी मुझे मिलती है कि एक दर्जे परेशानी रहती है कि क्या मैं इस सिलसिले में कर सकता हूँ। परसों ज़ाब्ले से मेरा सालगिरह का दिन था। अभी तक हालाँकि मेरे यहाँ जो काम करते हैं वे कुछ, मेरे साथी, कुछ PAs वगैरह, उनका काफी उन्होंने वक़्त दिया है, लेकिन तार खोलना उनका बंद नहीं हुआ है। तो एक, बड़ी एक, मुसीबत हो गई। और अगर उसका जवाब आप सोचें तो आप सोच सकते हैं उसके क्या माने हैं। और मुझे इस बात की फिक्र होती है कि अगर जिन-जिन साहब ने तार दिया, अगर वो किसी पब्लिक काम के लिए, और पब्लिक काम तो ख़ैर उस दिन के लिए मेरी राय में, मैंने एक ही बात रखी है उस दिन जो पैसे आते हैं वो बच्चों के कोष में भेजे जाते हैं। तो बजाए तार के कुछ तार का पैसा भेज देते मुझे तो उसका मैं ज़्यादा स्वागत करता। लेकिन ख़ैर, ये तो एक छोटी बात है।

लेकिन एक सवाल एक दूसरे माने में ये उठता है कि अब लोगों की मुहब्बत दबा देती है आदमी को, जिस्म को, दिमाग़ को, दोनों और उसका नतीजा ग़लत हो सकता है। दिमाग़ की सफ़ाई भी कम हो सकती है कि सफ़ाई से किसी बात को सोच सकें। लेकिन उसमें शक नहीं एक उसका एक असर होता ही है। ताकत बढ़ जाती है। कोई शक नहीं है क्योंकि मुहब्बत एक ऐसी चीज़ है कि जिसपे जाती है उसमें भी ताकत बढ़ा देती है। शक नहीं है मुझे इस बात में। तो मैं आपसे और क्या कहूँ सिवाए इसके कि आपका बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया। शुक्रिया तो एक फ़िज़ूल का लफ़्ज़ है, लेकिन कोई मुझे याद नहीं आता, कोई दूसरा।

ख़ैर, हम उसके बाद कितने दिन बाद मिले होंगे यहाँ? डेढ़ महीना<sup>5</sup> इस डेढ़ महीने में बहुत सारी बातें हुई जिसमें हम सबों को दिलचस्पी। हमारा ध्यान सबमें ज़्यादा तो अपने देश की तरफ़ बावजूद इसके कि कई बड़ी-बड़ी बातें होती हैं और जगह। अपने जो देश के सवाल हैं ज़रा हमेशा ही हमारे सामने रहते हैं। लेकिन मेरा ख़याल है कि इस पिछले दिनों

4. Speech to the Congress Party in Parliament (CPP), 16 November 1958. Tape No. M-37/C-(1), NMML. Nehru spoke first in Hindi, then in English.

5. The Congress Party in Parliament met on 1 Sept. 1958. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 399-412.



में, महीनों में, कुछ लोग ज्यादा महसूस करने लगे और मैं खासकर कांग्रेसजनों को कहता हूँ कि वक्त आ गया है कि हम ज़रा ज्यादा गंभीरता से सवालों पर गौर करें और कुंजी ढूँढ़ें उनको हल करने की। क्योंकि कांग्रेस में, सारी संस्था में, जो बड़ी संस्थाओं में होता है वो बात कुछ दिन से हो रही थी, कुछ बरसों से। कामयाबी के बाद, और बातें करके एक हम भूल जाते हैं कि देश की जिंदगी में, जैसे किसी व्यक्ति की जिंदगी में, जहाँ बहुत एक आरामतलबी आ जाए, यानी बैठना आ जाए, लेटना आ जाए, बजाय फुरती के, तो फिर वो आदमी उस वक्त आराम करले, लेकिन फिर उसका स्वास्थ्य अच्छा नहीं रहता। देश का स्वास्थ्य भी और संस्था का स्वास्थ्य भी अच्छा नहीं रहता जब उस ढंग से वह सोचने लगे।

अभी महावीर त्यागीजी<sup>6</sup> मुझसे कह रहे थे कि उनको याद आते हैं पुराने ज़माने के दिन जब कि बहुत दौड़-धूप, परेशानी, मुसीबत, तकलीफ, जिस्मानी तकलीफ, लेकिन वो सबके साथ एक नई जान, एक नई ताकत, एक नई शान जो कुछ कहिए। तो अब वो ज़माने को तो दोहरा सकते नहीं हैं। और, न हम लोग जो कि खास उमर के हो गए, फिर से जवान हो सकते हैं। लेकिन एक संस्था या एक देश की तो कोई उम्र नहीं होती है, होना चाहिए नहीं। कभी-कभी उम्र की निशानी उसके माथे पर आ जाए, लेकिन वो तो सिलसिला चलता जाता है। तो गरज़ कि मैं समझता हूँ कि एक देश में कांग्रेस की संस्था के लोगों को, उसके नेता सारे देश में और जगह पहले से ज्यादा यह महसूस हुआ कि अब हमें पूरी शक्ति से अपने सवालों को हल करने की कोशिश करनी है।

पहली बात तो यह होती है कि इरादा हो और उस पर अमल हो। एक माने में दूसरी बात यह होती है, कि क्या कहूँ मैं, कि किस रास्ते पे हम चलें? एक तो ज़ाहिर है पहली बात एक माने में है। लेकिन गलत रास्ते पर चलना भी कभी-कभी ग़वार है अगर आप चल रहे हों। तो, जहाँ मालूम हुआ, मुड़कर सीधे रास्ते पर हो जाएँ। लेकिन ऐसी पेंच में पड़ जाएँ, कि हम क्या करें, न करें, न चलें, तब तो कहीं भी नहीं पहुँचते। तो मैंने एक नई जान कांग्रेस में देखी। अभी हैदराबाद में All India Congress Committee का इजलास हुआ था।<sup>7</sup> मेरी राय में उसमें एक नये ढंग से एक नई हवा थी। इसकी रिपोर्ट में, या उसके resolutions में कोई खास नई बात आप नहीं पायेंगे। उनमें से पायें इधर-उधर लेकिन खास नहीं। लेकिन फिर भी एक हवा थी। एक earnestness थी, कि करना है वो बात। एक-दूसरे तरफ देखें, ये आप। अभी हमारी National Development Council की बैठक हुई थी, जिसमें सब मुख्यमंत्री आते हैं अलग-अलग प्रांतों से, प्रदेशों से। वहाँ भी एक दूसरी हवा थी और दूसरा ढंग काम करने का हो गया। पहले एक ढंग था और उसका ज़िम्मेदार मैं ही था, क्योंकि एक-एक मुख्यमंत्री से हम पूछें कि क्या आपकी अब राय है? आम मसला हो उस पर? अब लम्बी कहानी सुनाएं अपनी State की। क्या-क्या हुआ, क्या-क्या नहीं

6. Lok Sabha MP from Uttar Pradesh.

7. 24-26 Oct. 1958. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 166-213.

हुआ, क्या-क्या कमियाँ हैं, क्या-क्या चीजों की जरूरत है, Centre से कितनी इमदाद होनी चाहिए? घूमघाम कर ये आ जाता था कि Central Government से क्या और इमदाद हो। हर State एक लम्बी कहानी ऐसी कहे, यानी कि मुख्यमंत्री माकूल बातें कहें। लेकिन उसका कोई खास नतीजा न हो, तो वह सब बातें कहते थे, वे मालूम थीं, छिपी तो थी नहीं। और हमने छोड़ दिया ये ढंग अबकी दफे। और जो सवाल उठाया, उस सवाल पे कहा जिस-जिस को बोलना है बोले, जिसको नहीं बोलना, नहीं बोले। चुनाँचे एक असली बहस हुई उस सवाल पे। बाज़ मुख्यमंत्री बार-बार बोले, बाज़ नहीं बोले, बाज़ एक दफे बोले। क्योंकि एक तलाश थी महज़ एक दिखाने को नहीं, एक तलाश थी कि हमें कुछ करना है। और उसमें दो नतीजे, कई निकले, लेकिन दो मोटी बातें आपने पढ़ी होंगी। एक तो ये खाने के, गल्ले वगैरह के सिलसिले में, foodgrains के, कि state की तरफ से wholesale trade State के हाथ में आनी चाहिए, wholesale trade।

दूसरी बात थी कुछ ये cooperative societies के बारे में। cooperative societies हर गाँव में देश के होनी चाहिए। और गाँव की होनी चाहिए। कोई आदमी अगर इसको अखबार में पढ़े, अगर उसको मालूम नहीं है कि इन मसलों से पहले कितनी बहस थी तो शायद वो समझे नहीं कि इसके पीछे क्या था। वो समझे ये मामूली resolution है। लेकिन मैं इन दोनों फैसलों को बहुत बड़ा कदम समझता हूँ जिसके अंदर छिपा हुआ एक कुछ क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन है, अगर ठीकतौर से हम करें। हम जमीन के बारे में, land reform वगैरह, हमने एक बड़ी छलांग मारी थी शुरु में, ज़मींदारी प्रथा को अंत करने में। उसके बाद भी कुछ हुआ है लेकिन रफ़्तार कुछ रुक सी गयी है, और कुछ वाकयात ने रोकी। अलग-अलग हालत है अलग-अलग प्रदेशों में। सच बात यह है कि वो सवाल जो हमारा है ceiling का land holdings पर, उसमें तरक्की नहीं की। एक तरफ जोर दिया कि होना चाहिए, और दोनों तरफ वही है, करीब-करीब। जितना ज़्यादा गौर किया उस पर इस नतीजे पर पहुँचे कि दो चीजें एक माने में मिली हुई हैं—ceilings और cooperatives। अलग-अलग उनको दुशवारियाँ पैदा होती हैं। क्योंकि एक तरफ से सारे हमारे science वगैरह हमें ढकेलते हैं इस बात की तरफ कि हम कुछ नये तरीके अख़्तियार करें, खेती वगैरह में, जिससे और दुनिया में बढ़ी है खेती। ये तो मोटी बात है कि और दुनिया में खेती से पैदावार बढ़ी है।

और मैं इस वक़्त बड़े tractor का नहीं कह रहा हूँ। वो अलग चीज़ है, वो हो या न हो, लेकिन नये techniques चलाएँ हम जहाँ तक हो सकता है। वो बिल्कुल नामुमकिन बात है कि एक शख्स जिसका एक एकड़, दो एकड़, ढाई-तीन एकड़ जमीन हो उसमें कुछ कर सके। उसकी न ताकत है, न उसको इल्म है। तो इसके माने क्या कि हम इससे बड़े-बड़े, बड़े farms रखें ताकि उसमें आ सके, वो भी हमारे उसूलों के खिलाफ पड़ जाता है। तो फिर, और अलावा इसके हिन्दुस्तान में बड़े farms हैं कितने? आख़िर में मालूम नहीं पंचानवे फीसदी छोटे-छोटे पंचानवे से भी ज़्यादा हों। तो उसका तो इलाज यही होता है कि



cooperatives हों। उसमें उसूल भी ठीक रहता है और वो हमें फायदा मिल जाता है larger units का।

Cooperatives के निस्वत मैंने कहा कि एक-एक गाँव की हो, एक अक्सर कहा जाता है और यहाँ भी कहा गया है। Cooperatives के माने क्या हैं? सहकारी संघ। आमतौर से लोगों का ख्याल है कि ये एक credit cooperatives है। रुपया कर्जा तो बैंक भी दे सकता है, फिर आप कहें cooperatives की क्या जरूरत है? या cooperatives का ख़ाली बैंक बना दें तो बना सकते हैं। Cooperatives आखिर में एक बिल्कुल नई society की झलक देता है, नये ढंग रहने का, नया संबंध एक-दूसरे से। मेरा मतलब नहीं cooperative संघ बनाने से हो जाती है। आपने कांग्रेस के एक विधान में लिखा, बहुत जोरों से लिखा है cooperative commonwealth हमारा ध्येय है, फिर बाद में socialist हुई। socialist cooperative commonwealth के माने वो ही हो सकते थे और दूसरे क्या हों? ख़ैर, साफ कर दिया गया।

तो ढंग है एक नई society को बनाने का cooperative commonwealth, cooperative society, आपके credit cooperatives से, बैंक से। वो तो उसकी झलक भी नहीं। उसमें एक अच्छी चीज है credit cooperatives, उसकी झलक नहीं है। तो अब बाज़ लोगों ने कहा, हाँ, क्या आप collectives बना रहे हैं? Collectives में और cooperatives में तो काफी फ़र्क है। बनाना चाहें बनायें, वो और बात है, लेकिन बहुत फ़रक है—यानी जो हमारे सामने cooperatives हैं उसमें व्यक्तिगत ownership नहीं जाती। Individual ownership नहीं जाती, वो रहती है। उसके दो हिस्से हैं। एक तो ये कि उनके अलग holdings हैं, अलग जमीन है, हर एक की रहे, लेकिन बहुत सारी बातों में मिलकर काम करें। बहुत सारी services में मिलकर काम करें। और, लेकिन फिर भी अलग रहें। दूसरा यह है कदम, कि अलग नहीं रहें। वो मिलकर खेती भी करें लेकिन अलग-अलग हिस्सा रहे उनका। कुछ हिस्सा, जितना हिस्सा उतना ले लें। मेरी ज़ाती राय है और अक्सर और लोगों की भी। मेरा ख़्याल है आपके भी। अक्सर आपमें से ये कि ये joint farming जिसे कहते हैं वो अच्छी चीज है और उधर हमें एक माने में जाना ही है चाहे आज जाएँ या कल। उसमें पूरा फ़ायदा cooperation का होता है। लेकिन अलग-अलग लोगों के हिस्से रहते हैं इसके बाद।

लेकिन बिलफेल joint farming का हम कोशिश करें तो उसमें दिक्कतें हैं। क्योंकि हम कोई बात तो कर नहीं सकते बग़ैर रज़ामन्दी के लोगों की। चुनाँचे हम, हमारा पहला कदम यह होना चाहिये कि service cooperative हर किस्म की services, credit ख़ाली नहीं, हर किस्म की, बेचना, ख़रीदना, float करना, सब पचासों बातें हैं। लेकिन जमीन अलग-अलग रहे, जो लोग उसके बाद कदम उठाना चाहें joint farming का, बाख़ुशी से उठायें, हम पसंद करेंगे। तो खुशी से, उनकी रज़ामन्दी से, सहयोग से किया चाहते हैं।

अब ये छोटे cooperatives के क्या माने हैं? छोटे cooperatives के बुनियादी माने यह हैं कि जो उसमें लोग हों वो एक-दूसरे को पहचाने, जाने। यह नहीं कि आप एक हजार आदमियों को जमा कर दें दूर-दूर से, न एक-दूसरे को जाने, वो घबराए कि किसान घबराए। वो तो बड़ा परिवार सा हो जाए जिसमें पहचानते हैं, एक-दूसरे के ऐब जानते हैं, जैसे ग्राम पंचायत, करीब-करीब। वो आपस में झगड़ा करें वगैरह, यह सब मान लिया। लेकिन फिर भी वो एक unit है, एक जो पहचानता है एक-दूसरे को। और cooperatives से ये जरूरी बात है कि ऐसा एक cohesion हो। छोटे cooperatives को फिर आप चाहें उसका आप union बना दें, दस, बीस, पचास छोटे cooperatives का union, और बात है कि बड़े का फायदा हो जाए। खैर, मैं इस तस्वीर में अब क्यों जाऊँ? लेकिन मैं इसको एक बहुत बड़ी बात समझता हूँ और मेरा ख्याल है कि हमारी rural तरक्की, ग्रामीण उन्नति, बंधी है इस सवाल से। यानी वो बंधी है इस बात से कि आप ज़िम्मेदार करें किसान को। आप ज़िम्मेदार करें, ग्राम पंचायत के जरिये से, administration के लिए। आप ज़िम्मेदार करें ग्राम cooperative के जरिये से आर्थिक बातों के लिए। ये जान के पूरी तौर से, माफ करें आप, वो एक निकम्मा आदमी है अक्सर, वो लड़ाकू है अक्सर। लेकिन फिर भी आप उसे ज़िम्मेदार करें। मैं ज़रा इसको अंग्रेज़ी में थोड़ा सा कह देता हूँ<sup>8</sup>

[Translation begins]

Pantji and friends,

You've started today's proceedings in such a manner that I'm somewhat startled. One's birthday is a joyous occasion until a certain age. Then it becomes an occasion of reassurance and, still later, of worry. So times keep changing. Many things come to mind, old and new, and with it the thought as to how long one would be given the opportunity of working in this new age. But something that remains very precious in any age is the love and affection of one's friends and comrades. And I get so much of that from you and others that sometimes I wonder that I can do to repay it. Day before yesterday was my birthday. Though my PAs, etc., have been working continuously, they have not yet been able to open all the telegrams that have come. It is so troublesome. Now you can imagine if all of them had to be replied to, what it would mean! Actually, I think that instead of sending telegrams, all those people should have made contributions in cash for some public project. In fact, I have suggested that all the money I receive on my birthday may be sent to a children's fund. So I would have welcomed it

8. After this the proceedings are in English. These are given immediately after the English translation of the preceding part of the proceedings.



much more if the money spent on sending the telegrams had been sent to me instead of those telegrams. Anyhow, this is a minor matter.

But another question that arises is how far is it possible for a man to think and act in an objective way if his heart and mind are smothered by people's love. But there is no doubt about the fact that such love can only increase one's strength. I have no doubts on this score. So what else can I say to you except many, many thanks? Perhaps thanks sound rather empty but I cannot think of any other word.

We have met after nearly one and a half months.<sup>9</sup> In these one and a half months many things of interest to all of us have happened. Our attention has naturally been turned inwards on our own country, though much has happened elsewhere too. But more than ever, I think people are beginning to realise, especially in the Congress circles, that it is time we thought about the problems confronting our country seriously and made an effort to find some solutions. As it happens in all big organisations, something has been happening in the Congress for the last few years. After having made some achievement, we tend to forget something, just as a country or an individual does as it gets too much into the habit of relaxing, of sitting and lying down instead of being active. But it cannot maintain good health. The health of a country or an organisation is also similarly affected if it starts thinking along those lines.

Mahavir Tyagiji<sup>10</sup> was just now reminiscing with me about the old days when, with all the running around, problems, worries, difficulties and physical hardships that we had to endure, there was definitely a new life, a strength, and pride in us. Anyhow, we cannot relive that age nor can those of us who have reached a certain age reverse their aging process. But an organisation or a country should not be reckoned in terms of its age, though signs of aging may occasionally become visible. But that is part of the process. So I feel that people in the Congress have begun to realise more than ever before that it is time we put our entire strength to find solutions to our problems.

The first thing, of course, is to have an aim, in a sense. Secondly, we have to consider which path to follow. It is obvious that we have the aim. As for the second, even if we are going on the wrong path, we may be forgiven as long as we are moving. But if we stopped moving because of the dilemma as to which way to go, we get nowhere. So I have seen a new spirit in the Congress. Recently we had the AICC Session at Hyderabad.<sup>11</sup> In a sense, I felt a wave of fresh enthusiasm and a new atmosphere there. You will not find anything very new

9. See fn 5 in this section.

10. See fn 6 in this section.

11. See fn 7 in this section.

in its report or in the resolutions. But even so there was a new atmosphere, a new earnestness to do something.

Then we had the meeting of the National Development Council which is attended by the Chief Ministers of all States. There too I found a new atmosphere and a new way of approach. It used to be different earlier—and I was mainly responsible for that—as each Chief Minister would be asked to give his opinion on common issues. They used to give long-winded tales of what was happening in their States, what they needed from the Centre, how much grant should be given. The net result was that though what the Chief Ministers said might have been relevant, nothing was really achieved because, after all, what they said was already well known to everyone. So we decided to give up the old procedure and said that only those who wanted to speak need speak. Thus there was real debate. Some Chief Ministers spoke many times, some spoke once, some did not speak at all. There was a real search for solutions, not a mere stance of doing something.

Two things emerged from that debate—many others too, but two main points. One was about foodgrains. It was decided that the wholesale trade of foodgrains would henceforth be handled by the state. The second point was about cooperative societies. It has been decided that there should be cooperative societies in each village in the country, and it should be run by the village itself. People reading about all this in the newspapers may not realise how much debate and argument must have gone into it before this and may think of it as another ordinary resolution. But I think of these two decisions as very great steps which will lead to revolutionary changes if implemented properly.

We had made rapid strides in the matter of land reform, etc., in putting an end to the zamindari system. After that, there have been other achievements but the speed is somewhat reduced and, to a certain extent, practical difficulties have stood in our way. There are different problems in different states. The fact of the matter is that we have not made any real progress in the matter of ceiling on land holdings. We have come to the conclusion that it is not possible to separate the two issues—ceiling and cooperatives. Doing so creates difficulties because all our scientific training pushes us towards adopting new techniques in agriculture. In the rest of the world where these techniques are adopted, the yield is enormous. So we must adopt them—I am not referring merely to tractors here. But the difficulty is that it cannot be done by an individual with a land holding of one or two or three acres. He can have neither the capability nor the strength to do so. But to have large farms owned by individuals also goes against our principles. And moreover, how many big farms are there really in India? The small farms comprise more than ninety-five per cent of the cultivable land. So the only solution is to have cooperatives. It is not against our principles and we gain the advantages of larger units.



I have said that there should be cooperatives in all the villages. What exactly is the meaning of cooperatives? It is the general belief among people that it means some sort of credit cooperatives. Since banks give loans, it is felt that cooperatives are superfluous or that the cooperatives may function merely as banks. But in reality, cooperatives are the glimmerings of a new society, a new way of living and a new relationship with others. I don't mean to say that merely by forming cooperatives, all this can be achieved. It was written in the Congress constitution that cooperative commonwealth was our goal. Later it became socialist; socialist cooperative commonwealth can only mean that. Anyhow it was made clearer. So it became a method of creating a new society—cooperative commonwealth, cooperative society. Credit cooperatives are not the same thing as banks.

Then people began to ask if we were forming collectives. There is a great deal of difference between collectives and cooperatives. For instance, individual ownership is not given up in our cooperatives. The holdings remain separate but everyone works together in various spheres. But the ownership remains intact. In this way, farming is done on a cooperative basis but the shares of the owners remain separate—that is, whatever the individual share may be. It is my considered opinion, and perhaps many of you would share it, that joint farming is a good thing and we have to go in that direction sooner or later. We get the full benefit of cooperation and yet retain individual ownership.

But many difficulties crop up in trying to adopt joint farming. For one thing, we cannot possibly do anything without the consent of the people. So the first step should be to introduce service cooperatives, services of all kinds, for purchase, sales, etc., and not for credit only. But land would continue to be owned individually. If thereafter people go in voluntarily for joint farming, we would welcome it. We want to do this with the full consent and cooperation of the people.

Now, what is the meaning of small cooperatives? Basically, the idea is that the members of small cooperatives should be well acquainted with one another. It is no good putting a thousand people together from various places into a cooperative. That would only scare away the farmer. A cooperative should be like a big family with the members fully aware of one another's good and bad points. Quarrels may arise between members—that is all there. But basically they would function as one unit and such cohesion is very essential in a cooperative. Then you can form a bigger union of ten, twenty, fifty small cooperatives. That is a different matter.

Anyhow, I will not elaborate on this point any more. But I am convinced that the question of our rural development is intimately connected with this. It is also linked with the need to make the farmer self-reliant and responsible. You must

make him responsible for administration through the village panchayat. You must make him responsible for economic matters through village cooperatives. Forgive me for saying this, but you have to entrust all this responsibility to the farmer, though you may be well aware that he is good for nothing, that he is often quarrelsome. Now I will say a few words in English.<sup>12</sup>

[Translation ends]

I have just said that at National Development Council meeting—well, first of all I said that I have noticed in the country—now, I am talking more of the Congress organisation—a certain marked awareness coming. We faced crises and others before but now I thought there was a marked awareness coming of the position of our difficulties and that we must pull ourselves together as much as we can. Then I said that is a good sign, of course, because unless an organisation has that life in it, it would not make much progress. It is a curious thing, the life of an individual or an organisation or a country, which comes and goes and which really does not even depend so much necessarily, although it does to some extent, on the policies you follow. It does, of course, because if a country follows policies which are dead and gone then it never catches up with the current of life; it remains behind. Therefore, policies are important but policies themselves come out of that life force an organisation or a country has. The mind is fertile; the body wants to be active and so on. So I have noticed this awareness in the Congress organisation in spite of all the troubles and pulls that are happening and I think that is a good sign. To some extent, of course, the constitution of the Mandals has been a good one. Again it is very easy to criticise them, show up their weakness. It is easy even to show that in some places the Mandals are, well, just bogus Mandals. It is true. Nevertheless, behind all this is, I noticed, a certain life which is a good sign.

Then I referred to the National Development Council, which met recently, Chief Ministers attending, where our method of discussion became much more real than before. Instead of each Chief Minister giving a long story of his State and telling us in effect what we all knew more or less, it became rather an intimate and intense discussion of problems, one two, three, problems, whatever it was, and we arrived at certain conclusions, a variety of them, the two chief ones being about the state taking over the wholesale trade in foodgrains. Now, I see from press comments that it has been welcomed in some quarters and criticised in others. I have no doubt at all that apart from the emergency that we face in

12. After this the proceedings are in English.



regard to food, it is a continuing emergency, quite apart from that, that is an inevitable step for us, and do not imagine that this is some remarkable socialist step. Even capitalist countries take it up and do it.

It is an odd thing that while we talk about the socialist pattern of society in India, we have got less social controls still than a highly capitalist country like the United States of America. People forget that; I mean to say, we seem to think that slogans will bring about socialism. Actually there are far more social controls in this intensely capitalist country like the United States than we have got. It is true that America is a highly advanced country and some controls, etc., become necessary which in a less advanced country are not so urgent. Anyhow, there has been a tendency in India rather to forget or bypass this aspect of socialist pattern of society. We do not forget it, of course, but somehow it is not a constant thing in our minds.

So, this decision of the National Development Council, I think, is a very important decision. I am prepared to warn you that it will not produce sudden results; this turnover itself will take some time. In effect, again we come back to this, that the state dealing in this will only be completely satisfactory when you have a network of cooperatives all over the country. Everything is tied up. Today, all we can do immediately is to pick out the present day wholesalers, such of them as we consider reliable, and for the present appoint them as licensed agents of the state who will function under instructions from the state and get some commission or whatever it is. Now, it is an odd thing that we should appoint as our agents for this work the very people who are going to suffer from the change and who will, therefore, not be terribly keen on this change. In fact, they would rather like this new thing to fail, and we appoint persons who are interested in the failure of a new proposal. That is there but there is no way getting out of it. We cannot produce machinery suddenly in the country; it takes time. So we pick and choose and we can supervise properly whatever it is.

We talk about food production and foodgrains and food has been one of our principal worries. All of you know that. Well, of course, the basic thing is production. Everybody agrees we should have more and more production. But next to that we find that where there is even a little less production, 5 per cent, 7 per cent deficit, prices soar and this happens, that happens. Why? Because people play about with prices, the wholesale trader, the miller, or the retailer, whatever it is, the hoarder, they play about with it, and we helplessly look on. Sometimes, rarely, some action is taken. It is extraordinary that in a country situated as India is, with the tremendous importance of the price of foodgrains, we should be so helpless in the hands of wholesalers, retailers, etc. Therefore, from that point of view also, it became of extreme importance that the state should come in at the base, you might say, the wholesale base. The ideal thing would be as a cooperative

scheme and indeed we hope that will be done; that will have to be carefully thought out, how we do it, what we do about it.

Then, coming to the cooperatives, what is suggested is village cooperatives. There has been an argument about big cooperatives and small ones. And the people who have been in favour of big cooperatives, have, in a sense, a good case. Only that good case has nothing to do with cooperation nor has it anything to do with our desire for progressive equality, equalisation or advance towards any kind of socialist pattern. It is opposed to it. Because the big cooperative is just like, you might say, a big farm, a very big farm, or something like that, owned by an individual, while others do not have any land. But the essence of cooperation is close intimate working knowledge of the members of the cooperatives of each other. I doubt if you will find in Europe where cooperation has grown very much, in Scandinavia, etc., any cooperative with more than 60 members, certainly under 100. By rule they cannot go beyond that. [...] You see other things grow in Europe with greater centralisation and all that; you get bigger and bigger things, the bigger machines, the bigger shop, the bigger firm, the bigger plant and all that; but the cooperative is based on that intimate relationship. It is not a bank, as some people seem to imagine, to give credit; that is one of its functions. And so it is essential for it to be small so that people should know each other, their virtues, failings.

Secondly, the whole idea of the cooperative movement is self-reliance. If a cooperative movement is officialised with a big official boss running it, then again it is not a cooperative movement—it may work successfully or not—because you do not succeed in getting that self-reliance, self-confidence and in India the basic thing that we have to produce today, and that we have so far not succeeded in producing, is that sense, especially in the rural areas, of self-reliance. In fact, the kind of help we have been giving in large doses has almost suppressed every type of initiative, except to ask for more money and more help—it is an extraordinary thing. Even the community development movement which was meant to increase the spirit of self-reliance and which has to some extent done so nevertheless has produced again this feeling that government will do everything, government will give money, then it will be done. And the things that even previously villagers used to do, repairing of tanks, water channels, wells, etc., they do not do; they sit, [hoping] government will do it. It is impossible for any government to do it. Now, therefore, the small cooperative and the panchayat both being given authority and told that they have to do it—I mean to say, nobody else is going to do it, theirs is the responsibility—attacks this question at the root.

We all know that many of these village panchayat people quarrel; there are parties formed; they try to pull each other down by saying we have a cooperative. It does not matter, or it does not matter much. Even if they make mistakes, the



mistakes are on a small scale; let us put up with them; let the public learn through its mistakes. It is not by putting some outsider that you will teach them, make them learn. So this is rather basic, I think, both this cooperative and the wholesale trade in food—of course the other things too—and I want you to appreciate that.

I am talking about food. You know that reports have come from China of tremendous increase in the rate of yield and the total.<sup>13</sup> In fact, if you read the statistics provided, they are almost unbelievable, they are just astounding: a country doubling its production nearly in a year. On closer examination the figures are not quite so startling. For instance, in their figure of foodgrains they include potato, which makes a difference, and so many other things. It is very difficult to understand these comparative figures. Also it is not quite clear how far those totals are for the whole country or for part. Even here, if you select some good farms which get prizes, well, they produce four times or five times the normal yield, because it has been specially nurtured. Therefore, it requires much more careful examination what the Chinese yield has been, and we should try our best to understand that and to profit by it. We have been getting more and more literature on this. Our colleague Dr Punjabrao Deshmukh<sup>14</sup> went there too and saw it, and we are sending a small expert team to report.

Oddly enough, the chief thing produced in China, as in Japan, is rice and that is chiefly here too. Now, the methods adopted by China and Japan are diametrically opposite. We have been having Japanese method, as it is called, and we have profited by it. Now, the present Chinese method is almost diametrically opposed to the Japanese method. Now, we cannot just blindly do something without understanding it. Therefore, we are trying to find out. But the point is, it is essential for us to be wide awake and not remain in the rut of old practices.

But one thing I should like particularly to draw your attention to in regard to which China and Japan have a tremendous advantage over us: that is the use of manure, green manure, and night soil and all that. Fertilisers, artificial fertilisers, we use more and more and people have developed a great demand for them and say they have not got enough. They have not now and we want to put up factories but again there also we helplessly wait, we meaning the farmer, for the fertilisers to come from some big factory, and do not pay enough attention to the production of compost manure, etc, etc. Now, in China and Japan they take the fullest advantage of that. There is no loss at all there. Here we do not. You see again that habit of somebody else doing the job comes in.

13. See also item 163.

14. Union Minister of State for Cooperation.

You know that at the present moment the highest yields of rice in India are in the South: Madras and Andhra. I do not know all the reasons for this; maybe the men there work harder, I do not know. But one reason is that they use this green manure much more than elsewhere in India, than in the North. I won't go into this. In fact, there is one of our advisers in the Planning Commission, I think his name is Sivaraman,<sup>15</sup> who used to work in the South, I forget, as Director of Agriculture or something like that. He was very keen on this and he has produced fine results there, by his insistence on green manure all over and raised, definitely raised the output more and more. But now we all talk of, "Give us fertiliser"; and if you do not, what are we to do? You see, as I said, I am all for the fertiliser, but we must [...] although I do think that using fertiliser only will ultimately injure the ground. We have to mix the fertiliser with this. These are simple things, which we have to do—not a question of tractors and big machines coming—good manure, good digging, water, choice of seeds, simple things if done properly [and] you can go up straightaway 30, 40 per cent, bunding and all that. Well, so much about this, except that in a way, whichever way your thinking goes, you come back to the basic problem of more food production.

Now, looking at the picture of India I am convinced that there is no way of meeting the poverty problem in India or the unemployment problem in India except through greater industry, industry covering the big field—big industry, middle industry, small industry, cottage industry, all industry. After all, the countries which are wealthy today, whatever they may be, whether they are communist or socialist or capitalist, there is one common factor in them, that is, industrial growth, the use of modern technology and machines. That is the common factor. It has nothing to do with socialism or capitalism. It is a common factor. If you want a country to get out of its poverty you have to have industrial growth based on modern techniques, and plants and machines—there is no way out. I am saying this because there is much confusion of thinking about it. Some people think that if you have a new labour-saving device you create unemployment. That is true, of course. You do, for the moment you do, but the odd thing is that in countries of Western Europe, where they have got these latest modern techniques of labour-saving devices, there is no unemployment. Why so? Simply because all kinds of new avenues of employment come; not suddenly but they do come fairly rapidly.

There is no way of tackling the unemployment problem of India except through modern techniques, leading to new types of employment. That is so. It is a

15. M.S. Sivaraman was Programme Adviser, Planning Commission, 1957-64.



principle. But while that is so, obviously there is often a gap between the two. That is, you do not get that new employment suddenly and the gap is a dangerous thing in terms of human beings. They cannot wait, let us say, five years or ten years till employment comes and starve for ten years. Therefore, you have always to keep in view that. You do not add immediately by anything you do to the suffering through suddenly created unemployment by the use of labour-saving devices. But that is rather a temporary question, temporary meaning five years, ten years, fifteen years, twenty years, whatever it may be, not necessarily a permanent thing. What the permanent solution may be, I do not know. But one thing is quite clear in my mind that you cannot fight unemployment or poverty except by modern techniques, utilising them. In doing so you must keep in mind this period, in-between period, more especially in India; that is very relevant. That is to say, India's large population, however rapidly we have big industry, middle industry, small industry, and we should, we do not cover more than perhaps a quarter of our available population or half if you like. So what about the rest? So we are driven, for the rest we are driven to think in terms of cottage industries. You must not think of this—that is an old argument which has no value: in the ultimate analysis a machine creating unemployment. I do not accept it. It does immediately but not in the long run...

Well, obviously you cannot industrialise a country by importing machines; you have to make them yourself. That is patent. Therefore, my first point is that there is no conflict at all in my mind between industrialisation, basic industrialisation, big machines, etc., and trying our utmost to advance cottage industries in the present state of India and, so far as I can see, for a generation or so, that is essential, always trying to utilise the best technique available for cottage industries. Now, if you want to industrialise, it is no good industrialising on the surface; you have to produce the machines. That is to say, you have to build up your machine-making industry; that is the base, the iron and steel, machine-making industry and power, these three things. If you have got these three things, the rest follows and we are trying to follow that in our planning, etc.

Now, I have said all this about the importance of industrial growth. Having said this, I say that that industrial growth will not take place and cannot take place unless you deal satisfactorily with food. We grow enough food not only for our purposes but more than that. Therefore, we come back to the primary and basic importance of food, production of food, and it can be done, it must be, because our very backwardness, unfortunate as it is, backwardness in food, in yield per acre, is also a sign of hope because there is great room on which we can advance. So in a sense we come back to the primary and absolute importance of growing food. That is necessary for economic reasons; that is necessary for psychological reasons. That is a test really.

We talk about scarcity conditions and possible inflation and possible this and possible that. The only thing that counts in India is to keep food prices and cloth [prices] at reasonable levels; it does not matter what the prices are of anything else in India. I am speaking broadly; of course, you can criticise me but, broadly speaking, if you keep down two or three articles, oils, this, that, others, you take every chance with everything else. But it is important to keep down food prices; to keep cloth at reasonable levels; the third important thing, of course, is rent. That, in that sense, does not apply so much now to our villager but it does of course to townsman. That is, every State that is planning must provide for a basic, certain basic living conditions for the mass of the population. Having done that it can jump to the moon if it likes, in anything, in deficit financing, in anything, provided always that you control the basic things. You need not jump to the moon but you get a large amount of freedom and in a country like India, that is, in any country trying to advance, trying to build up an expansionist economy, expanding economy, obviously risks have to be taken—well-thought out risks, not undeserved risks, un-thought out risks. But the point is that those risks should not involve, as far as possible, the price of food for the masses, the price of cloth for the masses and such like three or four other things. It does not matter, by and large, it does not matter what motor cars cost. It does not matter what many other luxuries cost; [...] I mean it does not really very much matter. We must be concerned with those basic things which our millions require. If you have got them in control then you can expand, even risk expansion, to some extent. Because if you do not expand that is a great difficulty and danger, because in your abundant caution you become restrictive in your policies. We cannot build up small industries, let us say, because in order to build up small industry or big industry, we have to spend a little more. The result is that our productive apparatus begins to shrink. The very thing which we want basically, that is, expansion, that stops because, well, we dare not do it, because we are afraid of something happening. That becomes a vicious circle we never get out of, because we have to balance. So we have to face all these different problems now.

Some of you may have gone to this exhibition here, India 1958, and others no doubt will go. It is really, if I may use the word, a very heartening and almost an eye-opener. Knowing as we do that a great deal has been done in the country, still it is heartening to see that all there and somewhat surprising too, and not only for the foreigner but for the Indian. The foreigner, plenty of people came here, World Bank and all that, and they were amazed to see all that because they had not expected anything like it in India. And, you know, this was built up in about five and a half months, this fine exhibition. But it is an exhibition essentially, obviously, of what India is doing but more so of the enormous present potential



of India to do things. I mean to say there is no doubt about it that India is potentially an industrial giant, if only it can spread out its wings to fly. And our policy has to be to allow it to spread out its wings, with caution of course, but nevertheless to spread out its wings and not to clip them; otherwise there is no growth.

Then you know about the recent discoveries of oil. We do not know exactly the quantity of oil but the fact of oil is certain and the great probability is that the quantity is considerable also, because it has been found in several places. Now oil, from any point of view, is a very valuable commodity. It may make a tremendous difference to our economic conditions and these are hopeful signs, as I said outside just now. Every day there are two things on which we are relying, steel and oil. Now, when they start producing, we make, I do not know the exact figure, but I should think that every steel plant, all the big plants, each plant may well produce steel for ten million rupees, no, one million, ten lakhs a day. So also oil [...]. So that, you see, it makes a difference. Now, in a matter of this kind, there is every kind of urge for us to speed this, so that we may start profiting by it, speed our steel plants being finished as rapidly as possible, speed our drilling operations, etc., so that oil may come and we may go ahead with it. And I hope that that will be done.

Now, I have taken a lot of your time but I have not referred yet to some rather strange happening across our border here in the last six weeks or so.<sup>16</sup> It is, if I may use a word which some of you may understand, perhaps not all, it is almost like a Gilbertian comedy.... Yes, they are old operettas, as they are called in England. When I was a boy there was a fashion, Gilbert and Sullivan operas, which are rather comic, songs and dance and all that, and comic situations arise so the word Gilbertian is used in that sense. It really is, it would be, it may well be a very effective stage play if we do, a play describing this part from reality. It is really extraordinary this kind of things; not that this kind of coups do not happen; of course, they happen but the second one following the first made it perfectly Gilbertian.

Now, some people are worried about this; others are complacent. Both attitudes seem to me uncalled for. We cannot be complacent and we need not worry but we should be on our toes, prepared for any eventuality. Basically, of course, apart from the ever-present possibility of a dictatorship, acting on the moods of the moment and of one or two or a few individuals, there is always a possibility that the mood may be a bad mood and may lead to bad consequences. One has to take that into consideration. On the other hand, one has to sympathise

16. For events in Pakistan, see item 253.

with the people of Pakistan—not because of this change I mean—because all this is after all the result, as they have themselves said, as General Iskander Mirza said, as General Ayub Khan has said; nobody has used more stronger and more abusive language about their own leaders than any outsider could have done, their past leaders, the politicians; it is amazing language which I would not dare to use about anybody, in this country or that. They used it about their own people.<sup>17</sup> Well, if that language is justified even 50 per cent, then we can understand much of the trouble of Pakistan during the last ten years, what it has put up with and the present rather parlous state, politically or economically, and that is a difficulty. So we have to watch the situation carefully, and that is a difficulty. So we have to watch the situation carefully. One thing, as you think, is very, very irritating: petty incidents. The incidents are petty but they show a certain atmosphere.

Now, only in this morning's paper, or maybe yesterday's, you might have read that a poor accountant or ours working in our Dacca office, Deputy High Commissioner's, this poor accountant going back to Dacca, travelling by train, was physically beaten by some petty official. We are getting the facts and all that. It may be just that petty official's mischief—I do not say that the government orders the petty officials to beat somebody—but it does show the atmosphere that prevails there. It is a highly objectionable thing, utmost; it makes it difficult to view these things quietly and dispassionately. There it is.

For the rest, many other things have happened and are happening in the world in the Far East, in the Middle West and elsewhere. There it is and from time to time no doubt we shall discuss them in Parliament or in party meetings.

17. On 7 Oct. 1958, President Iskander Mirza proclaimed: "The mentality of the political parties has sunk so low that I am unable any longer to believe that elections will improve the present chaotic internal situation and enable us to form a strong and stable Government capable of dealing with the innumerable and complex problems facing us today. We cannot get men from the moon. The same group of people who have brought Pakistan on the verge of ruination will rig the elections for their own ends. They will come back more revengeful, because I am sure that the elections will be contested, mainly, on personal, regional and sectarian basis. When they return, they will use the same methods which have made a tragic farce of democracy and are the main cause of the present widespread frustration in the country." In a broadcast to the nation on 8 Oct., Ayub Khan, the Chief Martial Law Administrator, said: "Ever since the death of the Quaid-e-Azam and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan the politicians started a free for all type of fighting in which no holds were barred.... Having nothing constructive to offer they used provincial feelings and sectarian, religious and racial differences to set a Pakistani against a Pakistani.... In this mad rush for power and acquisition all that mattered was self-interest. The country and people could go to the dogs as far as they were concerned."



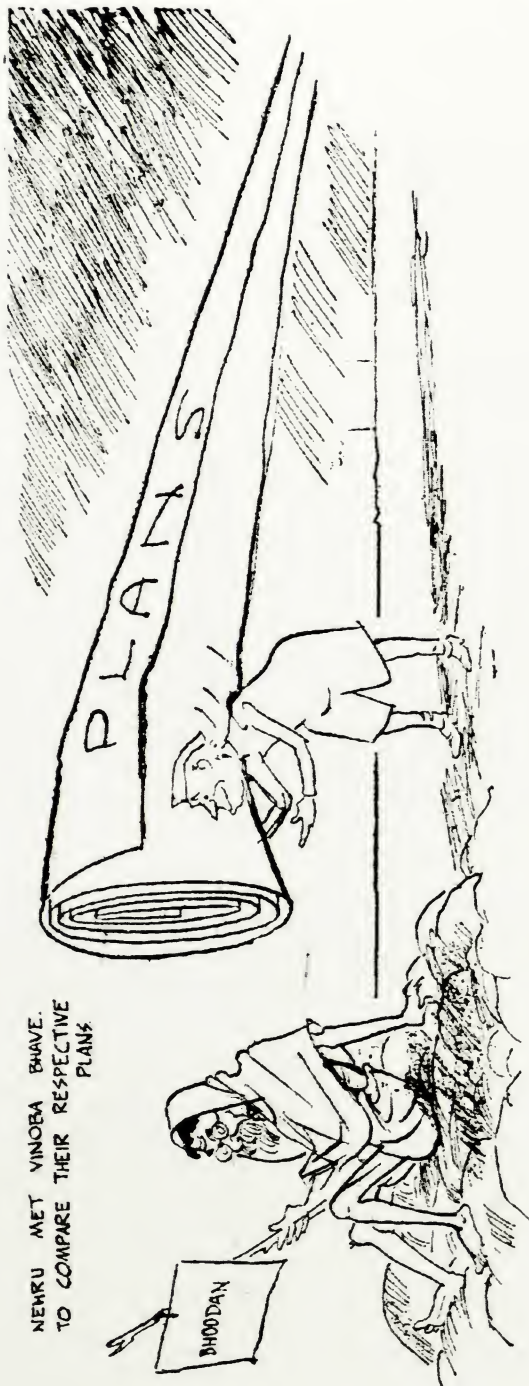
[Reinventing Bullock-Cart Technology]

ALL NATIONS ARE PROGRESSING  
IN A REVOLUTIONARY WAY - NEHRU.  
WE TOO.



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 9 NOVEMBER 1958

[Comparison of Plans]





[The Big Four Summit]

P.M. AND DHEBAR MEET BHAVE AND J.P.  
OUR BIG FOUR SUMMIT.



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 21 DECEMBER 1958

*Indian Standards*



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 30 NOVEMBER 1958



[Politician - Contractor Nexus]

PRIME MINISTER SAYS  
CONTRACTORS MUST GO.  
THEY CAN'T, EVEN IF  
THEY WANT TO.



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 9 NOVEMBER 1958

## Neo-Salesmen



Wholesale trading in foodgrains is to be taken over by the state.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 16 NOVEMBER 1958



[Food Items for Exhibition]

WORLD AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION IS TO  
BE HELD IN INDIA IN 1959.  
INDIA WILL CERTAINLY  
PARTICIPATE.



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 28 DECEMBER 1958

[One for the Road]



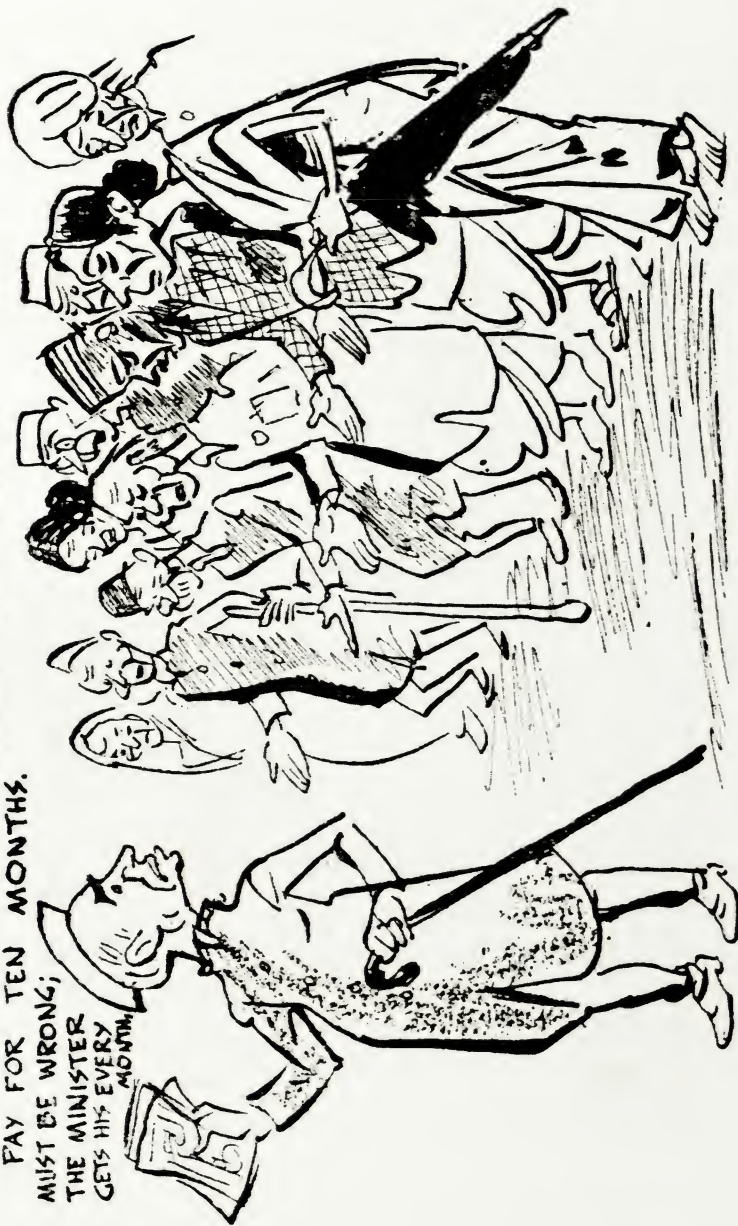
FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 28 DECEMBER 1958



[Poor Teachers!]

DELHI AIDED SCHOOL TEACHERS HAVE NOT GOT  
PAY FOR TEN MONTHS.

MUST BE WRONG;  
THE MINISTER  
GETS HIS EVERY  
MONTH.



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 14 DECEMBER 1958

[A Hatchet Job]

HIGH COMMAND GIVES FREE  
HAND TO SAMPURNANAND.  
FURTHER NEWS IS AWAITED.





[Kamaraj Plan for Kerala]

KAMARAJ ASSURED HELP  
TO PLANTATION OWNERS.  
WILL KERALA STATE BE  
TRANSFERRED TO MADRAS?



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 9 NOVEMBER 1958

[Volunteers of Bharat Sewak Samaj]

GREATER VOLUNTARY EFFORT IS  
NEEDED TO END POVERTY—PANT.  
DOESN'T BHARAT SEWAK SAMAJ ENLIST  
VOLUNTEERS ANY MORE?





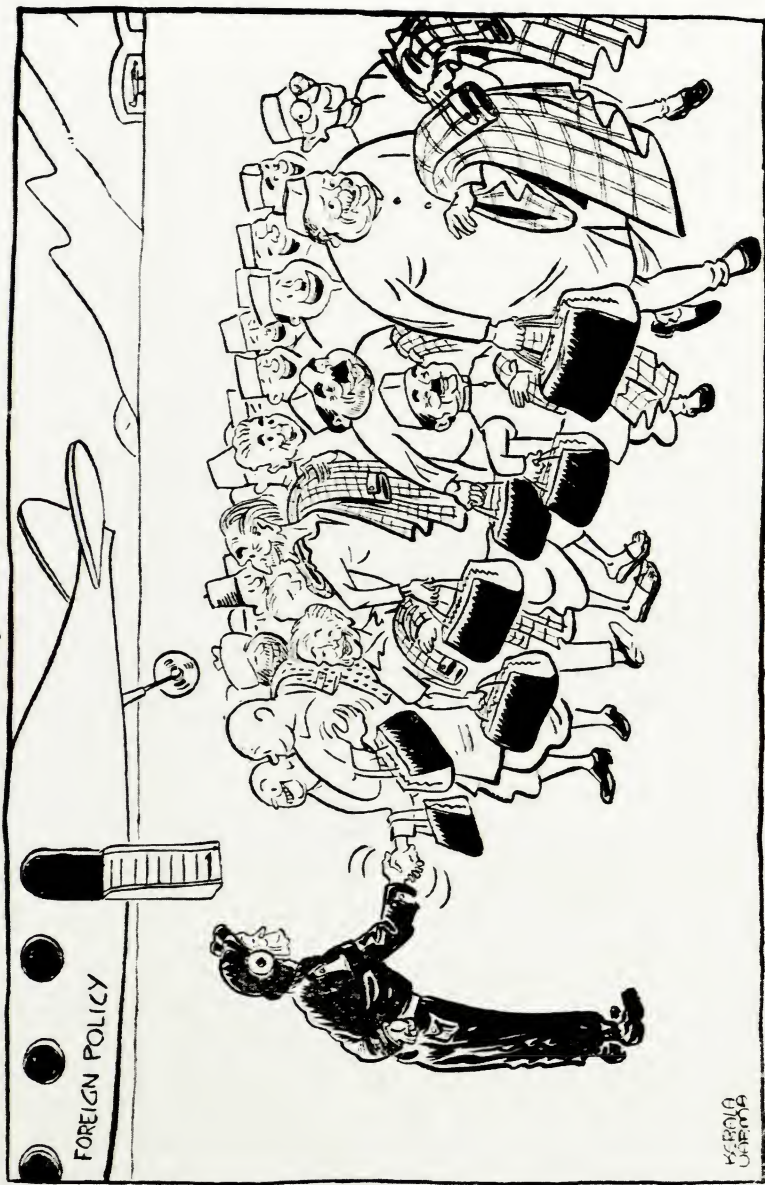
[The Ubiquitous Mahants]

NENJU DEPLORES CONGRESS  
OFFICE BEARERS HOLDING  
TO POSTS LIKE 'MAHANTS'.  
WHAT ABOUT MAHANTS  
IN OTHER FIELDS?



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 9 NOVEMBER 1958

*Joy Ride*

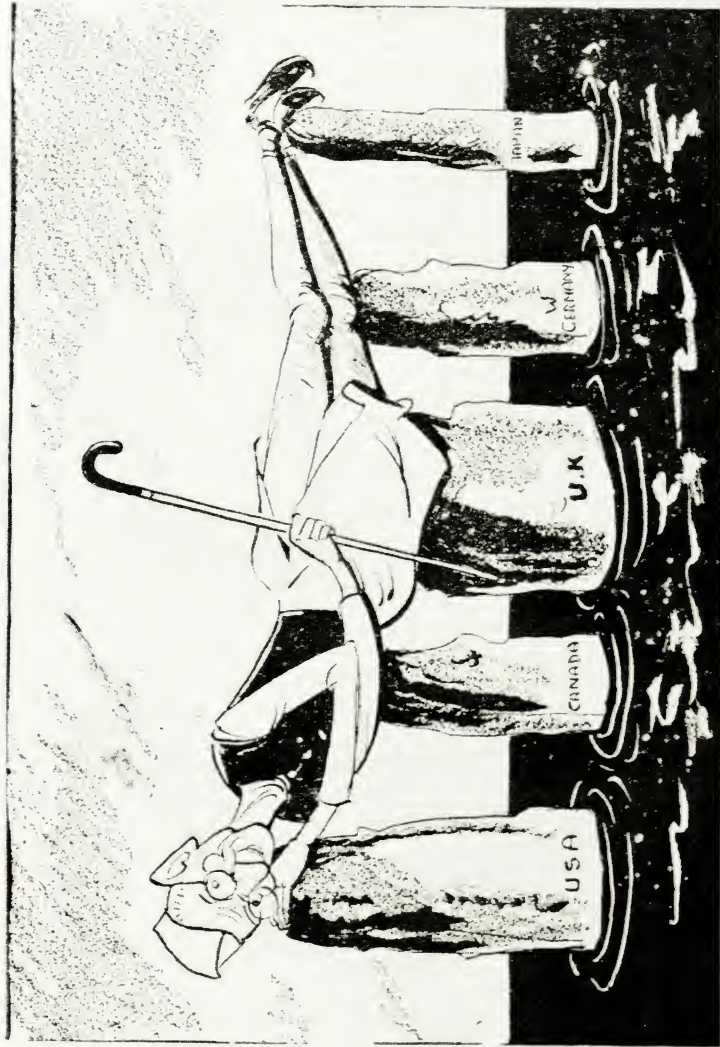


The Lok Sabha debated and approved the Govt's foreign policy.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 14 NOVEMBER 1958



## *Faith In 'Panch Shil'*



*The Finance Minister made a statement on the successful outcome of his foreign tour  
in the Lok Sabha.*

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 23 NOVEMBER 1958

[Algerian Crisis and the Gita]

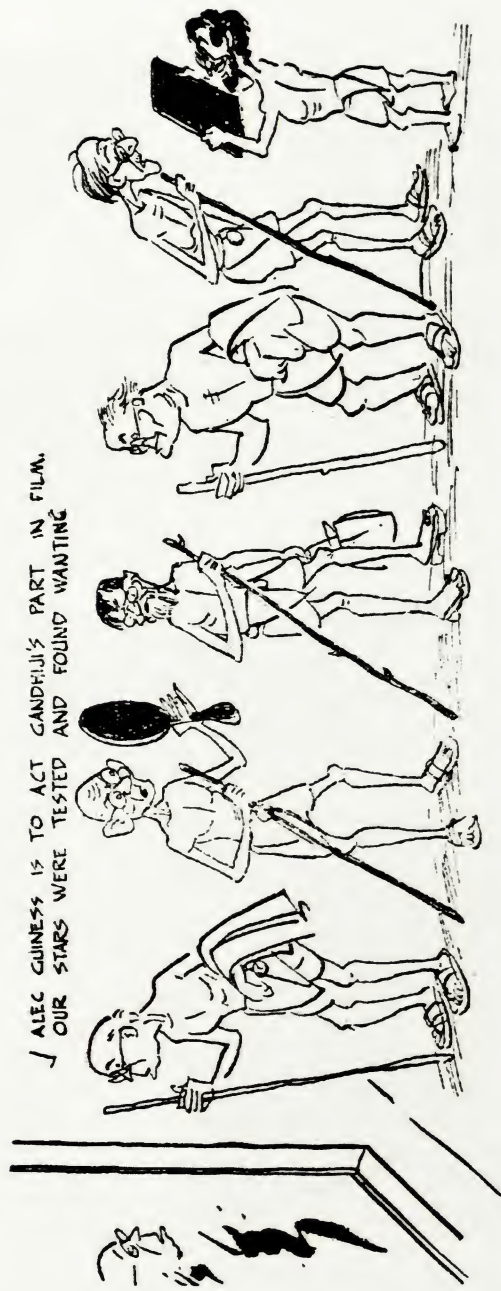
DR. RADHAKRISHNAN MET  
DE GAULLE.  
WHAT ABOUT A LITTLE  
GITA?



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 23 NOVEMBER 1958



[Don't I Fit the Bill?]



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 16 NOVEMBER 1958

## *The Writing On The Wall*

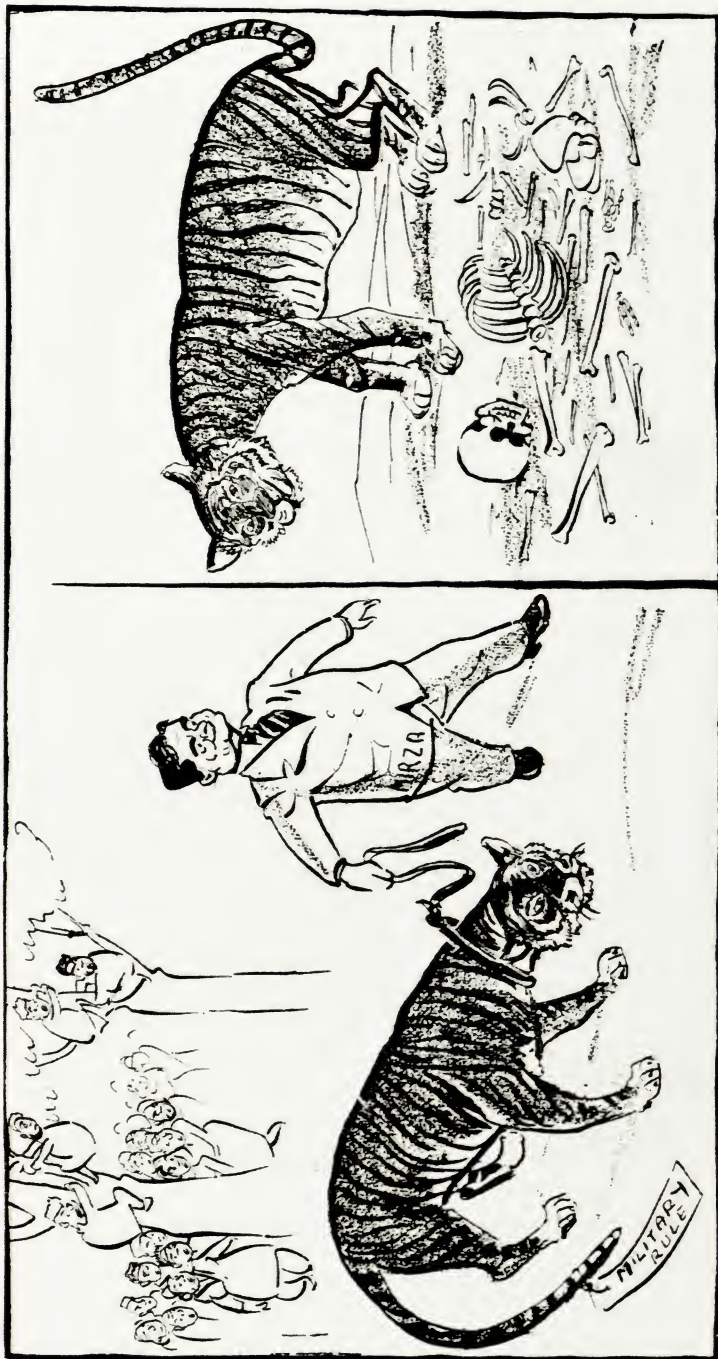


*Gen. Ayub Khan will resort to 'other means' if necessary to settle the Kashmir question.*

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 9 NOVEMBER 1958



*You Asked For It*



General Ayub Khan has replaced Gen. Mirza as President of Pakistan.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 2 NOVEMBER 1958

[Astrology in the Space Age]



*"Do you think prospects will be better in  
outer space?"*

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 30 NOVEMBER 1958



Now, before I conclude, what I was thinking was, we are going to have rather a busy time in Parliament, of course, but apart from Parliament, we are having some eminent guests day after tomorrow, is it? Day after tomorrow the Prime Minister of Canada is coming, Mr Diefenbaker. He would be followed, as far as I remember, by the Prime Minister of Norway and the Prime Minister of Japan and President Tito of Yugoslavia, and some others—for the moment I do not remember. And later, next year, early next year, President Voroshilov of the Soviet Union is due to come. So they are very welcome here, of course, but they absorb a lot of time, what with meeting them, feasting and much more....

#### 124. Approach to the Third Five Year Plan<sup>18</sup>

The Chairman referred to his letter of November 12 to Deputy Chairman<sup>19</sup> and referred to the considerations which had been in his mind in writing this letter. It was necessary to evolve some kind of a blue-print for the future structure. Without our meaning it, an impression was being produced in the public mind that somehow we had shifted from our socialist outlook. This was so especially after the recent Fund-Bank meeting. Our approach needed to be clarified. Secondly, whatever we did was conditioned by various factors. There had been far too much reference to conditions and brakes and not enough to the motive power for going forward. Warnings were given as to the consequences which would follow if certain courses were adopted. The biggest warning of all was that if we did not go ahead fast enough, there would be a breakdown. While we had to take care and be cautious, the paramount need was for moving ahead. In the third place, we were coming to a stage when we had to evolve the Third Five Year Plan. If we were not definite about our approach, we could go a certain distance and would then become less clear as to the further steps.

Financial resources were of course a conditioning factor for planning, but planning did not depend on them alone. In planning human resources were the basic factors. An approach in which one had to retreat or shrink back from time to time had its dangers. In this connection, the Chairman referred to the comments which had appeared in the foreign press of India's development which were likely to be misunderstood by public opinion in India. We could not

18. From the summary record of the informal meeting of the Planning Commission, 18 November 1958. File No. Plan/51/4/58, Planning Commission. Also available in JN Collection. Nehru was the Chairman of the Planning Commission.

19. See item 122.

afford to ignore the psychological factors in development. The essential basis of planning was that the national economy should go on expanding and an atmosphere for expansion had to be created.

Referring to financial resources, the Minister of Planning<sup>20</sup> said that these were themselves a result of past policies. Member (NR) said that mobilisation of resources was a matter both of policies and techniques and in this connection he referred to measures which might be taken for encouraging life insurance. Deputy Chairman mentioned the suggestions made from time to time to the States and said that the main issue was how the people organised through cooperatives, save to the full potential.

Shri Anjaria<sup>21</sup> said that we had been running on open system and hoped that somehow domestic savings would come up to a level sufficient to meet the planned scale of investment. During the last two or three years, domestic savings had not risen. The ultimate sources of domestic savings were restraint of consumption and mobilisation of labour and conditions had to be created in which these could be fully developed. Shri Tarlok Singh<sup>22</sup> referred to some questions which had to be considered, for instance, (a) measures for reducing disparities in income, (b) working in practice of the idea of Development Councils and steps to be taken for implementing plans in the private sector of industry, and (d) steps needed to develop external resources by bringing about lower cost and higher productivity in different branches of industry.

Referring to the private sector, the Chairman remarked that the private sector had not nearly done the job it was asked to and what it had done was at great cost. The private sector in India, while being far from efficient, spent its energy in attacking the public sector, whereas, in fact, it drew heavily on Government support in finance and otherwise. The question had to be considered as to what exactly was our outlook. Socialism was an economic approach to the problem of development. The Chairman himself felt that under a system of acquisitive society it was not possible to develop the higher kind of human being.

The Minister of Planning referred to criticism in respect of ceilings on agricultural holdings which was increasingly raised in terms of the contrast to developments in the urban sector.

Member (A) said that unless production was increased policies by themselves could not achieve much.

20. Gulzarilal Nanda was Union Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning.

21. J.J. Anjaria was the Chief Economic Adviser to the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance.

22. Additional Secretary, Planning Commission.



The Chairman said that it was necessary now to shift in a big way to small projects. The Chairman referred to reports of shortage of labour in China. He felt that the two decisions recently reached by the National Development Council were the first good turn that had been taken for some time. In this connection, Deputy Chairman remarked that the basic thing was whether under democratic conditions we were able to utilise the unutilised energies for creating community assets. Member (NR) enquired as to who was to provide the driving force. The Chairman said that this had to come both from individuals and from policies. Deputy Chairman referred to the fact that for several years there had been no elections for district boards and municipalities in a number of States.

Referring to the steps to be taken to develop the approach to the Third Plan would depend very much on what was done to make the basic policies of the Second Plan effective during the next two years. In this connection, he also drew attention to the fact that between the meeting of the National Development Council early in November 1954 and the Avadi session of the Congress, the idea of the socialist pattern of society was effectively driven home and large numbers of people began to appreciate it. At the present time there was no corresponding attempt to educate public opinion or even opinion within political parties and within the administration.

Deputy Chairman said that a democratic country had to find an effective counter-part of the 7 million or more partymen who worked day in and day out in China.

Referring to his visit to Rajasthan, Member (A) drew attention to the fact that the charge of the village level worker was too large and that extension officers in different fields did not appear to be sufficiently trained. The Chairman suggested that these comments should be conveyed to the Ministry of Community Development who should bring up the matter before the Central Committee at its next meeting. In this connection, the Chairman also suggested that village leaders' camps should be of longer duration than three days. They should be at least for five days or a week. Attention was drawn to the use of jeeps in community project areas. The Chairman remarked that the entire community development movement should revolve round the bicycle.

Concluding the discussion, the Chairman said that two problems had to be dealt with in the near future. Firstly, what should be our approach to the Third Plan? What kind of "steel-frame" did we want to set up? While our greater emphasis would be on small schemes, there had inevitably to be some large schemes also. Secondly, what kind of lead could we give to the country during the next month or two? The lead might be given by the Planning Commission or the Planning Commission might only suggest it. Of course, in considering this, it was necessary to remember that too many things and complicated suggestions

tended to confuse the public.

The Chairman suggested that future informal discussions might be devoted to specific subjects.

## 125. To Satya Narayan Sinha<sup>23</sup>

November 28, 1958

My dear Satya Narayan,<sup>24</sup>

As I told you, I want to constitute a small informal Committee of MPs belonging to various parties to consider planning questions. In particular, I want to discuss with them, and keep them in touch with discussions about the Third Plan which are going to begin in the near future.

The Committee should be about the size of our small Food Committee,<sup>25</sup> that is, about seven or eight persons, apart from Ministers. I suggest that you might ask the major parties each to select a representative for this purpose. After they have selected their representatives, we shall consider adding perhaps one or two Independent members.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

23. File No. 17(324)/58-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

24. Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs.

25. A Consultative Food Committee met on 5 Sept. 1958. It consisted of Nehru, Asoka Mehta (PSP), Jaipal Singh (Jharkhand Party), Surendra Mahanty (Ganatantra Parishad), Z.A. Ahmad (CPI), G.B. Pant, the Union Minister of Home Affairs and A.P. Jain, the Union Minister of Food and Agriculture. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 413-416.



#### 126. To Morarji Desai<sup>26</sup>

December 3, 1958

My dear Morarji,<sup>27</sup>

I enclose a letter from B.R. Shenoy,<sup>28</sup> Director of the School of Social Sciences in the Gujarat University. The scheme he has proposed is or appears to be a novel approach.<sup>29</sup> It is difficult for me to express any opinion about it, but it certainly is worth examining and, *prima facie*, I rather like it. The fact that vested interests should oppose it of course should not come in our way.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 127. Third Five Year Plan<sup>30</sup>

आपको याद होगा कि मैंने एक तजवीज पेश की थी कि हर Thursday को हमारी meeting हो। चुनाँचे हो रही है। लेकिन कोई agenda नहीं है मेरे सामने। फिर भी अच्छा ही है। अभी त्यागीजी ने कहा कि meeting के पहले agenda, subjects की, जिसपे

26. JN Collection.

27. Union Minister of Finance.

28. Belli Koth Raghunath Shenoy (1905-78); economist; Lecturer in Economics, Ceylon University, 1936-42; Principal, Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Arts College, Ahmedabad, 1942-45; Director, Monetary Research, Reserve Bank of India, 1945-49; Representative of the International Monetary Fund in the Far East, 1948-49; Alternate Executive Director representing India in IMF and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1951-53; Director and Professor of Economics, School of Social Sciences, Gujarat University, 1954-68; Founder-Director, Economic Research Centre, New Delhi, 1968-78; author of *Problems of Indian Economic Development* (Madras: Madras University, 1958) and *Indian Economic Policy* (New York: Humanities Press, 1968).

29. On 1 Dec. Shenoy proposed raising Rs 300 to 400 crore per year by auctioning import licences. He claimed that auctioning the licences of established importers would "shift to the national exchequer the ill-merited gains of the anti-social elements among the public and in the administration", and by auctioning those of actual users, the concealed subsidies to industrialists would disappear. He anticipated opposition, "but there was no justification for dissipating such large sums into private hands in face of acute shortages of rupee finance for the Second Plan".

30. Speech at a meeting of the CPP, 4 December 1958. Tape No. M-39(1), NMML. Nehru spoke in Hindi and English.

बहस होगी, वो मेम्बरों को भेज दिये जाएँ। तो जाहिर है ठीक है ये कि उन्हें मालूम हो और जिसको खास दिलचस्पी है उस मजमून में वो खास आये। ये तो होना ही चाहिए। और ये भी कि जो member किसी खास मसले पे चाहते हैं पेश हों, वो इसकी इत्तिला कर दें। मुमकिन है कि बहुत सारी इत्तिलाएँ, सब न लिए जा सकें, लेकिन इत्तिला करें, उससे ये मालूम हो जाता है कितने लोग चाहते हैं। दोनों बातें आप नोट कर लें।

तो कोई agenda नहीं है, बिलफेल कि मैं दो, एक बातें आपसे अर्ज कर दूँ। एक तो ये, जिसका मैंने शायद पिछली बार जिक्र किया था, कि NDC की meeting में दो बातें तय हुई थीं। एक तो wholesale trading in rice state करे, दूसरे cooperatives, village cooperatives बनें, बड़े पैमाने पर सारे मुल्क में, और वहाँ हरेक की राय से करीब-करीब हुआ था unanimously, शायद एक-आध member ने मंजूर करते हुए कहा था कि तफसील के बारे में, लेकिन मैं देखता हूँ कि कुछ तो अखबारों में और कुछ और भी, कुछ इस मामले में सफाई नहीं है। गलतफहमियाँ हैं। और कुछ लोग इसको समझते हैं महज कि procure करना है। इस सिलसिले में procurement का लफ्ज़ ठीक नहीं है। क्योंकि जब wholesale dealers उसको ले रहे हैं और उनका state ले रहा है तो सारा ही उनके पास आ गया। याने उनके पास से मतलब उनकी जेब में नहीं आया, लेकिन उनकी ज़िम्मेदारी हो गयी जहाँ-जहाँ हो, चाहे वो wholesale dealers के पास हो जिनको उन्होंने licence दिया है।

अब, मेरा ख्याल है और Planning Commission का भी ख्याल है कि इस बात को हमें जोरों से और पक्की तौर से करना है। क्योंकि अधूरा ऐसी बात करना, न इधर रहता है आदमी, न उधर रहता है। या तो न करते, या करना है तो जोरों से करना है। ये बात सही है कि उसको शुरु करने में बहुत दिक्कतें हैं और पहली दिक्कत यह है कि state की कोई apparatus नहीं है करने को, चुनाँचे state को license करना पड़ता है चुने हुए wholesale dealers को वो करें, उनकी तरफ से।

अब उसमें शुरु में ही ये पेंच आ जाता है कि जिन लोगों को आप license करते हैं वो लोग उसको पसंद नहीं करते और ईमानदारी से पसंद नहीं करते और कुछ लोग ईमानदार न भी हों, क्या मालूम। तो ये तो अजीब बात है कि जिसको आप agent बनायें, और ऐसे आदमी को जो कि उसूलन इस बात को पसंद नहीं करता, लेकिन लाचारी है। क्योंकि एकदम से आप कोई और बात कर नहीं सकते। और सिवाय इसके कि उनको करें, और निगरानी वगैरह का इंतज़ाम, जो कुछ हो सकता है, करें। और फिर हो नहीं सकता। तो फिर इस सिलसिले में procurement का लफ्ज़ ज़रा गलत-सा है। एक मायने में सही हो सकता है कि हम चाहते हैं कि ज़्यादा से ज़्यादा stock reserves हम चावल के बनायें। यहाँ तक कि खासकर इस साल जो कि सब लोग कहते हैं कि bumper crop होगा, तो उससे पूरा फ़ायदा उठायें, और जमा कर लें ताकि आइंदा के लिए हमारे पास काफी हो। चाहे जो भी कोई ऊँच-नीच हो उसको हम संभाल सकें। हम तो चाहते हैं कि बीस लाख टन चावल



जमा हो reserve में, two million tons। उसमें से कुछ हिस्सा States के पास होगा और ज्यादातर Centre के पास, Centre के कब्जे में हो कहीं। ये कोशिश है।

अब ये बात States की मारफत ही हो सकती है कि States पूरीतर से इसमें मदद करें। ये बात सही है कि कुछ States इस मामले में बहुत जोश नहीं दिखा रहे हैं, न पहले दिखाया। लेकिन उन्हीं की मारफत करना है, उनको समझाना है, जो कुछ उनपे असर डाल सकते हैं वो डालना है। बात ये है कि private interests होते हैं, dealers हैं, millers हैं, वो दबाव डालते हैं जाके, अपने वहाँ Assembly के Members पर, बाज़ Assembly के Members खुद ही dealers हैं वो दबाव डालते हैं Government पर, तो इन सब बातों से दिक्कतें पेश आ जाती हैं। लेकिन, जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा, ये बात समझ लेनी है हमें कि हमने ये कदम उठाया है, या उठाने का इरादा किया है, तो उसको पक्कीतौर से चलाना है। और कोई चारा नहीं है। और मैं तो ख़ैर, बिल्कुल मुझे पक्का इतमीनान है कि सही कदम है, दिक्कतें कितनी ही हों। और अजीब बात ये है कि जैसे कि कुछ लोग अमेरिका से आए, कहने लगे कि बहुत ही socialism की चर्चा है हिन्दुस्तान में लेकिन तुमसे ज्यादा socialism तो अमेरिका में है जो कि capitalist country है। और बाज़ बातों में सही थी बात। सिवाय इसके कि हमारी निगाह दूसरी तरफ है, ये सही बात है, लेकिन practice में जो हम करते हैं वो बाज़ बातों में कम है। Capitalist countries भी socialist तरफ। फौरन private interests आ जाते हैं, या जो कुछ है। और इस खाने के मामले में, खाने के सामान के मामले में तो करीब-करीब हर मुल्क जहाँ कोई ज़रा भी दिक्कत हो, वो कब्जे में लाता है उसे। उसे छोड़ नहीं सकता है। और हमारे मुल्क में, जहाँ कि सारा हमारा दारोमदार है agricultural produce पर उसको हम छोड़ दें, बाज़ारी जुओं के ऊपर दाम बढ़ाएँ, घटाएँ, ये तो बिल्कुल एक गलत बात मालूम होती है। और एक दफे अगर wholesale trade काबू में आये तो जाहिर है और चीजें फिर बहुत नहीं बहक सकतीं, थोड़ा इधर-उधर हों। इसलिए चाहे कुछ दिक्कतें भी हों लेकिन यहाँ एक तरीका है उसको काबू में लाने का, और उससे ज्यादा से ज्यादा फ़ायदा किसान को हो और consumer को हो, दो को हो। बीच वालों को जाहिर है फ़ायदा नहीं होगा बल्कि बीच वाले हल्के-हल्के अलग हो जाएँगे। यही cooperative के बारे में भी। सच पूछिए तो ये wholesale trade पूरीतर से कामयाब जब ही होगा, जब cooperatives हो जाएँ। तब उनकी मारफत होगा। वो ही intermediaries हैं, अगर आप चाहें तो करें। उन्हीं को फ़ायदा होगा हर तरह का। और वो सब बातें, production में भी, distribution में, sale में, सब बातों में वो दख़ल दे सकते हैं। वो भी काफी ज़रूरी बात हो गयी है।

Cooperatives को लीजिए, कोई ये कोई बड़ी socialistic बातें नहीं हैं। हैं, लेकिन capitalist मुल्कों में भी बहुत काफी हैं। मैं आज ही जापान का सुन रहा था जहाँ village cooperatives हैं, वो ही जो हम चाहते हैं। बहुत बड़े नहीं, एक-एक गाँव के, और बहुत पक्कीतौर से चलते हैं, बहुत अच्छी तरह से, state मदद करती है उनको, credits वगैरह।

तो इसको मैं दोहरा दूँ अंग्रेजी में।<sup>31</sup>

[Translation begins]

You may remember I had suggested that we meet every Thursday. So we are meeting today. But there is no agenda before me. Anyhow, it is a good thing we are meeting. Just now Tyagiji mentioned that before every meeting the agenda of subjects to be discussed should be sent to the Members. Obviously that would be a good thing because Members can attend meetings where matters of interest to them would be discussed. So it should be done. And then, Members who wish anything specific to be discussed can include it in the agenda. All the suggestions may not be taken up but at least we would know how many people are interested in a particular matter. So please note down both these things.

Since there is nothing special on the agenda let me speak about one or two matters. One is, as I think I mentioned earlier, that two decisions were taken at the NDC meeting. One was that the States should take up the wholesale trade in rice and, secondly, that village cooperatives should be formed on a large scale all over the country. These decisions were taken unanimously but I find that the newspaper reports are not very clear. There seem to be some misconceptions. Some people think it relates merely to procurement. I don't think procurement is the correct term, because when the wholesale dealers are collecting the stocks and the state is taking the stocks from them, then the entire stock comes to the state. The state takes on the responsibility of distributing licences to wholesale dealers, etc. Now, it is my opinion and that of the Planning Commission too that we should put this matter on a very firm footing because half measures are very unsatisfactory. Either we go the whole way or not do it at all. Of course, it is true that there are many difficulties in beginning this work. First of all, the state does not have any apparatus to deal with it, because it has to license selected wholesale dealers to undertake it on its behalf. Now, a complication arises right at the beginning that those licensees may not really like to take up the work—some of them for reasons of honesty and some perhaps because they are dishonest. Who knows? So we are forced to accept as our agents people who are opposed to this whole thing on principle. But we are helpless because for the moment nothing else is possible. We have to accept this arrangement and perhaps make some provision for supervision, etc. So in this context procurement is not the word to use. In a sense it may be correct because we want to build up as big a reserve stock of rice as possible. In fact, we want to take full advantage of the bumper

31. After this the proceedings are in English. These are given immediately after the English translation of the preceding part of the proceedings.



crop this year and stock some reserves for future so that we can deal with the fluctuations. We want to have a reserve of twenty lakh tons, that is, two million tons, with some portion of it with the States and most of it with the Centre. This is going to be our effort. Now, we can succeed only with the full cooperation of the States. It is also a fact that the States are not really rising to the occasion, nor have they shown much enthusiasm for it. But we can do it only through them, by explaining to them and by influencing them as much as possible. Unfortunately, private interests, like that of dealers and millers, etc., are involved and those people try to pressurise the Assembly Members. In some cases the MLAs themselves may be dealers and so they try to put pressure on the government. So, all these things create difficulties.

But as I told you we have to understand this fully well, that we have taken or decided to take this step and we have to be firm about that. There is no other way. And I am fully convinced that it is the right step, whatever the difficulties may be initially. And the amazing thing is people come from America and say, "You talk a great deal about socialism in India but we feel there is far more of it in America, which is a capitalist country." They are right too, in many respects. Though we are heading in that direction, in practice much of what we do is certainly not socialism, much less, in fact, than in capitalist countries. For one thing, private interests and other things come in, especially in matters of food and foodgrains, etc. When our country is so dependent on its agricultural produce, it does seem very wrong to leave this important matter open to market gambling over prices. It is evident that once we bring the wholesale trade under our control then the other things cannot really go wrong, even if there are ups and downs. So, whatever the difficulties, this is the only way of controlling the situation. The farmer and the consumer will benefit most and the middlemen will gradually disappear. All this goes for the cooperatives too. In fact, state control over wholesale trade will succeed only when we have cooperatives. Everything will be done through the cooperatives. They will become the intermediaries, if you like. They can supervise production, distribution, sale, etc. Cooperatives are not really peculiar to socialist countries alone; capitalist countries also have them. Today only I heard about village cooperatives in Japan, which is what we want. They don't go in for big cooperatives; each village has one and it is run very properly. State helps them with credit, etc.

I would like to repeat this in English.<sup>32</sup>

[Translation ends]

32. After this the proceedings are in English.

You know of the two decisions taken by the NDC about state wholesale trading in rice and village cooperatives. Now both these are in effect far-reaching decisions, involving obviously difficulties in organisation, but I have no doubt that this business of wholesale trade in foodgrains by the state is quite essential for us whether we do it now or tomorrow or the day after. It is quite absurd for a country like India which is so tremendously dependent on agricultural production and more especially food, production of foodgrains, to face helplessly conditions arising in the market which it cannot affect easily except in one way, fair price shops, etc. It is all right. But that is not the real way to do it and, even as I just said, in capitalist countries, in many of them, agricultural produce of this type is very largely controlled or dealt with by the state in varying degrees. For a country which talks about the socialist approach it is patent that this is the first thing we should control. Now, the only, at least the most effective way of controlling it is at the source, that is, the wholesale source, not at the retail source. If that is done very largely you control prices too and you can build up stocks and you prevent these ups and downs in prices.

Now, nothing is as fatal as to adopt a policy and not to try to give effect to it fully, because then you are neither here nor there. You stand to lose on both sides. Therefore, it has to be adopted and fully acted upon. And this does not mean procurement. Procurement is another thing. A part of it involves retaining stocks and reserves by the States. But procurement applies in a limited way, for you to procure, at a monopoly price or whatever it is, the quantity you want. This is the state through agents acquiring all the rice production and then keeping such in reserve as possible and making arrangement for its distribution. Now, all this involves careful planning and in the course, I hope, of a few days or perhaps a week or ten days, a fairly detailed, worked out scheme for this is being prepared and will be sent to the States, that is, about the various phases of it. At the present moment we have no choice but for the States to appoint certain wholesale dealers as their licensed agents for this purpose. That is not very satisfactory because the wholesale dealers themselves are obviously not interested in this and do not like this change, and to appoint a person who does not like the change in charge of it is not a very satisfactory solution. But there is no help for it. All that can be done is, well, to have supervision and all that as much as possible.

Now, this year, accounts come from almost every part of India about a bumper rice crop such as we have not had for twenty years or I do not know how long in some place. Well, that is good. It is about time we had a good crop after three years of failure. Now, you must take advantage of this. Take advantage of it in two ways. One is to build up stocks and we think we ought to build up with luck a reserve stock of two million tons of rice, partly with the States, partly with the Centre. So we hope to make every effort but that can only be done with the



cooperation of the States. I hope that will be forthcoming, although some of them have to face all kinds of pressures in their own States from interested parties, like traders, like millers, like, maybe sometimes, the bigger farmers.

Secondly, the price factor. Some of you from the surplus States have come to us and said that the price should be increased a little; that will help in getting the rice from the farmers. We have stoutly resisted this for very valid reasons. First of all, the price last year was Rs. 15. Now, if during the scarcity year, the price is Rs. 15, for it to be raised during a bumper year would simply mean, first of all, that forever and ever we have raised it, never lowered it, and that in future years it might have to be raised more. It is obvious a farmer would like to get a better price; there is no doubt about it. But remember that Rs. 15 is a high price compared to the last few years. In some places the price was much less, Rs. 3 or 4, less only three or four years ago. It has come up to that. We have felt that if we raise the price of rice higher than Rs. 15, it will make a tremendous impact as if you raised it forever, and it would react immediately on all our planning estimates and everything. Rise of price will affect that and for various other reasons we have stuck fast to this price of Rs. 15 but we hope that even so the farmer may get a little more than he has been getting because we are cutting out some intermediaries.

Secondly, there is the question of village cooperatives. Now, from every point of view—the growth of the village economy, self-reliance, self-government of the village—it is necessary to have this. As I told you last time, it is most important to have village cooperatives which are really self-reliant and not run by officials.<sup>33</sup> It is better to have risks, or mistakes, faults, quarrels and everything but make them do it, rather than for an officer to do it. He will do it well if he is a good officer but you do not develop that spirit in the people which is the basic thing for us to aim at. We want village cooperatives, not bigger ones, because we want to create that spirit and intimacy as of a family in the village. If it is a very big one, then it may have greater resources, no doubt, but inevitably it will go into official hands or, if not official hands, some, one, two or three rather aggressive persons in that group will take charge and the average farmer or kisan will feel helpless. He would not feel helpless in a village where he knows everybody. These two things are of vital importance.

Now, I want to say a few words, very few, about the Third Five Year Plan. It is two years, three years later still, more than two years, that is true. But we have to think about it from now onwards so as not to be rushed at the end, so as to be able to consult people and all that. The broad programme would be for the draft

33. See item 123, here p. 418.

Third Five Year Plan to be got ready within one year and to be published and placed before the House, of course before Parliament, as a draft for consideration and discussion, and for criticism from Parliament and from the country generally. We give another year for this discussion, consideration and revision and then the revised draft will come up before the NDC and then before Parliament. That is the broad time table.

Now, I should like to, if you will permit me, place some ideas of mine about the approach. I am not going into details. Planning is not, if I may say so with all respect, a collection of schemes, putting them down, every State saying we want this scheme, that scheme, we want too much money; that is not planning. Planning is not giving priorities. It is of course, but that is only a small part of planning. Planning is building up, trying to build up to a certain picture you have. You want to go somewhere; you must be clear about it. To say that you want to better the conditions of India and the Indian people is good enough, but it is vague. You must have more precise ideas. How do you get precise ideas? Well, you get precise ideas by calculating what the people of India require. Food, for instance. You calculate how much food they require of various types, not now but five years, ten years, twenty years hence, allowing for the increase of population, allowing for more calories, allowing for whatever you have to allow for and allowing for all variety of food, chiefly of course foodgrains but other varieties too, vegetables, fruits, canned food, this, that and the other. Clothing: what do they require, what they should have, shoes, boots and so on with a hundred articles which are necessary, leaving out for the moment luxury articles. Now, then having got all this you look back and say how are these things to be produced? Well, food is going to be produced from the fields; agriculture comes in, and new techniques in agriculture. Even there, you come up against questions like what does agriculture require: tools—I am not talking about tractors, big things, if tractors are there well and good, but for the moment not; a good plough; other agricultural tools and implements; fertilisers and so on. Well, how are these tools going to be produced by some factories? How are fertilisers going to be produced by some factory? Therefore, we have to think of the factory and the tool-making machine, and other things required by agriculture. Then you go into the wider field. You want this, that, other hundreds and thousands of things which a nation requires. How are they going to be produced? You require factories and some, of course, would be produced in a big factory, some in small, some in cottage industries, all that. So, you have to provide for their production by factories, you have to put up the factories, and then, most important of all, you have to train people to run those factories. They require high training, chiefly engineers and all that. So your education comes in, to train those people to run those factories of agriculture and all that. All that has to be interlocked. Either you may have the



factory and you may have not enough people to run them, trained people, or you may have lot of trained people and nowhere for them to work. You spend a lot of money in training them and no factories for them to work. That is bad. So it has to be coordinated in all this and so you have to build up this plan in perspective. You can never do that perfectly, of course. Nobody expects one to be perfect in these calculations but broadly speaking you get this and you revise it from year to year as you gain more experience and with changing conditions, where you can go a little faster or a little slower, so that this coordination should take place and so that, most important of all, you are providing for this growing population. You have to keep all that, you have to calculate.

Suppose now, I do not know, but people say, some people who have studied the question, that our population, the rate of growth may well produce in five years' time, or six years maybe, something like a population of 420 millions. You may, of course, try to reduce the rate of growth of population by family planning and all that. Well and good, do it. But we have to provide anyway for this growing population which is growing chiefly because the death rate is becoming less, not so much the actual births are more but death rate is getting less, because Malaria is more or less controlled; other things will be controlled; better health facilities; and so people survive more. Children, babies, survive much more than they used to. So all that has to be taken together and many other things that I could tell you about and behind that, again, this is the physical side of it, you might say, the mechanical side. There is the other side which is the human side: what kind of human beings are you producing? Just engineers, just shoemakers or whatever they may be! You want human beings, good citizens, not merely a person divorced from life who can do a job well. That, of course, again is a question of education. It is a frightfully difficult question on which there is argument all over the world.

Then you come to something, the resources aspect. Obviously, a country is limited by its resources: you cannot build without bricks, you cannot, without resources, do anything. But the resources aspect should also be considered not merely from the point of view of finance, although finance is important; nobody denies that. But to think only in terms of accounting, financial accounting, is really to just put so many brakes on your planning that you proceed at a snail's pace. The essence of the difficulty in an underdeveloped country is that resources are limited; that is a result of being underdeveloped, otherwise it would not be underdeveloped. If you proceed on that basis and advance at a slow pace then you are doomed, because you are overwhelmed with growing population, with growing demand and everything. Therefore, how else can we get over this? That is the basic and most difficult problem. Whatever policy you may adopt, it is obvious that it requires higher, much higher production. The rate of production

should increase whether it is from the field or whether it is from the factories, and that requires inevitably—whether it is capitalism, communism, socialism or any ism—hard work. There is no other way to do it, except by hard, concentrated work. You read so much about China, and there can be no doubt that China has made quite extraordinary advances in industry and agriculture but behind it is the most terrific hard work. We had one account of it. We read somewhere that people who are working so hard in factories, right up to almost twelve hours a day, that they fall asleep on their machines, and they are so tired out. Then they had to reduce the hours of work; they had gone beyond human endurance. But the fact is, they are working hard, and they are good workers and they produce results.

Now, coming back to the resources position, so far as foreign exchange is concerned you cannot juggle with that. If you buy something from abroad you have to pay for it and you have to pay for it not in your own currency. You have to pay for it ultimately in gold, if you like, or in the other person's currency. You can only get the gold or the other person's currency by selling your own goods. There is no other way. Or, of course, you can borrow money from abroad for the time being which every growing country has done and then it pays back and makes good. There is nothing bad or harmful in borrowing money from abroad. Every country, including the United States of America, was practically built up with money borrowed from Europe; South America too. That is true. There is no other way, that is, you have ultimately to export goods or borrow money which you will have to pay back. To some extent that has to be done. Even in exporting goods, in effect you can also export goods by increasing your own production in the country. It ultimately comes back to your own production in the country, export or whatever it is or borrowing or paying back; it means increasing your own resources. Now, in so far as foreign exchange is concerned or buying from foreign countries, we can cut down our imports from foreign countries, as we have done, anything that we do not need. But we cannot cut down imports of capital goods, that is, machinery, so long as we do not produce the machinery ourselves. Therefore, it becomes important that we should produce the machinery ourselves or rather that we should put up plants here which can produce machines. We have got, we are producing a number of machines but we are not producing some of the big machines, a machine, say, for the steel plant. If you want to build a steel plant you should produce the machinery for the steel plant here. Or anything else big you have to put it up and that is in our programme. But we have till then to get machines from abroad or else we do not set up plants and factories and we have to pay for them, pay for them by export or by borrowing money; there is no other way.

Now, we have borrowed a fairly large sum and we are going probably to



borrow in the course of this year, next year, further a large sum which will tide us over our present difficulties. But remember this that whatever we have borrowed and will borrow, mean a heavy burden on us in future: interest charges are prodigious, which go up in some years to hundred crores a year. Think of that; it is a very very big sum, and we dare not go on borrowing more. We may borrow some more, I do not rule it out, but we have to be very careful. Apart from the money, apart from the burden of interest, etc., there is always the danger that too much dependence on borrowed money has two evil results. One that it tends to make people in the country rely on aid from abroad; they lose their self-reliance. Secondly, whether you like it or not, it has certain economic consequences which are not good for the borrower country. One has to be careful. I am not against borrowing, but I am merely saying the rate, the amount that we borrow ultimately, if it is too big, has an effect on the borrower country, and reduces its capacity for independent policy-making, economic policy-making or even ultimately maybe political policy-making. I do not say that we are anywhere near it, I do not say that, but one has to be careful; it is not that anybody who gives you money you should accept it with open hands.

Now, that is that but in regard to internal resources, there can be no doubt that if we want to go ahead, we shall have to spend far more than we have been doing. Anything that produces, any expenditure put in today that produces fairly quickly, can easily be undertaken, it does not matter. So anything spent on quick production, quick meaning within a year you might say, you can almost always risk without fear of any market inflation. And you can, therefore, spend almost any amount within reason in this way, that is, if it yields results fairly soon and because these results will immediately put an end to any tendency to inflation. It is the long term expenditure that produces that. Therefore, deficit financing, etc., for short term expenditure, yielding results soon, does not matter in the least. There is no harm in deficit financing; it is only when it is long term, which does not result in outcomes soon, that there is danger in it. I am saying this because there is a tendency to confuse as if deficit financing is always bad; it is not bad. Because, after all, we can only get going by production and production means investment; investment means finding money. Let us find the money anyway you like even for such quick-return things by deficit financing; it does not matter, provided it yields fairly quick return, within the year.

There are two things which have just been mentioned which are basic and that is that food prices should be reasonable, food and cloth prices, and maybe one or two oils and other things. If you keep those prices under full control, it does not really matter what other prices are. If a motor car costs twice or three times as much, it is bad of course, but really does not matter. We will go on bicycle, we will do anything, but you cannot do that with something which is

absolutely necessary for the people, like the food price and cloth price and maybe one or two other things

So, in looking at the Third Five Year Plan we have to remember, first of all, that if we slow down we really not merely slow down, it is not a question of, well, doing something in five years which might be done in two, it really means a reversal of a process, and it results in a shrinkage. Instead of your spreading out, advancing, you begin to shrink and if you begin to shrink, your difficulties begin to increase and you are not advancing at all, you are retreating, there is that danger. So it is not a question of doing a thing in a little more time or a little less. There is a dividing line: if you do not cross that dividing line, do not go beyond it, and then you are actually shrinking, with all the evils of an economy that is shrinking. You never get going in fact and you create an atmosphere of defeat in the country, unemployment, this, that, other, which increases and production goes down and down, just as, let us say, recently because of our foreign exchange difficulty we stopped many imports, imports which were necessary for our production. I am not talking about all imports, raw materials, which are necessary, so our production had to stop. That was a bad thing, but that was necessary for the time being. I am not criticising that. But I say anything which goes towards production is important. Now, you must realise that there is a minimum under which we cannot remain, in regard to the Third Plan.

The foreign criticism, British, American, and it was sometimes even some Indian criticisms, has been that we have worked hard for ten years, two Plans; let us rest awhile from the Third Plan, go slowly, of course doing something, and regain our balance and regain our breath, you might say, then you should run a little again. Now, that is a completely misguided notion; we just cannot do it. It is like your, shall I say, trying to cross a river by saying, alright, I will jump half way. I mean to say you will drown; you have to reach the other side; it is no good taking half a jump into the middle of a river, and planning is like that. You see, if you have not planned, of course, the result would have been a gradual or even rapid economic deterioration, poverty spreading out as it did indeed in British times. People put up to it, became gradually poorer, poorer, except some flashy cities which lived really on the exploitation of the poorer people; in effect you cannot do that. Now, you have therefore to provide for a system of progress which ultimately becomes almost automatic, self-progressing, just as any countries like America, of course, or like Russia. They are two different types of countries but the fact is that they have arrived at a stage when automatically they have a big surplus, 20 per cent, 30 per cent, 40 per cent a year, which they can invest or they can throw away, do what they like. They can even indulge in wasteful expenditure. In America, there is tremendous waste and yet there is a big surplus. Well, to arrive at that critical point when your economy becomes a self-sufficient



one and grows of itself, of course, it will grow more if you push it. That is our objective, and you have to work for that and try to achieve it in an ever-growing measure. I do not think we shall achieve it fully by the Third Five Year Plan, but if we go, work hard enough, by the Third Plan we shall be in full swing towards it. After that it is almost, not quite but almost, automatic; all you have to see is that every machine is running properly. But at the present moment we are midstream and we dare not lower the pace. In fact, far from lowering the pace of advancement, we have to go a little faster to catch up; that is the basic thing.

How to do it? It is a question of very careful thinking and working out, but it is no good at all to say that we must slow down. That is a confession of defeat and despair which leads you nowhere. You will have the big factories functioning, no doubt, and iron and steel plants but you will have your people, the masses of your people, getting further and further removed from any kind of prosperity or a welfare state. In a capitalist economy the normal tendency is, it is the nature of the economy—for the prosperous to grow more prosperous, for the gap between the prosperous and others to increase, that is, if you leave matters to the pure working of the market. There is no doubt about it that the richer will get richer and the poor poorer. But you will say: America has very high standard of living, of course, in England too, high standard of living with capitalist economies. That is perfectly true. But there are many things: One, of course, in America, they had vast resources in a small population spread out over a country three times, four times as big as India. But the other thing is that in effect even in a capitalist economy like America there is a very great deal of restraints, very great deal of limitations, to the working of what is called the market economy—all kinds of things, antitrust laws, this, that, other—which prevent capitalism having a free hand. In England too, and there is the pressure again of trade unions and others of that side, organised labour, all that prevents the pure market economy from functioning. If you had what is the ideal of private enterprise, the free market, there is no doubt at all that the free market would mean freedom to amass great fortune on the one side, and, on the other side, the gap between the rich and the poor increases. It is true that the underprivileged classes will get something, some droppings.

And yet, in India, you must remember, whatever we must say about socialism and all that, we function under a capitalist economy subject to restraints, subject to protection of this or that, subject to the public sector gradually growing. That is true but basically all this business of the stock exchange and prices going up and down is market economy of capitalism which no scientific state should tolerate. I do not personally like the state being all powerful; I like decentralisation. I like power to be spread out, political power, economic power, but the fact is that this business of so-called spreading out power, economic power, in a capitalist

economy leads to power vesting in small numbers; it is not spread out. It is a small group of the top bankers, the top industrialists, as in America, who hold enormous power, subject always, of course, in a democratic state to public opinion, to this, that, to trade unions, to pressures. If it has not been subject to that it would go even further away. Therefore, in India, we have to think of all these things. Our idea of socialism is, if I may say so, rather inadequate. Socialism means to us, nationalise this or that; well, that is a small part of socialism, but if we did that it would result in something that is not socialism or something that may be called a very backward and poor socialism, because you build it up in a backward economy. Real socialism should be in a progressive and dynamic economy.

However, these are big subjects into which we need not go. But I do wish to mention that the whole conception of the Third Plan has to be on this wider scale so that we may reach somewhere. We say something, we calculate, not merely good welfare state; we calculate what are the things necessary for people. It may take us ten years, fifteen years, twenty years—that is a different matter. We calculate, then, what are the things necessary to produce, those things that are necessary for the people—factories, etc., and all that. Then we calculate how we are to get them, whatever the period of time. Having done that, then we calculate the time, what we can do in ten years or five years; of course, we are not entirely certain because everything depends on many factors. Even a good monsoon makes a tremendous difference or a bad monsoon; that is a different thing. The amount of hard work that we can put in makes a tremendous difference. I might tell you that the psychology of a country makes a big difference. If the psychology is an optimistic one, a hopeful one, a cooperative one, then it makes a difference in all the work that the country is doing. If it is one of constant conflict, industrial conflict or agrarian conflict, if it is one of constantly running down everything that is being done, then you produce an atmosphere of defeat and despair. If everybody is talking of corruption and this and that, well, it produces that atmosphere. Now, one of the great and very valuable advantages of a country like China today is that not a word is raised in criticism; every word is in praise of what is being done. Here, as you know very well, our opposition parties of course, partly because they are the opposition parties, run down almost everything that is done. But not the opposition parties only, our own people run it down adequately, with the result that an atmosphere is created of defeat and despair which is a very dangerous thing, naturally in a matter of this kind.

Now, therefore, I have been thinking—one cannot get over these difficulties which are present in the nature of things but I have been thinking—how at least to reduce the opposition element by more consultation and cooperation and I have invited leaders of opposition parties in Parliament, a small number of them,



altogether about seven or eight, to form a small committee on planning just as we had a small committee on food which has had good results from these discussions, who profit by them and it reduces tensions and suspicions. Planning, of course, will be a long-term affair. I have not constituted such a committee; we have asked them to nominate their representatives, and we shall normally meet, of course, during session time, two, three, four times, once in ten days or so to discuss these broad aspects of planning and when we go ahead, papers are prepared, we shall place before them. That, of course, we also propose to do with our party in a fuller measure not only with your Standing Committee on Planning but, when necessary, with larger groups in the party because I think it is important for the largest number of MPs, both of our party and others, to be associated with this matter. First of all they should know the details of it, the philosophy of it—not merely what is being done, but the philosophy underlying it—the difficulties of it so that they may be able to be more helpful and tell others in their constituencies or in the rest of the country.

During the last few days or a week or two, there have been a number of questions in the Lok Sabha and also I think in the Rajya Sabha about certain defence contracts, and the matter is coming up, I think, tomorrow in the Lok Sabha.<sup>34</sup> Some statement will be made in regard to them and maybe in the Rajya Sabha also and maybe a discussion too.<sup>35</sup> I do not know. Well, that is very welcome. Questions to elucidate these matters and occasional discussions are all right, but I should like to remind you of a fact you may perhaps have yourself observed, that there has been an organised and rather deliberate attack on them in some organs of the public press. In fact, some of the articles on them were clearly defamatory and on which legal action could be taken, not that you want to get tied up with legal action. It is a different matter, but they were. Now, it was something much more than criticism or asking questions which a newspaper is entitled to do. I wonder why this has taken place in this way. Maybe you have yourself discussed with the other people because I have heard that there has been a good deal of lobbying on this subject, propaganda—not much—anyhow outside. As it happens, the action that the Defence Ministry has taken in these contracts does affect some private interests and the private interests do not like it, hence the articles in the newspapers. And I do want, I welcome, as I said, the fullest enquiry about such matters. It should take place in our Party, in Parliament or wherever else, it may be noted. But there is an enquiry to elicit facts and there is a type of enquiry or questions which are clearly meant to condemn and to malign

34. See also item 352.

35. K. Raghuramaiah, Union Minister of State for Defence, made a statement in the Rajya Sabha on 16 Dec. 1958.

in the public eye, as that article does, by insinuations, by hints and all that. That, of course, one would not expect from any member of our Party. It may be the Opposition might do it. Now, I am not saying anything about these contracts. As I said, a statement will be made tomorrow and no doubt other opportunities will take place and from my part if our executive wants to discuss it, we shall discuss it fully there. I merely say the executive; it is rather difficult to discuss these matters in a large crowd; and anybody who wants to know any fact it should be supplied.

But one aspect of it has troubled me very much. Now, for the last one year I think, maybe more, when this idea of utilising our Ordnance Factories for production—of course, this was done before too when Tyagiji<sup>36</sup> was there. This idea is an old one, but what I am saying is this: we have thought about it in an organised and scientific way rather more in the last year and a half, basically from the point of view of Defence Science. Our Defence Science Department is under the head of a very able scientist, Dr Kothari,<sup>37</sup> and a very fine man. Now, under his leadership we have built up a large science establishment, which includes primarily technical people for the manufacture of Defence goods, whatever it may be, ammunition, this, that and other, which we import, and that incidentally can manufacture other things too. Our Ordnance Factories have got good equipment and a large part of it is not being used. Our personnel there, very good personnel, also are not fully utilised. We have often to consider the question of retrenching people, as we have in the past retrenched people, not top people so much, but skilled workers, because we do not want them. Now, that is a policy which is what I have described as a shrinking policy: instead of advancing on all fronts you shrink and you reduce your capacity to advance. So we decided that we should try to utilise this spare capacity of our Ordnance Factories and our technical personnel to our best advantage, which might mean, of course, adding something here or there. We had that examined fairly well and, as a result, we came to certain conclusions what we could do. Some of those things were evident in the Defence industry exhibition that took place here<sup>38</sup> and now in the India 1958 exhibition<sup>39</sup> where there is a Defence Pavilion which is very interesting. I hope all of you have seen it or will see it. So many things for Defence they are

36. Mahavir Tyagi was Union Minister of Defence Organisation, 1953-57.

37. Daulat Singh Kothari, Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence.

38. The Defence Production Exhibition opened on 6 Sept. 1958. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 649-653.

39. The India 1958 exhibition opened in New Delhi on 8 Oct. 1958. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 64-69.



making now, which they did not do before, chiefly with the help of our scientists and technicians. It was in this connection that these other things arose too, like tractors, and trucks, etc.

Now, I am not going into that now, but our people in the Army, Navy and Air Force, the technicians in them, were patted on the back and we said, "Go ahead." We said, "You must show results", and we pushed them and pushed them and they worked very hard and they produced all these things. They were full of enthusiasm and technicians were doing good work. Suddenly they feel that it is dangerous to do anything here: "Oh! We will be hauled up in Parliament, will be hauled up somewhere; instead of getting a pat on the back for having done something good we will be condemned; it is safer, therefore, to sit in the office and sign papers and not try to do anything new." That is an impression that is created in the press which is, of course, a fatal thing because that stops everything. There are so many checks and counter-checks. Have checks, of course. They all hold up for days and days and days before the Estimates Committee: "Why have you done this, why did you do that, how do you do it?" They get frightened. They said, "It is far safer not to do things and sit in our offices and sign papers." Now, you see, that is an unfortunate thing if we spread that type of impression because they really are a very bright lot, a fine lot. I cannot guarantee the integrity of every man. Well, how can I? That I do not know. No, no, you forget we are talking about scientists and technicians; a policy decision does not produce an invention or a discovery. All the policy of the Government of India won't produce a discovery; it is a scientist that produces that. But you have to give room; we have to encourage; we have to give space [...]

The whole world today depends, as you know, on the scientific inventions, discoveries and the like, of course, from the hydrogen bomb downwards, all kinds of devices. The scientist today, as you also probably know, in Russia, is a semi-divine. I am using strong language; what I mean is that he is so honoured that nobody next to Khrushchev perhaps is so honoured as the eminent scientist there subject to one thing, of course, that he does not dabble in politics. Otherwise, he has complete freedom to do what he likes; he has the best of life paid, well, houses and all that. In America, you read about this atomic bomb being produced. Do you know [...] their atom bomb was largely produced, if I may say so, by German scientists, not by American, German scientists working in America who had been driven out by Hitler? The moment American armies entered Germany towards the end of the last war, there was a special department of the defence ministry which was sent out with them to pick up every scientist they could get. For two reasons: one was, they wanted them for their own use; secondly, they wanted to find out what Hitler was trying to do. And they actually arrested every

scientist, poor man sitting there, and bundled him off to America just to use him.

Now, we have not developed that scientific outlook of things. We do not, in spite of everything, attach too much importance to scientists in this country, although we have the Resolution in the last session or some time ago in praise of scientific workers and promising them all help.<sup>40</sup> The fact is, we do not. We attach far more importance to an administrator than to a scientist. You can yet change your administrator on need; you won't change your good scientists because they are very rare. You have got a fine body of young people growing. I do not want them to grow up in fear lest anything they may do will bring down the wrath of the Estimates Committee or of Parliament or the Ministry. That is a difficulty. [...]

## 128. To J.B. Kripalani<sup>41</sup>

December 7, 1958

My dear Jivat,

Thank you for your letter of December 6th.<sup>42</sup>

You refer to references made during the elections to the First and Second Plans. I suppose some people did make those references, though I do not remember in what context they were made. To say that the Congress stood by these Plans would, of course, be entirely right. Personally, I laid stress on the fact that the Plan was not a party Plan and that it should be treated as a national Plan.

The small Committee I have suggested would be at perfect liberty to discuss any matter connected with the Plan. It will be an informal Committee of seven or eight persons. The whole purpose of it is that we can discuss frankly and freely all aspects of the plan. At the present moment, we are rather far off from the plan, and what we are likely to discuss is the basic approach to it. It will be supplied with such papers as are prepared in this connection, and then we can discuss them. They can make any suggestions they like in regard to them.

40. Nehru moved the Government's Scientific Policy Resolution in the Lok Sabha on 13 Mar. 1958.

41. File No. 17(324)/58-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

42. Kripalani asked about the committee for consultations on the Third Five Year Plan. He claimed that the first two Plans were drawn up before the two General Elections and the Congress Party campaigned on the basis of the Plans. He wanted to know whether the Third Plan would be used the same way.



Our intention is to take up this basic approach first. Thereafter, to allow the Planning Commission to work out some details. This requires a great deal of statistical work. An outline will be prepared which will be considered. After the outline has been fully discussed with various panels and groups, a draft will be prepared. When this draft Plan has been finalised by the Planning Commission, it will be placed before the National Development Council and, later, before Parliament.

Probably, this will take about a year. Time will then be allowed for full public discussion and, of course, there will be discussion in Parliament. The next step will be finalising the draft, taking into consideration the various criticisms and suggestions made. The final draft will be placed before the National Development Council and, later, before Parliament.

As for implementation, we would certainly like the fullest cooperation.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 129. Making a Broad-based Plan<sup>43</sup>

Deputy Chairman's note dated the 8th December was taken up for consideration.

2. Opening the discussion, the Chairman referred to his press conference earlier in the day where he had explained that planning was not merely a question of listing projects or even of determining priorities.<sup>44</sup> In a sense it meant looking forward and at the same time looking backward from a forward point. The basic thing, as the Deputy Chairman had pointed out, was how to generate the enthusiasm which in turn produces resources. Without enthusiasm, the best of organisations becomes lifeless. Enthusiasm comes from various sources. The character of the Plan itself could be such as either to generate enthusiasm or to fail to generate it. Next came the apparatus. This was partly a governmental question and partly outside the Government. The Plan should be one which met the essential needs of the minds of the people and the Planning Commission's initial effort had to be towards producing such a Plan. Planning meant meeting the essential needs of the people over stated periods.

43. From the summary record of an informal meeting of the Planning Commission, 10 December 1958. File No. Plan/51/4/58, Planning Commission. Also available in JN Collection.

44. See item 15, here pp. 237-238.

Referring to the question of securing a common national programme, the Chairman said that it was of course necessary to try to make the Plan broad-based. The fact remained that as one went forward certain interests were affected adversely and they reacted in various ways. The Chairman illustrated the point from events in the Independence movement after Gandhiji came on the scene. The Chairman also referred to the position in relation to different political parties.

Deputy Chairman said that he had in mind the task of securing a large number of non-official workers for running panchayats, cooperatives, etc. The Chairman said that there were two main approaches which could be adopted. The first was through political parties and the second through institutions such as panchayats, cooperatives and others which could be built up. Given the proper lead, our people, especially the peasantry, reacted well. Deputy Chairman said that if we were to build up from below, there might in fact be less difficulty on the political plan in organising a big national effort. The Chairman said that there were only two ways by which the country could go forward. One was to impose from above, and the other to build from below. Both required a "third force". If the objectives were worthwhile, public enthusiasm could be generated by giving opportunities to the people. Public enthusiasm could be developed through the "driving force of individuals".

The Chairman observed that the most that could be expected from other political parties was that on the whole they might not obstruct. In local or special areas co-operation could be organised in a fuller manner. In passing, the Chairman referred to his recent correspondence with Acharya Kripalani in connection with his invitation to leaders of different parties in Parliament for informal association in relation to the Third Five Year Plan.<sup>45</sup>

3. The Chairman suggested that the Planning Commission's primary responsibility was to provide a worthwhile Plan.

The Chairman then referred to the place of heavy industries and of industrialisation in development. In USSR, from the early years, the leaders believed in heavy industries for their own sake and at the same time they had defence considerations constantly in mind. A basic aspect of the approach commended by American leaders and experts to underdeveloped countries was that it meant continued dependence for generations on external supplies. The Chairman said that countries like USSR, West Germany and Japan had all recovered quickly from the damage caused by the war, but the fact remained that wherever recovery had taken place there had been initially a strong industrial

45. See item 128.



base in existence. In the early years, China concentrated exclusively on heavy industries which was a factor in enabling it now to move ahead faster. China's present dumping of goods in foreign countries was intended somehow to enable it to get as much foreign exchange as possible to meet its growing needs.

Referring to aid rendered by USA to underdeveloped countries, the Chairman remarked that its effectiveness for economic growth or in earning goodwill suffered because it did not place enough stress on those countries building up their own technical equipment for industrialisation.

4. The Minister of Community Development<sup>46</sup> suggested that three aspects of the problem were 'inter-locked'. In the first place, it was necessary that some effort should be made to eliminate parasitism through implementation of land reform. Secondly, landless workers should have adequate opportunity to sell their labour. Thirdly, the people must make and implement plans at the village and block levels. Bureaucratic restrictions could not be eased unless the administration was democratised. The acceptance of this principle was not enough. There had to be from the top constant emphasis on implementation. Minister of Community Development also felt that political rivalries were travelling fast and it was necessary to develop a national approach. Referring to the last point, the Chairman referred to the indirect approach, namely, finding programmes which would utilise energies of the people through specific activities.

5. The Chairman suggested that the Planning Commission should consider how work—it did not matter what work—could be given to everyone willing to work. Shri Anjaria mentioned that to organise adequate supply of public works it would be necessary to take steps in the direction of building up a strong social organisation. Deputy Chairman mentioned that there was enough work today in rural areas for many years to come. The Chairman suggested that some schemes should be worked out through which work could be given to all able-bodied individuals at any time. A distinction should be made between "employment", i.e., permanent employment which came through the development of planned activities and "works" which filled in periods during which employment was not otherwise available. In this connection, he referred specially to usar lands such as those in Uttar Pradesh and suggested that the recovery of cultivable wastelands should be an important item in any large-scale works programme.

6. Deputy Chairman said that he would arrange for the preparation of a paper on "Planning from below" for consideration in the Planning Commission.

46. S.K. Dey.

### 130. Planning, a Continuous Process<sup>47</sup>

Eight years ago, India embarked on a planned development of her resources with a view to increasing the pace of economic development, raising the standards of living of the people, progressively reducing social inequalities, and ultimately establishing a socialist pattern of society. The First Five Year Plan was based chiefly on the continuation of some major projects such as river valley schemes, development of agriculture and certain priorities. The data and information necessary for proper planning were not available then and the Plan was a modest one. It achieved success but the rate of growth was slow.

2. More information and statistical data were available for the Second Five Year Plan which was on a larger scale. Unfortunately a succession of bad agricultural seasons, due to floods as well as drought reduced the output of foodgrains and other agricultural produce considerably. Certain international factors also affected exports and a serious foreign exchange situation was created. Even though the Second Five Year Plan was larger in comparison to the first, it did not result in stepping up the rate of investment to the extent hoped for and the accumulated backlog of unemployment largely continued. It has become vitally necessary to fulfil the targets laid down in the second plan both in agriculture and Industry. A rapid increase in agricultural production is essential in order to put an end to the necessity for importing foodgrains and to increase the resources of the country for industrial growth.

3. Fortunately the current agricultural season gives promise of good production. Full advantage must be taken of this so as to ensure adequate food supplies in the future. Every effort should be made during the season to build up reserve stocks of two million tons of rice and to promote intensive agriculture ensuring increase in yields per acre. While the agriculturist must be ensured a reasonable return for his labour, prices of foodgrains should not be allowed to rise.

4. It is essential from the point of view of planning that the prices of certain essential commodities, such as foodgrains, cloth and some others, should be kept within reasonable bounds.

5. The remaining years of the Second Five Year Plan should be utilised for intensive campaigns to fulfil that plan both in agriculture and industry as well as

47. Draft Resolution for the CWC, 14 December 1958. File No. G-20/1958, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. Drafted by Nehru at the CWC's request on 13 December 1958, adopted the next day, and passed at the INC, 64th session, Nagpur, 9-11 January 1959. See SWJN/SS/46 (forthcoming).



for savings. It is in the measure that we succeed in the Second Plan that sound foundations will be laid for the Third Five Year Plan. The experience of the First and Second Plans has shown that the present investment rate is too small in relation to the needs of the country and is not adequate to ensure the solution of the problem of unemployment. Even this relatively low rate of investment had had to be financed to some extent from foreign loans and assistance. Such foreign loans are not unusual in developing an underdeveloped country and should be welcomed in order to alleviate the stresses and strains inevitably associated with the early phase of economic development. But foreign credit must not be tied up with any political or economic conditions which come in the way of the country following its own independent policies.

6. It has to be remembered, however, that the main burden of following a programme of economic development must fall on the people of the country and, therefore, it is to the extent that domestic resources are increased that adequate progress can be made.

7. The factor to be constantly kept in mind is the rate of growth of population. Planning must take into account this population growth. Efforts should be made to reduce this rate of increase in population by suitable methods of birth-control and family planning. But in any event this increase is going to be considerable because of better health conditions and lower mortality rates.

8. The main characteristics of an underdeveloped country is low productivity and its basic problem is unemployment and under-employment and the low income content of employment. The task of finding more and fuller fruitful employment depends on the ability to achieve a sufficiently high rate of capital formation or investment. This is the main determinant of the rate of economic development, apart from the population growth and the return by way of additional output on the investment undertaken.

9. Thus it becomes essential to step up the rate of investment in future in order to cope with the problem of employment and to ensure a progressive rise in per capita income of the order envisaged in the projections discussed in the Second Five Year Plan. A very great part of this total investment must necessarily be financed from domestic savings as too much dependence on foreign assistance is neither possible nor desirable. It is only when a sufficiently high rate of capital formation is kept up and the national income rises with some rapidity that the process of economic development becomes a self-feeding one. Further, from the point of view of the people, progress should bring benefits to the large majority of the population; so that a spirit of cooperation of enthusiasm and of initiative be developed in them.

10. Public savings are the most effective method of stepping up domestic savings. It is through public savings that a progressively increasing proportion

of the total investment can be obtained and progress made towards a socialist pattern of society. In a decentralised economy savings have to come from widely scattered sectors. These savings, if judiciously and efficiently invested, promote and sustain cumulative economic growth.

11. In order to achieve the minimum requirements for a progressive and dynamic growth of India's economy, considerable efforts are necessary to add to resources and at the same time to reduce public as well as private expenditure. This marked increase in recent taxation has been absorbed by increase in expenditure. Measures for mobilisation of resources and for economy should include the following:-

1. Public enterprises and State Trading should be run so as to yield additional resources for public purposes.
2. Imports should be strictly controlled and non-essential goods should not be imported. Import duties should be raised wherever possible. Imports and exports should be coordinated to prevent an accumulation of commitments which lead to undue pressure on foreign exchange.
3. Expansion of life insurance.
4. Patterns of production should be so adjusted as to supply essential needs of the people and not articles of luxury for domestic use.
5. Wages and salaries should be dependent on work done and on production, and should be related to the conditions existing in India. Profits in the private sector should also be similarly controlled.
6. The construction of large or expensive buildings, whether for public or private purposes, should be discouraged except for such public structures as are considered absolutely essential for the Plan. Equipment of these buildings should also avoid items of luxury. The specifications laid down for public buildings should be simpler.

12. Utilisation of idle man-power, especially in rural areas, is an important means for building up lasting assets apart from giving employment. Village and cottage industries, soil conservation and reclamation, digging or irrigation channels, tanks and wells, bunding, afforestation and road construction offer fruitful opportunities for the utilisation of this idle man-power.

13. Planning is a continuous process, even though it may be divided up into five-year or some other periods. It has to be dynamic and progressive and there can be no standing still or slowing down in this process, as otherwise the difficulties and the problems will increase. Therefore, it is essential that both in the agricultural and industrial sectors, targets of the Second Five Year Plan should be achieved and the Third Five Year Plan should be so conceived as to lead to more rapid growth.



**131. To Chief Ministers<sup>48</sup>**

December 16, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

This is not my usual periodical letter which has been delayed greatly. I want to write to you, however, today about a matter which is of high importance to you and to all of us. This relates to our Second Five Year Plan and its fulfilment and later to the Third Plan.

2. Our minds have been in a state of ferment for many weeks and our Planning Commission has been discussing this subject repeatedly. Busy as all of us are with a host of day to day activities and problems, we are apt to ignore perspectives, and yet a plan is nothing if it is not a look at the perspectives of the future. Hence the first thing to do about a plan is to be clear about the future picture and the various steps leading up to its realisation. That is, perspective planning is the base for short-term planning.

3. We have now some experience of planning, though I cannot say that we are expert at it yet. Certainly we know more about it than when we prepared the First Plan or the Second, and we have more data at our service also.

4. In recent months, as you know, we have had a good deal of trouble about the foreign exchange situation. Credits and loans and other forms of help have come to us from friendly countries abroad<sup>49</sup> and they have helped us to tide over the present difficulty. But we have to go deeper into this question and to devise ways and methods how not have a repetition of this kind of unfortunate experience. We have indeed to survey the entire scene of our economic activities and make a fresh appraisal.

5. It was with this view that the Planning Commission started a series of informal meetings and we have had a number of frank and revealing talks amongst ourselves. Many papers have been prepared by members of the staff which have helped to give us a factual view of the situation. These talks will continue, and later we may perhaps put our views in a more concise form.

6. The situation revealed by our fresh survey is a very difficult one and it demands far-reaching measures by us. We cannot allow a drift in a wrong direction to continue. Thus we have to pull ourselves up even though the process might be a painful one, and give, what we consider a right lead to the country. We have not only to do this for the remaining years of the Second Five Year Plan, but

48. File No. 17(302)/58-59-PMS. Also published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol.5, pp. 168-171.

49. These included the USA, the UK, West Germany and Japan.

also in regard to our approach to the Third Plan.

7. It has struck me that all these detailed talks and discussions that we are having in the Planning Commission are naturally limited to a few of us, and you and the States, which are chiefly concerned with many aspects of the Plan and its implementation, do not participate in them. Of course, at a meeting of the National Development Council, the Chief Ministers come and we discuss some broad issues. But that is not enough, and I would like you to share in this progressive thinking process and to help us in it.

8. At a meeting of the Planning Commission,<sup>50</sup> it was decided that important papers submitted to the Planning Commission as well as a brief record of our discussions should be sent to all the members of the Central Cabinet and to all Chief Ministers of States, so that they might be kept in touch with these discussions. This will also enable them to send us, from time to time, their own suggestions or criticisms. Thus the process of discussion and consideration will spread out to you also, and we want you particularly to apply your mind to these matters and give us the benefit of your views.

9. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission will be sending you a letter soon about this matter and will forward to you such papers and record of proceedings as are ready. Future papers will also be sent to you. In particular, you will have some notes by the Deputy Chairman as well as notes by Shri J.J. Anjaria and Shri Pitambar Pant.<sup>51</sup>

10. I shall not say much about these papers as you will read them for yourself. But you will no doubt notice that they go rather deep into these questions and often suggest rather radical remedies. The burden we, and indeed the people of India, have to carry is a heavy one. There appears to be no escape from it to progress as we want to. We shall have to give up many of the frills of our programmes and concentrate on the essentials and above all, we should develop massive support and cooperation of the people.

11. This whole question should be looked upon as a national issue of first importance. It must not be dealt with as a Party issue. It is from this point of view that I am forming a small all-party Committee in Parliament to consider questions relating to Planning. I would suggest to you to do likewise.

50. On 16 Dec. 1958.

51. J.J. Anjaria in his paper, "Problems of Resource Mobilisation", had argued that the key problem was to use surplus rural labour without the coercion employed in China and USSR. Pitambar Pant, the Head of the Perspective Planning Division of the Planning Commission, in his note, "Certain Dimensional Hypothesis Concerning the Third Five Year Plan", argued that a minimum programme of development could ensure "take off" without heavy dependence on foreign aid.



12. You must have seen a provisional resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Congress two days ago on Planning.<sup>52</sup> This is meant for the next meeting of the full Congress Session. This resolution will also indicate to you the new line of thinking.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 132. Importance of Perspective Planning<sup>53</sup>

Friends,

I was just trying to find out from my colleague, Nandaji, as to when our Planning Commission was started.<sup>54</sup> Of course, I vaguely knew, but I could not think of the precise year, because we have got so much entangled in thinking and talking about the Planning Commission that it almost seems as if it existed from a remote age. And yet, it is only eight or less than nine years ago that the Planning Commission was started; and soon after that, a year or so after that, came the First Five Year Plan<sup>55</sup> and so on.

Now, you may or may not remember that when the first Planning Commission came into existence, there was some kind of a crisis in the Government of India which resulted in a very valued colleague of ours leaving the Government of India—the then Finance Minister whom we respect greatly and who had been a great help.<sup>56</sup> But he did not quite agree with the idea of having a commission or, indeed, with the conception of planning. It was a disagreement in regard to matters of policy, important policy. We were great friends. We were sharing many thoughts together, we had functioned together, and it was a matter of great regret to me that we had to part company on this issue in so far as the Government of India was concerned. I have mentioned this to you, this old

52. See item 130.

53. Speech inaugurating the second All-India Conference of Planning Forums, New Delhi, 20 December 1958. PIB.

54. The Planning Commission was set up on 15 Mar. 1950 with the Prime Minister as Chairman.

55. First Five Year Plan was to run from 1 Apr. 1951 to 31 Mar. 1956.

56. John Matthai, Finance Minister from 1948, resigned in 1950. The reasons he gave were: 1) the establishment of the Planning Commission, 2) control of government expenditure, and 3) his grave misgivings about the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of 8 Apr. 1950. See SWJN/SS/14 pt II/pp. 234-238.

episode, because that indicated on the highest level a disagreement about the conception of planning, whether planning should be done or not done. On the highest level that debate was conducted in terms of policy and in terms of courtesy. At other levels it was not so conducted, naturally. Gradually we thought, and we often spoke about it, that the country had become plan conscious—that is a favourite word with my colleagues on both sides and I have also used it sometimes—and that the country had accepted the idea of planning. Basically that was about the content of planning and not the process of planning and I think that is hardly true. It also seemed a rather easy victory and sometimes doubts came into my mind if it was a real victory or not.

But during the First Five Year Plan we thought we were on the crest of a wave; the wave was not very high, I admit that, and our objectives in the First Five Year Plan were not very difficult to attain. But then it was the first effort, without much statistical data, without much experience in planning, but with a good deal of enthusiasm for it and that enthusiasm, as it always does, helped us not only to do good work but to look at the world through rosy spectacles. We were encouraged in this by having good monsoons two or three years running, a progressively greater yield of foodgrains and other agricultural produce and we thought that we were slowly moving but, nevertheless, definitely breaking the back of that type of static economics which pursues an underdeveloped nation.

Then we drew up the Second Five Year Plan.<sup>57</sup> You know that Plan. We discussed it for a good deal of time at various stages. There was a Plan frame; there was a provisional Plan and then the final Plan. We had a little experience by then and we had collected some data too; we had consulted or discussed the matter with many people who came here from abroad and some who went from here abroad. Because the fact that India was planning attracted attention of the world over and of both types of countries—those countries that had made planning an essential basis of their economy and those that did not approve of that approach in a big way. Of course, every country, every individual, has to plan. Naturally you cannot live an existence without thinking about the future. But in the more limited sense, regarding planning, in the sense in which it is normally understood, there are some people who are not very enamoured of it; others who are.

So, by the time the Second Five Year Plan came into being, a good deal of thought was given to it; and there was, you know, controversy too, if you remember, in the newspapers and elsewhere.<sup>58</sup> Is the Plan going too far in one direction? Is it too leftist? Is it too rightist and all? Has it been secretly dictated by Moscow? All types of curious things were said.

57. The Second Five Year Plan was to run from 1 Apr. 1956 to 31 Mar. 1961.

58. See SWJN/SS/28/pp. 284-285, 383.



Many of you, most of you, I take it, have heard of the Second Plan Report.<sup>59</sup> Most of it, especially the earlier chapters, deal with the approach to planning, deal not only with the wide approach to all the problems, but also with the projected phases of future plans, because, as I said, planning cannot be really for a small, fixed period only. You are planning for the future. The future does not stop after five years of the plan; in fact, it does not stop at all. But if you cannot easily think of hundreds of years hence, you can at least think of a smaller period, a period which is not too brief. You can think of, let us say, 20 years, 15 years, 25 years of your life, something which you can visualise in terms of your life, not my life, but your life and have a kind of a picture where you want to go, and then you try to think how to reach it, that is, you think in perspective. Before you start planning for next year, for the next five years, you have to have some idea of the perspective, where you are going to. You have to have some idea of the perspective. It is obvious because all plans have an objective; it is a frame of coordinated development of a hundred or more sectors. You want to put up a machine. You want, let us say, coal for the machine; you have to produce the coal. Then you want power for the machine; you have to produce the power. Then you want transport for the machine; you have to lay down railways. And finally, the most important thing, you want the men to run the machine, trained men, who would be able to run the machine you have to put up. If it is a big plant, like a steel plant, you require people with longer training and experience. So that you have to plan all this; otherwise, you will have a number of plants existing there but nobody to work in them and you have to go to other countries, and take people to work in them which is, of course, absurd. You need not have taken the trouble of putting up the machine if you cannot work it yourself. If you have put up a machine you need the men to work it, to bring the raw materials, to take away the finished goods. Therefore you have to look ahead; you have to produce trained people and all that.

And, one thing leads to another if you look ahead. What happens? Let us presume that you have the right persons. But you have to fight poverty in this country; you have to raise standards. I agree, all agree. And there is no way to do it except by widespread industrialisation. Industrialisation requires many things, but many of these things are in India. Industrialisation itself requires a very good, progressive agriculture to give you the wherewithal for industrialisation because if agriculture is not well developed you cannot go ahead. Agriculture,

59. Two publications of the Planning Commission, namely, "Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan" and "State Development Plans – Review of Progress" that came out in May 1958 assessed the main developments during the first two years of the Second Plan.

of course, is the most vital thing which has to be developed, and which will provide the means of industrialisation. If you wish to industrialise, again, you have to start at the base. Really, wherever you may start, ultimately it is the basis that counts; and the basis is heavy industry. You have got to have both. Each has not a little to do with the industrialisation. It is no use if you have to go abroad for machine spare parts. You have to have a machine-building industry in the country, big enough to make machines, so that you can be relatively self-reliant. You have to have the essentials for that: iron and steel and power. These are the basic things which you must have: power and iron and steel. Without knowing a single thing about a country but only two facts, how much iron and steel it is consuming, how much power it is consuming, you can make a fairly accurate appraisal of its industrial progress. These are basic things. Now, about all these things, again you have to think in perspective. An average industrialist who plans for a factory does not think in perspective. The biggest of them may think a little further ahead, but the average one, of course, thinks in terms of that factory succeeding and as producing goods which can sell at a profit. That is the proposition before him. Thinking of a country as a whole, you have to think much further ahead.

When, in the Second Five Year Plan we laid stress on heavy industry, again eyebrows were raised. Is this Kremlin dictating? Most extraordinary! Whenever you set out and try to pull a people out of a groove of thinking, they get frightened out of their wits. People like to live in a deep rut of thought and sometimes live physically in a rut. Even if they come out physically by being pushed out by circumstances, it is much more difficult for them to come out mentally. And so there was much talk about this, this question of heavy industries. It was said, we were trying to follow some kind of methods which had been adopted under forces of compulsion in the authoritarian countries and all that, although nobody tried to consider these matters dispassionately and without getting lost in phrases.

But this curious argument was raised sometimes that planning involved inevitably a measure of regimentation and compulsion; therefore it is opposed to democracy; therefore planning and democracy cannot go together. It is quite extraordinary. The next stage of that argument is that democracy must necessarily be allied to what is called private enterprise, that public enterprise, except within very definite limits, is something opposed to democracy. Democracy means freedom. Democracy means freedom to the rich to remain rich, for the rich to become richer. As Anatole France<sup>60</sup> said, the law in its

60. Anatole France, pseudonym of Jacques Anatole Francois Thibault (1844-1924); French writer; awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, 1921.



majestic sweep treats the rich and the poor alike. If the poor man steals a loaf of bread, he will be sent to prison. If a millionaire steals a loaf of bread, he will be sent to prison. So in its majestic sweep everybody is treated alike. The millionaire remains the millionaire, a poor man remains poor. So it was thought that an essential condition to democracy was that the state should not interfere with the normal course of economic events.

Now, if one thing is clear by looking at history, especially of the past few generations, certainly last fifty years or so, it is that the normal forces of the market lead to growing differences, lead in fact to the rich getting richer and the poor poorer. I do not say that has happened all over the world but I am saying that the normal unrestrained forces of the market lead to these differences growing. This is, of course, part of the socialist analysis. The trends which are normally at work in the market are not allowed free play today. Even in the most advanced capitalist countries they cannot and all kinds of checks are introduced. One check, of course, is a democratically elected Parliament: adult franchise; adult suffrage. That is a check. It is an adequate check. Other checks may be organisations like the trade unions which try to prevent a drift in certain directions. All this legislation that Parliaments of all countries, capitalist and others, pass are checks on the normal trend of market growth. Yet this curious argument was advanced that all this business of planning is opposed to the essential freedom of man that is guaranteed by our Constitution and the Charter of Human Rights and all that.

I am talking about this to you at present because there has been lately a sudden emergence of that same spirit among certain circles in India. Democracy is supposed to be in peril at the hands of what is called socialism. But we have here a country advancing fairly well. See how well it did during the last three or four years. But now all kinds of curious things are happenings. The National Development Council talks about the wholesale trade in rice being conducted by the state. It is supposed to be a deep fissure in the system of private enterprise controlling the economy. As a matter of fact, it is a small dent and a dent which has nothing to do with socialism. I mean to say a 100 per cent capitalist country would do the same. Situated as India is, where food prices are so vitally important, where food distribution is vitally important, apart from socialism and anything, it is an inevitable thing to be done and it is surprising to me how any person with a grain of intelligence can oppose it unless he is motivated by self-interest or vested interest.

I don't think even the NDC proposal for cooperatives was very kindly looked at. Cooperatives are all very good in their proper place. Let them not encroach on the preserves and domains reserved for others, reserved in fact for private enterprise. Recently there was a committee, appointed by the All India Congress

Committee, two committees in fact, one dealing with agricultural production and land reform, the other about the Third Five Year Plan.<sup>61</sup> The Agricultural sub-committee has presented a report<sup>62</sup> which will be considered by the Congress session at Nagpur. The other one naturally will take time. Now, the other committee, I believe, appointed some sub-committees on important aspects of planning. I am not aware that the full reports of these committees have been published. The substance has been published. Anyhow, the substance of the first committee's report has again not found favour with the defenders of freedom in India and they are surprised and dismayed to see that this other committee for planning should appoint sub-committees. What is this talk about, they say; why all this uprooting of ancient things? And, it really is not only surprising but it passes one's comprehension, in what world some people in India are living? Have they not got out of the 19th Century? Do they not know that they are now in the 20th Century? This is a most amazing phenomenon. They do not realise the forces at work in India, the pressures, social and others, the demands of the situation. And, above all, they do not realise the working of men's minds in India—whether it is the mind of a peasant or a worker or a professor in the university or whoever he may be.

I have been watching this with some interest, this type of criticism. And, sometimes, I experience a feeling of considerable relief, because I begin to think that all these criticisms indicate that something really effective has happened or is happening, that we are moving somewhere; otherwise, why this talk and excitement? It has become obvious to me that we have done something worthwhile to induce all these criticisms which are coming almost daily. There is a regular campaign of running down the public sector wherever they can find even the least chance. I am all for the fullest criticism of the public sector because we want to live in the sun. And, naturally, in these huge undertakings, difficulties arise. Let us say try to root them out. But people hardly ever talk in the same terms of the private sector which functions under a veil of secrecy till some earthquake occurs when the veil is removed.

As I said, I welcome all criticisms of the public sector. But, I feel that the present-day criticism is rather associated with the dislike and fear of what people think is happening in regard to the planning being given a definite direction and turn. And, therefore, to run down that effort the public sector is attacked and criticised. Well, all this is good. It is good because it makes people think

61. The AICC in Hyderabad appointed two committees on 26 Oct. 1958; one on agricultural production, the other on the basic approach to the Third Plan. For a discussion on the report at Nagpur Congress, see SWJN/SS/46 (forthcoming).

62. See item 2, fn 35.



and consider these arguments, pros and cons, come to grips with reality and thereafter come to vital decisions.

Now, in the past, I have wondered why the intellectuals of India who might be said to be representing certain, say, educational institutions, these professors and the rest, have not played an adequate part on the intellectual level in these major tasks. Well, I still have that grouse, and I am not talking about professors of economics but professors of all subjects in India. The output from the Indian universities of really worthwhile books, of new thinking, is pitifully low, compared to any other country. Maybe, ordinary text books are produced for the students to mug up. That does not indicate any standard of thinking. But the output of real research, real thinking, is not high, not because people of high standards are not there, but somehow, I do not know why, they have got entangled in all kinds of petty conflicts and disputes and cannot devote themselves to creating that intellectual and academic atmosphere which should exist in any university. Now, that applies to the economic field too.

We have some very fine economists. Lately, I find that there is a change in them and the economists are beginning to shoulder their responsibilities a little more, and I am glad of that. And, indeed this planning forum, the way it is progressing, indicates that and that is one of the chief reasons, and one among the others, why I welcome these forums. Particularly at the present moment, when, as I have indicated to you, there is a certain clash of ideas, it is necessary that you come in, even more than politicians, to attempt to clarify not by running down this or that, but by quiet, dispassionate discussions amongst yourselves, in the public, with others, in your books that you may write, in the articles that you may write, so as to educate not only your own students but to educate the general public. For this planning does require, even more than top-ranking men at the top, a widespread understanding, widespread cooperation to link together millions and millions of people, cooperating together in their villages, in their towns, in their various activities and so on. That requires a broad and very big approach.

Now, you have two years before the Third Plan comes in, and we have started thinking about the Third Plan and deliberately we are spreading out our net, our wide net of thought, of concentration, of cooperation and you are not the people who are merely passive fish to be caught in the net. But you yourself should constitute the fishermen who throw the nets to catch people's ideas, discuss them, influence them and thereby make this question of how our country is going to progress, one of the vital issues in people's minds. Everybody wants it, of course. But how? Now, our country is a curious mixture of many things. High ideals are there, of course; nobody in the whole world has such high ideals as we have. But the gap between the ideals and execution is rather big. Though we can

perform wonders when we are brought up to the mark occasionally, at the present stage we have to try our utmost to shake everybody out of his lethargic thinking.

I have only referred to one side of the picture. Look at the other side. You talk about private enterprise and public enterprise. When you write today you might talk of the satellites like the one which the United State Government have thrown up, four tons going round the earth all the time sending messages from there.<sup>63</sup> This morning I heard that the satellite had repeated a message from there which it had carried from President Eisenhower, a message of goodwill.

It is Christmas time. Look at this world, how rapidly it is changing. And people stick to the old groove of thinking. I cannot understand the static attitude. And, on the other hand, if the static attitude breaks out into just anarchy, that obviously is not helpful anarchy of thought and anarchy of action. That is where you people come in, trained people, senior professors, students and the like, to help in guiding these dynamic urges by thinking, by discussion; not by any repetition of any dogma but by really searching for truth and then advising others, planning by trial and error. I welcome you all and wish you success in your labours.

### **133. The Purpose of Public Enterprises<sup>64</sup>**

I should like you to collect some information from the Ministries concerned with public enterprises. This information should relate to the financial position of each enterprise, indicating especially how far they are self-supporting or have made profits or losses. It should be shown also whether they are paying interest on the amount borrowed by them from Government.

The purpose of public enterprises is not only to provide commodities efficiently and cheaply, but also to have a surplus left over for developmental purposes. These purposes may be divided into two parts: (1) their own development and (2) general development. This means that a public enterprise, apart from providing for interest on loans, depreciation and its own development, should provide something in the nature of profits which should go to the public development funds.

63. On 18 Dec. 1958, the USA launched the world's first communications satellite, SCORE (Signal Communications Orbit Relay Equipment), which relayed a Christmas message from Dwight D. Eisenhower, the US President.

64. Note to Kesho Ram, 20 December 1958. File No. 17(331)/58-59-PMS.



As far as I remember, the Machine Tools Factory has done well in the last year or two and made profits. So also probably the Fertiliser Factory. The Damodar Valley Corporation, on the other hand, has been functioning for some time and has not shown any profit. In fact I rather doubt if it has even paid interest on monies borrowed.

Our biggest public enterprises are of course Railways and the P&T. You need not get figures for them.

### 134. The Campaign against Public Sector<sup>65</sup>

I do not think, I am not sure it is quite proper to pass a resolution when the House is sitting and [...]. But, if I may express my opinion about Mr Tyagi's resolution,<sup>66</sup> the first part of the resolution is, apart from having shown the urgency and the magnitude of the problem of over population in the country, coupled with the phenomenal increase in birth rates which already ranges between 50 to 60 lakhs this year and which does not only retard progress but actually [...] in the very foundation of the economic structure of the society and national stability of the people as a whole. This part recommends to the Government to intensify their efforts towards the propagation of the family planning [...]. That is one. Then to equip all states-managed and states-subsidised hospitals and clinics with surgical facilities to be offered free of cost to all such men and women as voluntarily offer themselves to get permanently sterilised. I have no objection to any part of the resolution. But I am inclined to think that the last part saying that there must be special facilities in all the clinics, etc.—of course in hospitals they are there, there is no question of supplying anything in all small clinics—might frighten people. I mean to say I am all in favour of this being done but I think it would be better for you to stop the resolution in the first part of what I read. The second part is there but, you see, it is rather a delicate matter and people may very well say that while it is voluntary, the state is going to enforce; it is going to do this and that and you see that kind of thing. I suggest that you might certainly accept the broad principle which includes the second too. It is open to Mr Tyagi or any other Member and in fact the Health Minister to inform hospitals, etc., that this being our policy, they should, wherever this is asked for, this sterilisation, they should have facilities given free of cost. The Health Minister may very well do that, but I am just, I am not sure, but I am

65. Speech at the meeting of the CPP, 20 December 1958. Tape No. M-40/c (ii), NMML.

66. The CPP urged the Government to promote family planning energetically. The resolution was moved by Mahavir Tyagi supported by Nehru.

wondering if this might not create some fear in the minds of people as to what Government is going to do.

The Party recommends to the Government to intensify their efforts towards propagation of family planning and to equip and [...] I think it may[...] I know that, but this country has more than thousands, millions and I do not think that just a resolution like this [...] it is not good...

No, you see, this question whatever may be the reaction in India, you can judge, but it is a question which has created violent reactions in other countries, violent I tell you, and a movement which is going on without much opposition, let us intensify the movement, let us do this too, but do not immediately take a step which might create that reaction which will frighten people.[...] Of course you will remember that if this was encouraged perfectly, most successfully, it will take effect round about the Fifth or Sixth Five Year Plans. I mean to say it does not take effect immediately, but it is important that we should begin now so that it may take effect 20 years later, 15 or 20 years later. Gradually the effect will be there. It is true. [...]

Received by me from four Members: Raghunath Singh,<sup>67</sup> D.N.Tewari,<sup>68</sup> A.M.Tariq,<sup>69</sup> and Iqbal Singh:<sup>70</sup>

"Before any matter is taken in the general body meeting, we want to raise the following point today... just now: We want to seek the assurance of the Prime Minister that the Indian Cabinet is not divided internally as is propagated by many newspapers in India."

Have you heard of it? All right.

Well, I have thought that such a question would not be necessary, but perhaps it is as well that it has been put. There has been far from the question of division; no question has come up even in which there was any marked difference of opinion in the Cabinet or elsewhere. But [...] I will tell you—it is too late now and I wanted to address this general meeting [...] to say something about various things that are happening, including what is referred to in this letter. I was not thinking of a division in Cabinet, but of another and rather serious matter about which I spoke, I might tell you, today at the Vigyan Bhawan at a conference of Planning Forums from all over India [...]. There is a very regular and almost, it appears, an organised effort in the newspapers, in a number of newspapers, to run down the public sector, run down, in fact,

67. Lok Sabha MP from Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh.

68. Dwarika Nath Tewari, Lok Sabha MP from Cachar, Assam. Could also be Dwarka Nath Tiwary, Lok Sabha MP from Kesaria, Bihar.

69. Nominated Lok Sabha MP from Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir.

70. Lok Sabha MP from Fazilka, Punjab.



planning itself, [...] in some loose way, and this has started for about last six weeks, two months. It is in this connection that all this fuss about ministers disagreeing and conflict between ministers has been brought in. It is in this connection that a number of charges have been brought in [...] the Defence Ministry, all over. Now, I have no objection whatever to criticism of Defence or any Ministry but I do think that all this is brought in with the purpose of running down public enterprises. It all fits in and some of the articles appearing in the papers have not been just mere criticism; there is virulence in them and anger in them; they are angry articles; they are articles written by angry men. Now, it is a well-known fact, which all of you must know, that there is little to compare to the anger of a person who feels that his vested interests are being attacked or in jeopardy; they get very angry and, if I may say so, they get honestly angry, apart from dishonestly, honestly angry, because just like a big zamindar they get very angry that you are thinking of the zamindari abolition. Now, it is very interesting, all this.

Now, what exactly has happened? Two or three months ago, in October, there was this big bank conference, etc., very good one, and very successful one. We welcomed it but an advantage was taken of this by the propagation of the idea in the foreign press, American press, British press, and to some extent in the Indian press, to say that, well, the Government of India, Parliament, will now mend their ways and learn from their past experience and not talk so much about socialism and the like and that they should now, having had this experience, slow down about planning.<sup>71</sup> They should consolidate their position, sit where they are, consolidating their position, and then later, after some years, well, and then go in for another expert. Further it was even said by some foreign papers that, "Oh! India has taken large loans that we have given and it is up to India," up to us, "to see to it that it does not go along a wrong path in future", that is, hinting that they should be, in fact, consulted. They did not say so precisely.

Now, I do not mind what the foreign newspapers say, but I do not like wrong things being said, because there will be no change in our policy at all, obviously

71. See, for example, "India: Billion-Dollar Troubles" in *Time*, 1 Sept. 1958 : "Worst of all, India has been brought to the edge of bankruptcy by its overambitious second five-year plan, which has now run half its course. Foreign nations, from the US to the USSR, have poured some \$1.7 billion into the plan. New Finance Minister Desai, taking office five months ago, slashed the plan to its essentials, but India's exchange gap still widens.... Editorialists who once hesitated to criticise Nehru now say that what is needed is not preachment and planning but more concentration on getting present tasks done efficiently, less 'neutralist' involvement in world affairs, and a more aggressive attack on domestic ills."

not. But in India this idea was sedulously propagated that we must go slowly now in future, that the Third Five Year Plan should be a modest plan, after having been too ambitious on the Second Plan, and so on and so forth. Well, many people having led themselves to believe this, then they came across some decisions of ours. One, the National Development Council's decision about the wholesale trade in foodgrains being organised by the States; also cooperatives and all that. Many people did not like it at all, and there has been, there was criticism of it in some of the principal so-called national newspapers in Delhi, in Bombay, in Madras, etc., in Calcutta: what is this, interfering with freedom of enterprise, freedom of this, freedom of that?<sup>72</sup> Then came soon after independently a report of the AICC Committees, there were two committees, agricultural production and land reforms, and the other was the approach to the Third Plan. The Committees have produced reports which have not fully appeared in the press, but a good summary has appeared. They are going to be referred to the Congress. Now, that summary again was not liked by our friends who do not favour planning and have said again [that] these people are messing about and wanting to interfere with the normal growth of economic factors by artificial means, and very strong language is used, I mean to say, almost that we have lost the capacity to think, lost the capacity to see, and so on and so forth.

Together with this, vague rumours began to spread, both from that AICC Committee on the Third Plan, and from discussions that are going on in the Planning Commission, that stress was being laid on a biggish plan and on fairly major advance in regard to organised planning. Again strong articles appeared in newspapers; you see, they have been propagating that we should slow down and consolidate our position. Now they say, the Government of India or the Planning Commission or whoever it is, apparently has not been affected by them. So they get angry. Then happened another thing; the Finance Minister, Morarjibhai, went to Calcutta to deliver a speech there before the Associated Chambers of Commerce.<sup>73</sup> The criticism of that speech in one of the big newspapers was

72. On 21 Nov. 1958, the Delhi Grain Merchants Association protested at state trading in foodgrains. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Delhi on 6 Dec. 1958 warned that when the normal market operations were suspended and the Government was the sole purchaser of foodgrain supplies, the price structure would be distorted.

73. In his address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on 5 Dec. 1958, Morarji Desai ruled out abolishing Wealth Tax and Expenditure Tax; disapproved of foreign capital lest profits be repatriated; welcomed loans from countries with "sympathy and understanding"; and pointed out that a growing population was an asset in conditions of economic growth.



most extraordinary: if the Finance Minister has nothing to say except what he said, then he ought to remain at home and not come and address us—very insulting remarks, angry and insulting remarks. Does he come here to tell us this and that, he talks to us about high principles and this and that. All these factors made that group, these classes, think that somehow events are taking a wrong turn, according to their opinion, while they had been expecting in the last two months that we will tone down our socialism and public enterprise and all that. So, it made people very angry and in that connection all this business for public enterprise, questions, this, that and other pursuing it, this attack.

Well, one result of all this has been pleasing to me because those attacks themselves imply that something good has happened; when those people are angry at it, that a right turn has taken if we are trying to get out of our static condition when it excites those people. But the point is, I want our members of the party to understand all this. We have come up against a very critical phase of ours, if you like our existence or our planning, whatever you like to call it. It is very critical, but by critical I do not mean it is dangerous, but it does mean that it is highly important what steps we take now. The right step or the wrong step, and if we take the wrong step, then I think the situation will gradually become a dangerous one. If we take a right step it will not solve our problems; we will have to work hard but we will go in the right direction to solve them.

I am not going into this matter now, all this question of planning and all that. I think I told you last time that planning is not priorities or adding schemes here and there. Planning is looking ahead in perspective to where you are going to, working backward in order to get there, how we get there, what is the road to it, and then of course having seen that, then conditioning your progress by your resources because you cannot go beyond your resources. That is one way. The other way is not just thinking of your resources and says the scheme we can take or not take. Of course, the question of resources raised other problems. How to raise the resources? There are differences of opinion, some people think that much more can be done, others think that even what we are doing, and we should slow down. But that is an intricate, difficult problem. So that we have come up against vital decisions of basic policies and I am glad that we have started thinking about this in very good time before the Third Five Year Plan comes. Let us discuss it fully and we are trying to include in our sphere of consultation, at this stage even, well, many people outside the immediate Planning Commission. We have included, for instance, all our Chief Ministers—not only in the National Development Council, there they come here, they are given papers, they discuss them in a day or two quickly, and go away. Now we have decided to send them all the Planning Commission's papers, all useful papers, all the working papers, and mind you, the Planning Commission produces them in large numbers, very

carefully thought-out, statistical analysis, this and that, so that they may keep in touch with our thinking processes, apart from decisions. And it was at that thought that the AICC appointed a committee, on approach to Five Year Plan, of about 15 to 20 persons and they did good work and they will go on meeting. There are economic panels and this and that, and there is the committee of our party on planning; we want to keep them in intimate touch and give those papers not merely so that the thinking processes may go together, they may criticise, they may, because it is basic that we know what we are doing. I regret to say and I say it with all respect that many Members of Parliament, perhaps, do not give much thought to these basic policies which derive not merely from some high principle or from some sentimental attachment, but from a clear appraisal of the situation and how it can be met.

I said sentimental attachment: I imagine that many people, who talk about socialism, talk about it from the sentimental point of view. It is a good point, I do not say it is bad sentiment; I mean let there be equality, let us all be equal, it is a good sentiment and we should feel that sentiment, but socialism is not merely sentiment, it is a kind of approach. It is a kind of approach to solve these problems and produce the result you aim at. I cannot obviously go into this, but this point I wanted to lay stress on, you should see this picture, and it is in this connection that this business of bringing in Ministers, Cabinet ministers, that they were in conflict. Obviously, there are sometimes varying opinions, these are difficult problems. I cannot say that any single member of the Cabinet is hundred per cent of my opinion. That kind of thing does not happen, but because we are basically of a common way of thinking the other differences are discussed and decided.

Now, the difficulty is that there are some papers which are completely and absolutely irresponsible, and if I may say so, vulgar in the extreme, like the *Blitz* of Bombay. It really I do not read it, but sometimes cuttings are placed before me, it is a headache to see for me to see this vulgarity, quite apart from merits or anything. I have expressed my opinion about it privately and some publicly and it does some harm, I suppose, but people gradually get to know such papers but what is more important is what I wanted to draw your attention to is this fact of a rather concerted and almost organised attack on, what might be called, socialistic tendencies. Well, I think that that attack is not justified, certainly it is not justified on grounds of principles, etc., it is not justified on the ground of practical politics, and certainly does not fit in with our declared policies. I invite you, all of you, to think out problems and perhaps you might read some of the earlier chapters of the Second Five Year Plan report, not the details but the broad approach, because it is in that approach that you will find projections for the period after the Second Plan, Third Plan, Fourth Plan. Every Plan has to look ahead—it cannot be simply stopped here—and they are projections. You read that, because of all



that we want to do in essence today is to carry out that thinking logically and base our Plan on these projections.

It is a little more difficult to do so, I realise, because what has happened in the past two, three years, that is true. But there it is; we have to do it; not doing it lands us into a peculiar wandering, because the life of the country, the economic life of the country does not rest still. For one thing, as Mr Tyagi goes on telling us, a vast number of babies are being produced, population grows up, growth of population itself creates new demands, all kinds of demands, food, clothing, housing, education, everything. And whatever you may do about birth control and we should do everything, the fact is it will take effect 15 years later, 20 years later, and we cannot wait for 20 years: if you wait we will be drowned by that time, unless you do something else. Therefore, one has to think in terms of a dynamic approach to the problem and not, as people say: Consolidate your position. Nobody is consolidating; babies are being born, and they come in large numbers. So the approach, therefore, has to be not only one of increasing your production so as to provide for the new mouths to be fed, 50 or 60 lakhs additional every year. If you do that you remain where you are; no progress. For progress you have not only to feed all these extra people but have a large surplus to go ahead.

Remember this: our per capita income is very low. I mean to say, we have fine buildings and some millionaires and all that, but the per capita income of a Ceylon man is much higher than ours, of the Burmese is much higher than ours. Even these countries are quite backward—we are much more advanced in industry—yet because of the mass of our population our per capita income is lower than most Asian countries and we have to pull ourselves up. And we cannot pull ourselves up by consolidating our position in the States and all that. We have to find some ways and means of capital formation, of investment, and investment in the right things not in the wrong things, that is, on the right things which produce more wealth, and all that. So, all these are the problems which have to be considered.

You see, the whole outlook of private enterprise is a different one, and I am not criticising them, it is an honest outlook. But that honest outlook may succeed in a developed country. My point is it does not succeed in an underdeveloped country, it just does not. You will be overwhelmed. They think in terms of production, certainly increase in production and they can increase production in the long run, but that production will be unbalanced and the benefits of that production will go to relatively few people. Now it is a very difficult matter. However you may function the benefits of any thing you do does not go to the people who need them most. In agriculture the benefits go to the better farmer and not to the poor farmer. Wherever you go it happens. He is a better man,

maybe he is a stronger man too, a healthier person, he can do more work and it goes to him. He gets it and the gap between the poor and the rich widens. All you can do really from the bottom is to give them specific direct benefits like education, like this, like that, so as to raise their level but every economic policy tends to benefit the person who is benefited more whatever it is. In pure capitalism that goes so far that the really rich get richer and richer and richer. That was the Marxian analysis that the rich will get richer and poor will get poorer.

The Marxian analysis failed to some extent although basically it was correct, but it failed because other factors came into play. First of all democracy—I am using the word, in the wider sense, adult franchise, trade unions—and this democracy and Parliaments began to limit the free play of the market. Marx's thesis was that capitalism is based on the free play of market forces. The free play of market forces inevitably benefits the stronger, economically stronger, and otherwise politically stronger if you like. In the old days it benefited the physically stronger man, or the physically stronger group; he established a principality of the hundred, a hundred dacoits, he became a Raja, maybe established himself or a thousand, built up a little army and built up a principality, became respectable after that. There was physical strength, political strength, economic strength. Now, Marx's theory is completely right. If the market forces are left to play, free play, then the more powerful profits, economically more powerful, but the growth of political institutions limited this power—democracy and all that, trade unions limited the powers—and so many other forces public sentiments grew up.

If you read the history of America in the Nineteenth Century it is an astounding history of really free-booters becoming tremendously rich. Of course, it is a huge country with enormous opportunities. The persons who built railways, all these big people today, the Rockefellers and the Carnegies and what not, the Pierpont Morgans and all that, they built up vast unheard of fortunes. Because America had few people and big land. That could be done; it cannot be done in India, that thing. So we cannot leave things to chance; we cannot, simply because chance always favours the strong man, economically strong man, and nobody allows it. The home of private enterprise like America, you will be surprised to learn, has far more controls in many ways than India with our so-called socialism. Take this matter of food. People coming from Western Europe, not from communist countries but Western, that is, the countries following capitalist economy, they come and tell me, that "we are surprised how you allow, the food problems is the most vital for you, and you allow yourselves and your government to become helpless spectators of what the market does—none of our governments would tolerate that although we are capitalist



governments.” One very eminent ambassador said to me, “Well, this wholesale trade business, may I congratulate you, I had hoped long ago that you would do it”.

Now a very odd thing has arisen and which is a bad thing. We have often said that we have a mixed economy, which is true, and I believe in it and that within the sector which is called a private sector we want them to play their part. You see, this is not a question of high principle; it is a question of where you are situated in the country. At the present moment we want to go in a certain direction, towards socialism, but above all we want to produce more and more and we want to utilise every avenue of production, private, public, etc., but subject to two or three conditions. We do not want our economy to be bossed over by the private sector and we plan, etc., for that. Now, that is all right. Now what do we do? On the one hand we permit many things to be done which really take us away from our socialist goal. Unconsciously or consciously you permit them and at the same time we curse the private capitalist and make it difficult for him to function. I mean to say, where we should stop him, we do not stop him but we curse him, prevent him doing the good work that he can do. That is neither here nor there; either put an end or limits him and punishes the wrong capitalist. I will agree, but we are nagging all the time. We are nagging at the public servant, we are nagging at the private entrepreneur, we nag, nag, without deeply considering the basic approaches, the basic policies that we should pursue.

Now, it is a fact today that many of our public servants are thoroughly frightened of doing anything; they said we will sit and sign papers, why should we take the risk of being cursed by Parliament and others because we take an initiative? We want to do something; it is always a risk in doing something... You may say that there are vast numbers of petty Government servants and some may be of higher degree who have to be pulled up. True, but it is a bad thing—have your apparatus of pulling up as strong as you like—to create fears in the minds of anybody so that they cannot function. Because what we require today is the spirit of enterprise, not the spirit of what is normally called bureaucracy sitting at home, signing papers, and not doing anything new. I am glad that although we are breaking up, we had a little talk because I wanted you to think about this and we come back to take this matter in a more organised way to consider these problems and discuss them.

## (ii) Cooperative Movement

### 135. Public Cooperation in Development Schemes<sup>74</sup>

So, I start. May I begin with the welcome to all of you here to this meeting. I am not going to take any of your time now, or even perhaps later. But I think it is more important that those of you who have come, should give us the benefit of your advice and criticism rather than there should be long speeches by me and my colleagues here. Of course, if any questions require elucidation, we shall discuss them or endeavour to give answers. So, I shall ask Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda to introduce the subject and after that I shall invite your comments.

[Comments by Nanda and others]<sup>75</sup>

I hope you will meet and discuss matters and it is for you to consider whether it is worthwhile for you, this select small group, to follow up these matters a little more. You can, of course, meet today, tomorrow and as long as you like; I will say in the next few days. Talking in the smaller way is the more practical way. Speaking for myself, it has been very helpful to my thinking to hear some of your ideas, suggestions and criticisms; normally these things create an impact on the mind no doubt, but still fade out after that. It is not very easy to implement these ideas for the Central and State Governments, as they function in their own spheres more or less with autonomy.

Anyhow, one can do something. So, I should like you to consider when you meet this afternoon about the meeting of the whole committee for the first time tomorrow; secondly, if you wish, to consider the advisability of a small group chosen by you to discuss the points somewhat in greater detail.

Many persons present have spoken and laid stress on the undesirability of frittering away our energies in taking up too many things. That is a normal fault in which we indulge. We want to do everything and as a result we cannot

74. Speech at the first meeting of the reconstituted National Advisory Committee on Public Cooperation of the Planning Commission, New Delhi, 5 November 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

75. Gulzarilal Nanda, the Union Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning, said that the importance of public cooperation had been realised as early as the preparation of the First and Second Five Year Plans. Other speakers were Durgabhai Deshmukh, Chairman, Central Social Welfare Board, V.K.R.V. Rao, Vice Chancellor, Delhi University, Renu Chakravartty, Member of Lok Sabha, N.R. Malkani, Member of Rajya Sabha and K.M. Cariappa, former Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army.



concentrate on one or two important things. Many things of great importance have been said, but, in the ultimate analysis, it is the broad approach that counts and not the subject. The subject, of course, is important and as has been said, this very phrase, public cooperation, which I do not like and I do not know what better words can be used, really means encouraging the initiative to come from the public and not to be imposed upon them. You can explain to the people about it but they must have the sensation and the feeling that the initiative has come from them. They will involve themselves in local work but you can hardly expect them to explain about intricate problems. But they should be told about the intricate problems also obviously.

All this cannot be done by imposing rigid rules. It is a psychological and emotional way of approaching the problem. Broadly speaking, it is the opposite of the official way of dealing with a problem, the exact opposite. I am not saying that the official way is not useful. It is necessary to deal with the problem in the official way which presumably is not a vague, loose way but a precise way of dealing with a problem. But when you think in terms of public cooperation, the official way is not only not the right way but the worst possible way as it leads you away from it. So, how to get the type of emotional reaction, feeling and sensation from the people without giving them advice? One of the basic things that has been mentioned is the people getting the feeling of exercising some authority or power like the Panchayat and the Cooperative. I was surprised and distressed to learn that the Mysore Government is considering some law, some legislation in regard to cooperatives<sup>76</sup> which Mr. Patel<sup>77</sup> said is worse than the present situation. I would think it is difficult to have anything worse than the present situation!

The initiative of the people is there in regard to cooperatives. They are trusted and given opportunities to function and to make mistakes. Because if you think that the people cannot be trusted because they are not wise enough or clever enough, or they quarrel, then that argument leads us to far reaching conclusions and knocks the bottom of our democracy. It is absurd to say something like that about the Indian people. I know about them, they have many failings but they have many virtues too. It is not a question of the Indian people or any people; we can expect good out of a person if you trust him.

76. The Mysore Cooperative Societies Bill was presented in the Mysore Legislative Assembly by S. Nijalingappa, the then Chief Minister of Mysore State, on 10 Apr. 1958. The provisions of state partnership and state management of the cooperative societies were incorporated in the Bill.

77. B.J. Patel was the General Secretary of the National Cooperative Union of India.

Therefore, the broad approach should be less and less official. In fact, it is a fact that even the officials have begun to function much less as officials—certainly in the community development movement. It has been an interesting and remarkable change that the officials are coming out of their office shelves and developing some of the qualities which are not at all official qualities but non-official. This type of change is good but slow. It has to be encouraged. Dr. Rao raised the certain basic problems which are rather very difficult for this committee to discuss.<sup>78</sup> But they are there and have to be considered fully at the right place and right occasion.<sup>79</sup>

### 136. Centenary of Robert Owen<sup>80</sup>

I am interested and glad to learn that a committee, consisting of distinguished citizens of Bombay has decided to celebrate the centenary of Robert Owen.<sup>81</sup> Robert Owen was indeed a pioneer in many realms of social work which have become common places today. It is right, therefore, that we pay our homage to his memory.<sup>82</sup>

This is particularly necessary in India to remind us of the vital importance of the cooperative movement in our country.

78. Dr V.K.R.V. Rao pleaded for an all-party agreement and support for the Third Plan. He also warned against the growth of the power of bureaucracy.

79. Nehru wrote on the same issue in the article "Trust the Peasant", in *Kurukshetra*, Vol. 7, No. 3, Dec. 1958, pp. 261-262.

80. Message, 8 November 1958, to B.N. Gokhale, Chairman, Robert Owen Centenary Committee, Bombay. JN Collection.

81. (1771-1858); British socialist; firmly believed in cooperation.

82. Shantilal H. Shah, Minister of Labour and Law, Bombay State, presided over a public meeting at the Bombay University Convocation Hall on Owen's death centenary, 17 Nov. 1958, and a pamphlet on his life and work was issued.



**137. To Tarlok Singh<sup>83</sup>**

November 9, 1958

My dear Tarlok Singh,

I have read the draft resolution on Cooperative Policy which you have sent. There are only two or three points to which I should like to draw the attention of the Deputy Chairman.

At page 3 of the draft, it is suggested that the membership of the existing Agricultural Cooperative Societies should be increased from the present level of nine to ten million to about fifteen million by the end of the Second Plan. At page 4, it is stated that "if programmes on these lines are implemented vigorously, it should be possible to raise the total membership of agricultural cooperatives to about 20 million by the end of the current Plan". These two figures do not seem to tally. Possibly the first figure refers only to existing societies while the second one includes in its scope new societies also. Even so, I think that there might be some confusion as to the objective aimed at for the Second Plan. It might be better to say that the membership of the existing societies should be doubled by the end of the Second Plan. It is difficult for me to judge what can be done in the next two or three years.

At page 5, paragraph 8, reference is made to training programmes for village leaders. Some reference might be made here to the teachers of village schools who might function as Secretaries of village institutions.

At the bottom of page 5, it is said that early steps should be taken to strengthen these departments and to bring into the field of cooperation a larger number of competent and experienced officials. Would it not be better not to use the word "officials" here but to say "persons" or some such word? The point is that persons who should be brought into the field of cooperation should be non-officials as well as officials. The next sentence in the draft refers to non-officials. But the stress appears to be on officials.

You might show this to the Deputy Chairman and he can make such changes as he considers necessary. I shall abide by his decision in this matter and this need not be referred to me again.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

83. File No. 17(263)/57-59-PMS.

**138. To B.D. Jatti<sup>84</sup>**

November 14, 1958

My dear Jatti,<sup>85</sup>

You may remember that at the meeting of the National Development Council I mentioned that one State had proposed legislation on cooperatives which was very restrictive and would make conditions worse than they are today.<sup>86</sup> I based my statement on what the Secretary of the Cooperative Union<sup>87</sup> said at a recent meeting. He referred to Mysore in this connection.

I have not seen the draft of this Mysore Bill.<sup>88</sup> But on enquiry from the Food & Agriculture Ministry, I am told that two clauses of your Bill, namely 13 and 55 were considered to be undesirable. Clause 13 authorises the Registrar of Cooperative Societies to call upon a Society to amend its bye-laws. On its failure to do so, the Registrar may do this himself. Clause 55 gives certain additional control to the State Government in regard to the conduct of the business of the Society. Our Food & Agriculture Ministry and our Home Ministry both suggested to you that these two clauses were not desirable and were restrictive and opposed to the policy of Government. But you did not agree with this and I understand are proceeding with these two clauses.

In view of what was decided at the National Development Council recently, I hope you will agree that it should now be our policy to give the greatest freedom to Cooperative Societies and even take the risk of their making mistakes. If that is to be our policy, as it should be, then these two clauses in your Bill are totally inappropriate and retrogressive as well as opposed to this policy. I hope you will give thought to this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

84. File No. 17(263)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. This letter was copied to Ajit Prasad Jain, the Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

85. Chief Minister of Mysore.

86. On 8 Nov. 1958.

87. B.J. Patel, General Secretary of the National Cooperative Union of India.

88. See item 135, fn 76.



#### 139. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>89</sup>

November 24, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,

Your letter of the 22nd about the Punjab Cooperative Department. This is rather an old story and relates to the early beginnings of Faridabad nearly ten years ago. The Indian Cooperative Union tried to start a number of cooperatives there. They found great difficulties and complained to me. I think I had a letter written to the Registrar of Punjab Cooperatives. But this did not produce much result as he said that he was following the rules.<sup>90</sup> I cannot find any papers after this long period.

I have your second letter too about the story of a treasure somewhere in Hissar. There are rules about treasure trove and in fact some legislation about it. According to this, the finder of the treasure gets a share. You can have this matter looked into.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 140. Follow the Cooperative Way for a Better Deal<sup>91</sup>

Nehru Tells Kisans To Follow Co-operative Way For Better Deal

SHUKR TAL (U.P.), Nov. 26:- Prime Minister Nehru told kisans here today that only through the co-operative way could they emancipate themselves economically and have a better deal in life.

Pandit Nehru, who motored down to Shukr Tal, a village sixty miles from Roorkee, was greeted on the way by cheering villagers. These wayside stops provided Pandit Nehru opportunity to meet the villagers of the area after a gap of twenty years. He had come here last in 1938.

89. JN Collection.

90. In 1949, Nehru invited the Indian Cooperative Union to help rehabilitate some 50,000 refugees from the North West Frontier Province at Faridabad. But the Union found it difficult to register the cooperative societies organised at Faridabad. The Additional Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Punjab, claimed that he was understaffed to handle the unexpected flood of work.

91. Report of speech at village Shukr Tal, 26 Nov. 1958. *National Herald*, 27 Nov. 1958.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

In the village of Bhopa, the villagers had scattered marigolds on the streets to receive the Prime Minister.

At Shukr Tal, the Prime Minister told the villagers that the time was passed when they could just look upon the government to solve their problems. This attitude of keeping their hands folded and waiting for somebody else to solve their problem would be disastrous. The villagers had to develop a spirit of self-reliance and learn to work in a co-operative way in every field. They should, he said, get together and even make a beginning in co-operative farming.

### Middle Men Should Go

The Prime Minister, who was addressing the villagers in an open field surrounded by a lush sugarcane crop, said: "I would like even sugar mills here to be run by co-operative of kisans and benefit from these mills should go the kisans. I do not like any kind of middle men taking away all the advantage. The middle men should be abolished from every aspect of life of villagers. But the villagers must take the initiative in this respect and start a co-operative way of life."

He also called upon them to increase the yield per acre and this could be done easily with a little initiative.

The Prime Minister said that villagers should take the reins of their affairs in their own hands. The government could help here and there, but essentially they had to stand on their own feet. Community development projects were there for this purpose. But villagers should not look upon them as agencies to do everything for them.

Later the Prime Minister motored to Sarsawa near Saharanpur from where he will emplane for Delhi.

### 141. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>92</sup>

December 12, 1958

My dear Ajit,<sup>93</sup>

I think I sent you a letter from Subhadra Joshi<sup>94</sup> or wrote about her request in connection with the distribution of wheat or atta in Delhi. You know the facts about her having formed a Cooperative Society. Now that society is left rather

92. JN Collection.

93. Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

94. Congress Lok Sabha MP from Chandni Chowk, Delhi.



high and dry and she wanted that the Delhi Administration should give some encouragement to this Cooperative.

I find from a reference to the file that you felt that this Society had stood by the Government at a difficult time and therefore deserved encouragement. The Chief Commissioner,<sup>95</sup> however, has apparently written giving various reasons why this should not be done. I am not competent to judge this matter without going deeply into it, but I am not very much impressed by the Chief Commissioner's reasoning. I agree with him that Consumers' Cooperatives should be encouraged but I do not see why in addition to that a small traders' cooperative which was especially formed to help us in times of difficulty should also not be helped. In fact, when we are aiming at encouraging cooperatives in this matter as in others. Helping these societies does not necessarily mean, not helping some others if they are found to be good. It hardly seems fair to me to rely upon a good cooperative when we are in difficulty and then withdraw and leave it high and dry.<sup>96</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 142. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>97</sup>

December 17, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,

Thank you for sending me the draft report of the Agricultural Production Sub-Committee.<sup>98</sup> I have read it. I have not much to say about it. There are only one or two points to which I might draw your attention.

In paragraph 5, pp. 2-3: Joint Cultivation. It might be made clear that when the land is pooled for this purpose, the dividing boundary lines will disappear and this will bring some additional land in cultivation. The benefit of it will go to the members. Perhaps it might also be made clear that as the farmers continue to retain their proprietary rights they will get a share in the produce according to these rights.

95. A.D. Pandit.

96. Nehru wrote the same day to Subhadra Joshi that he would rather not interfere as the Chief Commissioner of Delhi argued that he could not give preference to one cooperative over another. Nehru promised to enquire further.

97. JN Collection.

98. See item 2, fn 35.

In para 6A at page 4, the last sentence says: "The Sub-Committee agreed with the Government on the question of State Trading in foodgrains." I think it might be made clear that this is wholesale trading.

Appendix, page 7, para 11, line 3: "formed" is probably a typing error for "farmed". It is stated that ceiling surplus lands should vest in the Panchayats and should be managed through the village cooperatives. That is of course right, but is it not the idea to give these surplus lands to the landless people, in so far as this can be done, and then put them under the village cooperatives, or is it intended to treat this as common land for the village vesting in the Panchayats?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### (iii) Other Matters

#### 143. Ex-Princes and Foreign Exchange Problem<sup>99</sup>

I should like to know how we deal in regard to foreign exchange with ex-princes going abroad. I find that some of them go abroad regularly and spend months there without bringing any credit to our country. The other day there was a case of a young man marrying some actress or other.<sup>100</sup>

2. I see no reason why we should give any foreign exchange to help in these frivolous pursuits and for our ex-princes to have holidays in Europe. If they have funds of their own there, they should give us an account of them.

3. I shall be grateful if I am informed as to which of these ex-princes (1) is permanently or semi-permanently living abroad, (2) which of them goes abroad annually and (3) which of them is outside India now for a period.

4. Indeed, I do not think it is proper for an ex-prince who goes abroad, to spend a large part of his privy purse in this way.

99. Note to G.B. Pant, the Union Minister of Home Affairs, 11 November 1958. File No. 37(86)/59-65-PMS.

100. Referring to Shivendra Sinhji of Palitana, near Bhavnagar in Gujarat, said to have married the Hungarian born and four times married Hollywood actress Eva Bartok.



#### 144. The Vivian Bose Enquiry Report<sup>101</sup>

The article in the *Poona Daily News* certainly appears to me to be defamatory.<sup>102</sup> The legal opinion attached<sup>103</sup> has been given before Shri Hajarnavis had read the Bose Enquiry Report.<sup>104</sup> I do not think that a reading of that Report would make the article any the less defamatory. Nevertheless a proper legal opinion can only be given after reading that Report.

Finance Minister has suggested that legal action might be taken after the Bose Report is published. I suggest that meanwhile that Report might be examined from the legal point of view. In fact, we have already decided in Cabinet that these various aspects of the Report should be examined. It will then have to be considered what, if any, legal action should be taken and all aspects of it will have to be kept in view.

Although I have read a fair part of the Bose Report, I have not read it very carefully. The Home Minister has, however, read it with due care. I think he might also be consulted about this matter.

101. Note to Morarji Desai, the Union Finance Minister, 18 November 1958. JN Collection.

102. The *Poona Daily News* of 9 Nov. 1958 carried an article, "Did Morarji Mastermind Mundhra Deal?", accusing Morarji Desai and Manubhai Shah, the Union Minister of State for Industries, of masterminding Mundhra's LIC deal, approaching T.T. Krishnamachari (Finance Minister, 1956-58) to help Mundhra arrange it, and of the involvement of several ministers.

103. R.M. Hajarnavis, the Union Deputy Minister of Law, said that the article was defamatory according to section 499 of the Indian Penal Code and was punishable under section 500.

104. A Board of Inquiry under Justice Vivian Bose, in its report submitted on 21 Sept. 1958, found the following guilty variously of abuse of authority, violating business principles, negligence, and causing loss to the LIC: G.R. Kamat, Chairman of the LIC, L.S. Vaidyanathan, Managing Director of the LIC, and H.M. Patel, Principal Finance Secretary.

## 145. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>105</sup>

November 24, 1958

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for your letter of November 24th about the ex-princes going abroad.<sup>106</sup>

I entirely agree with you that we should try to convert these foreign assets into their equivalent in rupees.

In the list you have sent, Jaipur is not mentioned. And yet, it is obvious that he has considerable sums abroad, as he goes there every year and spends many months there. I think he should be asked to tell us what sums he has got abroad.<sup>107</sup>

I think also that some kind of a communication should be sent to the Maharaja of Palitana,<sup>108</sup> or whatever he is called, pointing out to him that it is highly improper for any Indian national to indulge in lavish spending abroad. Further, that the matrimonial stories about his son are not edifying, and enquiring from him that we should like to know how he gets this foreign exchange.

Yours affectionately,

[Jawaharlal]

## 146. Standardisation in the Production of Goods<sup>109</sup>

### Nehru Stresses Need For Standards For Goods

New Delhi, Nov. 25:- A six-day convention on Indian standards opened here yesterday to consider the problems of change-over to the metric system and the role of standardisation in promoting productivity and exports.

105. File No. 37(86)/59-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

106. Pant wrote that princes had been assured in 1950 that Government of India would not resume their foreign assets and that the Reserve Bank had been informed of this in 1954. However, Pant felt that the Government should not hesitate to convert foreign currency holdings into rupees to ease the foreign exchange situation and that few would object to such a measure. He added that of the twenty-three rulers who had declared their foreign assets, those of Faridkot and Gondal had substantial fortunes abroad, and he was trying to find some way of using these foreign assets.

107. Sawai Man Singh. He was the Rajpramukh of Rajasthan from 1949 to 1956.

108. Thakur Sahib Bahadursinhji Mansinhji.

109. Report of speech to the Convention of the Indian Standards Institution, New Delhi, 24 November 1958, *National Herald*, 26 November 1958.



Prime Minister Nehru, who inaugurated the convention called by the Indian Standards Institution,<sup>110</sup> spoke about the importance of laying down standards for goods produced both in the public and the private sectors.

Pandit Nehru said that standards were more essential from the point of view of exports which had become a matter of vital concern in the context of the present foreign exchange difficulties.

He expressed the hope that the Indian Standards Institution would not merely content itself with judging the standards of goods produced by others but would take the initiative itself to lay down certain standard designs.

Earlier, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Commerce and Industry Minister, said that since independence the activities of the institution had grown rapidly and he hoped that the industrialists would extend their co-operation and take advantage of the work of the institution.

Pandit Nehru made a reference to the design of a small model granary laid down by the Indian Standards Institution and said small granaries would be very useful for the villages. He had no objection to big schemes but more and more he had begun to think that it was millions of small schemes that would bring welfare and benefits to the millions of people in this country than a few big schemes here and there. Small granaries would go to save a lot of foodgrains that were now lost due to the defective storage, Pandit Nehru said. He had been told that the food destroyed for want of adequate storage and by animals and pests might be about 25 to 30 per cent of the production. It might be or might not be so but the loss was tremendous and it would cover the entire deficit and much more if it could be saved. It was important, therefore, to try to prevent the pests and animals—even holy animals.

“Holiness is good and I bow down to the good man, to the holy man”, Pandit Nehru said, “but I have not been able to understand why holiness should be necessarily associated with bad social practices. It is quite beyond me. The fact is we have social practices and we put up with them partly because we are used to them and partly because we are afraid of our neighbour”.

110. The ISI is known as the Bureau of Indian Standards from 23 Dec. 1986.

**147. To G.P. Kapadia<sup>111</sup>**

1-12-1958

Dear Shri Kapadia,<sup>112</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 28th November. I am glad to learn that it is proposed to hold a convention of businessmen in Bombay State. Such a convention might well be helpful in various ways. The first object before anybody of Indians should be to help in the rapid development of the country, to add to our production and generally to further the objectives of the Five Year Plan.

Secondly, to maintain high standards of business. Some businessmen of note have in the past not kept up these standards as they should have done and have thus brought disrepute on large numbers of other businessmen. This is neither good for the businessmen nor for the nation.

Thirdly, we must all aim at greater efficiency.

Fourthly, we must help in the gradual transition of our economy to that of a Welfare State.

Fifthly, at a time when our people have to work the hardest and austerity is sought to be encouraged, our way of living should be as simple as possible. It is not at all becoming for anyone to indulge in conspicuous show.

Efficient working necessitates proper coordination and so I am glad that one of your principal objectives is to bring about coordination in the activities of different organisations in Bombay State.

I wish your convention success.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

111. File No. 9/2/58-PMP. Also available in JN Collection.

112. Gopaldas Padamsey Kapadia (1905-83); senior partner, G.P. Kapadia and Company of Chartered Accountants; President, Institute of Chartered Accountants of India, for three years; led the Indian delegation to the International Congress on Accounting, London, 1952; President, Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, 1958; served as member of important committees such as Stock Exchange Enquiry Committee, Company Law Committee, Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry Committee, 1958-59, and Sales Tax Enquiry Committee; author of *History of Accountancy Profession in India* (New Delhi: The Institute of Chartered Accountants of India, 1973).



**148. To Morarji Desai<sup>113</sup>**

December 2, 1958

My dear Morarji,<sup>114</sup>

Your letter of November 27th<sup>115</sup> about the procedures to be adopted in regard to allotments of grants to Ministries. Of the three courses you have discussed, you have yourself pointed out the difficulties in the way of (a) and (c) and have given your preference to (b), that is, to provide lump sum grants as in the past subject to scrutiny by the Finance Ministry later. I am inclined to agree to this broadly.

But there are two or three considerations. One is that presumably major schemes have been passed by the Planning Commission and fit in with the Plan. I do not think we can be very rigid about insisting on the Plan remaining as it is passed. In dynamic and growing conditions new schemes may well be added to the Plan at any time later. But of course they must have the sanction of the Planning Commission.

This would apply to major schemes. In regard to relatively minor schemes or projects, much more latitude may be given to the administrative Ministry, subject to their Financial Adviser examining it and passing it. What exactly is a major scheme and what is a minor scheme, it is difficult for me to define. But I suppose this can be easily done.

The whole point is to expedite our work and not to hold it up for rather petty considerations. Such hold-ups or delays are themselves costly.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

113. JN Collection.

114. Union Minister of Finance.

115. Morarji Desai outlined three possible procedures for grants to Ministries: (a) refuse lump sum grants when essential details for cost estimates are not available, (b) agree to lump sum grants on condition that the Finance Ministry examine the scheme even after budget provision was made, and (c) no scrutiny by the Finance Ministry either before or after making the provision. According to Morarji, (b) was the only sound option and he wanted Nehru's approval since the current practice was for the Finance Ministry to limit itself to a pre-budget scrutiny.

### **149. Need for People's Initiative<sup>116</sup>**

There is need for developing the spirit of self-reliance among the villagers. Some simple norms should be laid down for testing the people's preparedness to do things themselves. The community development programme should not be extended to any new areas unless people in that region demonstrate their spirit of self-help by undertaking elementary schemes of community benefit like keeping the village clean. In the existing blocks, additional financial allocations should be contingent on the people's initiative and capacity for discharging their own responsibilities.<sup>117</sup>

### **150. Use of Local Material in the Construction of Roads<sup>118</sup>**

I send my good wishes to the Annual Session of the Indian Roads Congress to be held in Hyderabad.<sup>119</sup>

Roads are of obvious importance in any scheme of development of a country. But in India we have not only to make good roads but also cheap roads. That does not mean that there should be a conflict between the two. We have to devise means to use local material which is good enough for the innumerable village roads that we have to make. I hope the Roads Congress will consider this aspect of the matter.

A very great part of our expenditure on development goes towards construction work, whether it is roads or buildings. Any saving on this would help us to enlarge our development programme.

116. Speech to the Central Committee on Community Development, New Delhi, 6 December 1958. PIB. V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, G.L. Nanda, Union Minister Labour and Planning and Employment, Shriman Narayan, Member, Planning Commission, S.K. Dey, Union Minister of State for Community Development, attended.

117. The Committee asked the Ministry of Community Development to draw up a scheme for rewarding villages on the record of their progress in various programmes, for example, increased agricultural production, organisation of cooperatives and efficient functioning of Panchayats.

118. Message, 28 December 1958. File No. 9/2/59-PMP.

119. The 23rd session of the Congress was held from 7 to 13 Jan. 1959.



**151. To B.P. Singh Roy<sup>120</sup>**

December 28, 1958

Dear Shri Singh Roy,<sup>121</sup>

You were good enough to write to me some time ago, inviting me to inaugurate the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry on the 7th March.<sup>122</sup> I shall endeavour to do so.

Recently, our Finance Minister addressed a meeting of the Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta.<sup>123</sup> Some criticisms that were made of his speech indicated that it was not worthwhile for him to come to deliver the kind of speech that he had made. If that is the outlook of some people, then, you will appreciate, it is rather embarrassing for anyone to speak on such occasions.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**152. Homi J. Bhabha<sup>124</sup>**

December 29, 1958

My dear Homi,<sup>125</sup>

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from our Food & Agriculture Minister.<sup>126</sup>

120. JN Collection.

121. Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy (1894-1961); industrialist from Calcutta; advocate, Calcutta High Court, from 1921; Member, Bengal Legislative Council, 1921-36 and 1940, and Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1937-40; Director, Alkali and Chemical Corporation of India Ltd., Belvedere Jute Mills Ltd., India Reinsurance Corporation Ltd.; Chairman, Board of Directors, Basanti Cotton Mills Ltd., National Rolling and Steel Ropes Ltd.; President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, 1952 and 1957; Trustee, Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta; Trustee and Vice-President, British India Association, Calcutta.

122. Nehru inaugurated the 32nd annual session of FICCI in New Delhi on 7 Mar. 1959.

123. See item 134, fn 73.

124. JN Collection.

125. Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, and Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

126. Ajit Prasad Jain, after visiting the Nangal Fertilizer Factory, commented on the high unit construction cost of Rs 10,000 for workers' housing and recommended economies, especially a lifespan of 10 to 20 years for such structures.

We have recently laid great stress on reducing the construction cost everywhere. We found that 40 per cent of our entire outlay of the Second Five Year Plan went in construction. You might give some thought to this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### (b) Food and Agriculture

#### 153. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>127</sup>

November 11, 1958

My dear Ajit,<sup>128</sup>

I enclose a telegram which I have received.<sup>129</sup> Probably you have also received it.

I think that the decisions taken by the National Development Council were not only good but also of far-reaching importance.<sup>130</sup> In fact, they represent a certain definite turn in our thinking in our future action. This was long due. It seems to me quite absurd for us to have to rely so much on the vagaries of traders, millers, etc., in a matter of such high importance as food.

But this imposes a tremendous burden upon us as well as the States. Unless this new policy is worked with vigour and earnestness and with full faith in it, it may not succeed. Although the chief burden will fall on the States, the Central Food Ministry will have to pursue this with great energy and determination. The old routine methods will not serve any useful purpose. I do not know what your staff is like. Probably they are quite good for normal routine work. But the question is how far they will be good for this rather abnormal work. No person who does not believe in this policy thoroughly and is prepared to work

127. Ajit Prasad Jain Papers, NMML.

128. Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

129. The Orissa Millowners Association claimed that the bumper rice crop in Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh in the current year would meet the demand of the deficit States, and proposed a conference of procuring agents, Ministers, and Chief Ministers under the Prime Minister to decide on procedures. It also recommended creating buffer stocks of foodgrains.

130. The NDC met on 8 and 9 Nov. 1958. Two important decisions were taken: 1) State trading in foodgrains; and 2) to set up multi-purpose village cooperatives as economic units of the villages.



hard for it will produce any marked effect. I think you should look upon this matter from this point of view.<sup>131</sup>

There is another apprehension I have. We have suggested that the wholesale dealers might be appointed agents of Government for the time being. This had to be taken and there is no escape from it. But we must remember that we are appointing as our agents the very people who are least interested in the success of this new policy. How do we get over this difficulty? We must give a good deal of thought to this matter and prevent traders and other anti-social elements from upsetting our plans.

In regard to cooperatives also, the matter will have to be in charge of persons who believe in the new policy and not who accept it hesitatingly and reluctantly. A very great deal depends upon the success we make of this great attempt.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 154. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim<sup>132</sup>

November 13, 1958

My dear Hafizji,<sup>133</sup>

You know that I am much concerned about the waterlogged condition of areas round about Delhi and the adjoining areas of Gurgaon district in the Punjab.<sup>134</sup> People living there are naturally excited about it and repeatedly come to me or write to me asking for something to be done urgently. At my request, my Principal Private Secretary paid a visit to some of these areas. He has sent me a note about this visit, a copy of which I enclose.

131. Nehru told a Cabinet meeting on 3 Dec. 1958 that unless the scheme was communicated to the State Governments immediately, there was danger of uncoordinated action. The Cabinet agreed.

132. File No. DW.V. 512(13)/58, Ministry of Irrigation, 1958. Also available in JN Collection.

133. Union Minister of Irrigation and Power.

134. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim replied on 3 Dec. that the Punjab Government had already devised a plan for flood control in Gurgaon district, and that he had asked the Central Water and Power Commission (CW & PC) to complete their scrutiny quickly so that funds could be assigned. As for the floods in Delhi area around Najafgarh Jhil, he said that the CW & PC was preparing a scheme by which the waters of the Najafgarh Jhil would drain into the Najafgarh Nullah. Hafiz also enclosed a note on the latest position of the three schemes mentioned by Nehru.

You will notice that reference is made in this note to two schemes; (1) Gaunchhi Drainage Scheme<sup>135</sup> and (2) Canal Tunnel Scheme for areas between Shakur Basti, Faridabad, Gurgaon and Sohna.<sup>136</sup>

There is also a third scheme being considered, to construct a big reservoir bund at Ujjina.<sup>137</sup>

I would particularly draw your attention to the Gaunchhi Drainage Scheme and I suggest that very early action might be taken.<sup>138</sup> The second scheme also deserves early consideration and action.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 155. To Harekrushna Mahtab<sup>139</sup>

November 16, 1958

My dear Mahtab,<sup>140</sup>

This is a delayed answer to your letter of the 9th November, or rather to a copy of the letter you sent to Ajit Prasad Jain.<sup>141</sup>

I am a little surprised to read it because, in this letter, you make a positive statement that State trading cannot, under any circumstances, be a success and that it should not be undertaken. I do not remember your expressing this

135. According to Hafiz's note, the Punjab Government's estimate for the Gaunchhi Drain was about Rs 50 lakhs; it would benefit 30,000 acres in Gurgaon District, and reduce flooding on the Delhi-Agra road.

136. Hafiz said the Punjab Government was still preparing the Gurgaon Canal Tunnel Scheme. With a canal 33.8 miles long, it would irrigate about 5,90,000 acres in Delhi, Gurgaon district, and the Bharatpur area of Rajasthan, and would cost about Rs 5 crore.

137. Hafiz noted that there was no specific plan for a reservoir bund at Ujjina, but the drainage scheme for western Gurgaon district would include Ujjina.

138. Nehru wrote the same day to Partap Singh Kairon, the Chief Minister of Punjab, that delays and lack of coordination between Punjab and Delhi could lead to crop losses.

139. File No. 31(85)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

140. Chief Minister of Orissa.

141. Nehru seems to have misunderstood Mahtab's letter. Mahtab provided the alternatives: (a) the Orissa government as monopoly buyer and exporter of foodgrains, and (b) the government as mere stockist. In case of (a), the government could control prices when buying and selling; in case of (b) the government would not be able to fix prices, which would defeat the purpose of state trading. He explained this to Nehru in his letter of 19 Nov.



opinion at the meeting of the National Development Council. Anyhow, this decision has been made and, I believe, is going to be acted upon all over India. The question of State trading is not merely to build up a stock, but to do the right thing in furtherance of the broad policy we intend pursuing.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 156. To Kailas Nath Katju<sup>142</sup>

November 17, 1958

My dear Kailas Nath,<sup>143</sup>

Yesterday I wrote to you about what some MPs from Madhya Pradesh told me. They came from Balaghat and they had said that paddy was being sold near Balaghat at Rs 4 a maund and at somewhat varying prices round about. This was due partly to put pressure on these people to get money so that they can buy wheat seeds.

Today seven or eight MPs from Madhya Pradesh came to see me and we had a good talk. They impressed upon me the urgency of immediate procurement of rice in Madhya Pradesh. Delay would hit the people hard. The price of wheat seeds was very high and if they did not get enough wheat seeds in time, the rabi crop would suffer. The moneylender would come in.

I told them that I entirely agreed with them that there should be immediate procurement. As a matter of fact normal procurement should always begin at as early a stage as possible and, more especially now, this should be done.

I added that two points had been raised in connection with this matter. One was raising the ban on export to Bombay and the other the question of price. As for raising the ban, I told them that I was opposed to it as that would raise the level of prices all over Madhya Pradesh to the detriment of the common people. Only the traders would flourish. As for prices, I pointed out to them that it was indeed an odd proposition for prices to be kept at Rs 15 a maund in a deficit year and to be raised in a surplus year. This is not an economic approach. Also I said that if they compared the prices during the last few years they would find that they were even lower. Thus there was no economic justification

142. File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

143. Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

for raising of prices and any such raise would have repercussions in other States and ultimately on all our planning programme.

I could understand, however, the desire of people in Madhya Pradesh, especially the traders, to have a higher price. When they saw rice being sold at a much higher price in Bombay, naturally they wanted to share in this higher price. But from an economic point of view, as I have said above, this is not justified. Nor was it justified from the other consequences which might flow from it.

They told me that while they would prefer a higher price, it was far more important now to buy immediately even at Rs 15 than to wait. Delay in procurement now would weigh down heavily on the people of Madhya Pradesh and they will get into the clutches of moneylenders.

I entirely agreed with them and said that I would communicate with you and suggest to you to start procuring immediately at this price of Rs 15 per maund. I would, therefore, urge you to do this. Whatever arguments you may have in future about the price, delay now in procurement is harmful. The mere fact that price have sunk so low in Balaghat indicate that the economic situation does not require a higher price.

I spoke to Ajit Prasad Jain on the telephone this evening and asked him to ring you up and give you this message.<sup>144</sup>

The MPs who came to me also told me that there were 40,000 tons of parboiled rice lying, I think, in Chhattisgarh. As this could not be exported after the ban on export and nobody in Madhya Pradesh wanted to eat it, it remains there and is likely to deteriorate. I gather from Ajit Prasad that there is more than 40,000 tons and the traders have held on to this hoping to get a higher price.

Among the MPs who came to see me was the son of Ravi Shankar Shukla.

These people further told me that there was 120,000 tons of rice in stock in Madhya Pradesh from the last crop. The new crop was expected to yield a surplus of 700,000 tons. This, of course, is an estimate. Thus the total surplus was going to be over 800,000 tons. This figure may or may not be correct. But it is clear that you have to deal with a tremendous harvest. If at this time we raised the price from Rs 15 because of pressure from some vested interests,

144. Katju informed A.P. Jain that the average price of rice at Balaghat was Rs 15 per maund at the railhead, a trifle higher or lower at Raipur and Bilaspur, and possibly very low at places remote from the railhead. He suggested prices be fixed taking into account the rates at both railhead and mandi. Jain added that the cost of transport from mandis to the railheads would need to be borne by Government.



then it would harm us. Anyhow I would beg of you to start procuring immediately and at as widespread a scale as possible at Rs 15 a maund.<sup>145</sup>

You might enquire if any wheat seeds have been distributed by any Governmental agency in the Balaghat area.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 157. Relevance of Small Projects<sup>146</sup>

### Nehru For Smaller Irrigation And Power Projects—Association of People With Work Emphasised

New Delhi, Nov. 17- Prime Minister Nehru today called for correction of “the balance of thinking which has shifted too much towards gigantic irrigation and power projects” and warned against the spread of “the disease of gigantism”.

The Prime Minister told the Central Board of Irrigation and Power while inaugurating its 29th annual meeting that ten thousand small schemes counted ultimately far more than a few big projects and would change the face of the country far more than half a dozen big projects. Big projects, of course, would have to be undertaken but “this idea of having big projects for the sake of bigness is not good at all”.

Pandit Nehru wanted an “integrated approach” from the engineers which he said, would help meet the problems of water-logging, non-utilisation of created resources and full use of human power available in the country.

He also said that the cost of undertakings “ought to be reduced, can be reduced and will be reduced”. The “out of date system” involving intermediaries in the construction works should be given up.

In justifying his plea for greater attention to small schemes, Pandit Nehru said that they would enable greater and more active association of the people in their construction and also in utilising their benefits subsequently. Without the people feeling that the schemes were their own, they would serve no great

145. The Madhya Pradesh Government announced on 22 Nov. that it would buy paddy from cultivators at Rs 9.50 per maund and that the Central Government would buy the 70,000 tons of old stock of rice in traders' hands for Rs 15-15.50 per maund.

146. Report of speech at the 29th annual meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power, 17 November 1958. *National Herald*, 18 November 1958.

purpose. It was easier for the people especially in the areas immediately affected, to understand the value and importance of the small schemes. He was pained to find at the Damodar Valley project once that the labourers carrying baskets of earth did not know at all why they were doing the work.

He did not agree with the argument that the cost of a large number of small schemes would be greater. He said that the cost should be evaluated in relation to the "upsets" caused by big projects. He had in mind upsets like removal of large number of people from sites, and their rehabilitation. This would not be there in the case of small scheme. Small schemes would also bring about results sooner, he added.

Pandit Nehru was critical of engineers when he talked of the problem of water-logging and silting following construction of big irrigation projects to which the president, Prof. M.S. Thacker, had made a reference in his address earlier.

### Human Consequences

"It is a bad show altogether", the Prime Minister said, "when as a result of big schemes water-logging results. Something has gone wrong with our thinking. I don't know what this is due to. But my submission is that the engineers' work is not just confined to building up the canals etcetera. They must think in terms of social and economic and human consequences. If doing one good work leads to consequences which are harmful then the original work has not been done properly."

Pandit Nehru also deplored "the state of mind in India which does not attach importance to trees" when he stressed the need of afforestation. Ceremonial tree-planting once a year, he said, would be a cheap show if none cared to see if the saplings survived. This was a superficial outlook of doing work. Millions of more trees were needed. It could be said that anybody who cuts trees indiscriminately should suffer the penalty of having his head cut off.

Prof. Thacker said that though there was a clamour for increased irrigation facilities, there appeared to be no proper synchronisation between their availability and utilisation. An assessment of the facilities provided and the incentives offered to cultivators to utilise them was called for.

### Major Danger

He also called attention to the gradual silting up of reservoirs which he said, was a "major danger which threatens the life span of river valley projects". Another problem demanding attention was the loss of water through evaporation,



seepage and deep percolation. He said an assessment made in the Ganga Canal in UP revealed that of the total supply diverted into the canal, 15 per cent was lost in the main canal, 7 per cent in the distributaries, and 22 per cent in the village water courses.

Prof. Thacker said that the Central Board of Irrigation and Power should play "a more effective role in the country's development of water and power resources with which are tied up the problems of increased food production, and rise in the living standards of the people. We may consider how it can be made more and more effective. Perhaps, we might lay on the board a statutory obligation to shoulder such a responsibility".

#### 158. To Sampurnanand<sup>147</sup>

November 21, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,<sup>148</sup>

Thank you for your letter of November 19th in which you have given some particulars about the Community Development programme in the UP. It makes interesting reading.

I find from the newspapers that you have in some way lessened the importance of your Food & Agriculture Department. If this is so, it is unfortunate. You know I have been laying great stress on the vital importance of that Department.

I also gather that in spite of the great stress we have been giving to what has been done at Banthra by Kailas Nath Kaul<sup>149</sup> in regard to the reclamation of saline land, your Government has not yet sanctioned any grant for this purpose. You told me that this had been done. I have been boosting this up in the other States and inviting them to come to see it. It is odd, therefore, that the UP Government does not get a move on. I have already given Kailas Nath Kaul Rs 10,000 for it and I shall probably have to give more.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

147. File No. 31/73/56-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

148. Chief Minister of UP.

149. Botanist and agriculturist; was responsible for the reclamation of several thousand acres of alkaline lands in Uttar Pradesh; his work has been named The Banthra Formula after the place where he began the project. See also SWJN/SS/42/p. 160.

159. To S.K. Dey<sup>150</sup>

23rd November, 1958

My dear Dey,

I do not know if you have met Nandlal Sharma who has got a small farm near Jaipur. He has had a varied career in Berar, Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan, in connection with governmental activities concerning agriculture. I have known him off and on a little. Today he came to see me and spoke very confidently about increasing agricultural production in a very big way and in a short time, chiefly by the use of manure, waste products, etc. He did not ask for fertilisers or money as far as I could make out. He has written a pamphlet about this subject too.

He tells me that once he studied this in the Ukraine in the Soviet Union and other places.

All he wants is facilities and opportunity to show results. If what he says is even in part true then we should do everything to give him these facilities and get results from him. He told me that he knows the leaders of Rajasthan, Chief Minister and others very well for many years. I asked him why they had not utilised his services to greater advantage. According to him this was largely because of their political squabbling.

However that may be, I think we should give him the opportunity to show results. The idea is that he should be given particular charge of an area, say a district in Rajasthan from this point of view and he can also advise the whole State on this question. I have written to Ajit Prasad Jain and asked him to see him.<sup>151</sup> I should like you to meet him also. He will then go back to Rajasthan and meet the Chief Minister there to whom I have written.<sup>152</sup>

150. JN Collection.

151. On the same day, Nehru informed A.P. Jain: "He told me that he had seen you some days ago and you had encouraged him. Further he added that if I could give a push to the Rajasthan people, then it would help."

152. Nehru wrote to Mohanlal Sukhadia, Chief Minister of Rajasthan: "I gather that some political difficulties and personal conflicts have come in the way of his extending his work in Rajasthan. If he can do the work, then nothing should be allowed to come in his way. The first question, therefore, is whether he is the capable man that he claims to be. If I am satisfied about that, then I shall extend to him every help and would expect you to do likewise."



I cannot quite make up my mind whether this man is very able and competent or a crank. Anyhow, I should like to give him a chance to show results.<sup>153</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**160. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad<sup>154</sup>**

November 27, 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,<sup>155</sup>

I have your letter of the 20th November. I have sent a copy of it on to our Food & Agriculture Minister.

The decisions taken by the NDC about the State taking up the wholesale trade in foodgrains should not, so far as I can see, affect any other arrangement between the State and the Centre. Obviously, your State, which is so much deficit in foodgrains, will have to be supplied from other States.

I imagine that Ajit Prasad Jain will write to you more fully on this subject.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

153. On 16 Dec. 1958, Nehru again asked A.P. Jain to give Nandlal Sharma a chance.

154. JN Collection.

155. Chief Minister of Kerala.

**161. To Kanwar Sain<sup>156</sup>**

November 29, 1958

My dear Kanwar Sain,<sup>157</sup>

I have your letter of November 27.<sup>158</sup>

It is difficult for me to advise in a matter of the kind which you have referred to me. Nevertheless, since you have asked me, I would like you to be the Chairman of the Rajasthan Canal Board. This is a big and ambitious project requiring a man of great ability and competence and, as you say in your letter, the project was conceived by you 10 years ago.<sup>159</sup>

As for adequate support being given to you, you will certainly get it from me and, I think, my colleagues in Government. Obviously I cannot guarantee what the press or some odd Member of Parliament may write or say. It is quite true, as you say, that there is more criticism and not enough appreciation of good work or of difficulties. I suppose that is an inevitable phase we have to pass through.

You are active and in good health and there is no reason why you should not do big work for many years to come.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

156. File No. 38(57)/58-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

157. Ex-Chairman, Central Water and Power Commission.

158. Kanwar Sain had written that he preferred this assignment, "more difficult than the Bhakra Dam Project", to many lucrative options. He doubted, however, whether "adequate support would be forthcoming from all quarters in the present atmosphere of the country when there is more of criticism and much less appreciation of difficulties." He sought Nehru's advice.

159. Kanwar Sain wrote that, as Chief Engineer of the then Bikaner State, he had conceived the Rajasthan Canal Project in 1948 to use water from Harike in Punjab to irrigate 50 million acres in the Rajasthan Desert with colonisation to follow.



## 162. To Sampurnanand<sup>160</sup>

December 2, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,

Shah Nawaz Khan<sup>161</sup> came to me the other day and spoke to me about certain parts of Meerut District which had suffered a great deal from floods.<sup>162</sup> The land is good, the people are hard working, but nothing much can be done unless some rapid scheme of drainage is carried out. The result is that crops, worth a large sum of money running into crores, are destroyed every year. I understand that the engineers have made some Master Plan, but it cannot be given effect to for lack of money. This seems to me a short-sighted policy when we are losing so much every year.

I gather that your Government has allotted six lakhs of rupees to Meerut for this purpose. Apparently this is inadequate for any effective work to be done. Could we not do something more even if the whole Master Plan cannot be taken up immediately? A considerable part of it might be accepted for the present and a year later something more can be done.

I should like the Central Government to help in this process,<sup>163</sup> but the State Government is more intimately concerned with it and will profit by any work done. I hope you will look into this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

160. JN Collection.

161. Congress Lok Sabha MP from Meerut, Uttar Pradesh.

162. Heavy rainfall from 27 Sept. to 1 Oct. 1958 flooded 95,000 acres of Meerut District, much standing kharif crop was destroyed, and rabi sowing was delayed. 1,70,000 people were affected in 186 villages, the Indian Red Cross Society sent relief supplies, and the State Government sanctioned Rs 3.5 lakhs to drain the flooded areas.

163. On 12 Dec., Nehru wrote to Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, Union Minister of Irrigation and Power, urging more action.

### 163. To Chief Ministers<sup>164</sup>

December 2, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

As you know, reports of an astonishing increase in rice production in China have naturally excited a great deal of interest in various countries. We have received a good deal of information on this subject from our Embassy in Peking and, as I think I have informed you, we have decided to send a team of experts to study the new methods of rice cultivation there as well as other developments.

2. As the season for rice cultivation is now over in China, we intend sending these particular experts of ours in spring next year.<sup>165</sup>

3. Meanwhile it may interest you to see a brief report which we have received from Japanese official sources. The Japanese were naturally greatly intrigued about the reports of rice production in China and they decided to send a team there, not only of experts but of practical farmers.<sup>166</sup> The method they adopted was eminently practical.<sup>167</sup> They requested the Chinese Government to give them a plot of good land for rice cultivation. This was to be next to the land being cultivated by the Chinese farmers themselves. The Chinese Government was good enough to give this plot to them, and for six months these Japanese farmers cultivated this. This was an eminently suitable way for comparing the two methods of cultivation. The results are given briefly in the paper I am sending to you.<sup>168</sup> From this, it will appear that while undoubtedly

164. File No. 31(82)/58-59-PMS. Also published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5, pp. 166-167.

165. On 22 Nov., Nehru wrote to V.T. Krishnamachari, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, that agricultural experts could be sent in mid-Mar., the next planting season in China. Meanwhile, at Nehru's instance, a three-member team led by Mahavir Prasad, the Irrigation Advisor to the Government of India, went to China in Jan. 1959 to examine the irrigation and water conservancy projects and small blast furnaces.

166. The Director of the Akita Prefectural Agricultural Research Institute led a team of 25 Japanese agricultural experts to Beijing from 21 Apr. to 29 Oct. 1958.

167. One group went to a State farm in Hopei Province and the other to one in Lioing Province for the comparative study of rice cultivation.

168. The Japanese team concluded that artificial fertiliser, improved seed, and ample irrigation led to higher initial yields.



the Chinese yield per hectare was high, it did not exceed the Japanese yield, and was sometimes lower.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**164. To R. Jaganatha Rau<sup>169</sup>**

December 3, 1958

Dear Shri Jagannath Rao,<sup>170</sup>

I have your letter of December 2nd.

We have given a great deal of thought to what you have suggested in your letter, namely the fixation of the price of rice at Rs 15.50 a maund. We have discussed this amongst ourselves and with the Planning Commission at length. As you know the price fixed by us for procurement of rice during the past year was Rs 15 per maund. This price was fixed during a scarcity year. If we raise this price in a bumper year, then obviously we raise the price of rice permanently all over India. This will have far-reaching effects on all our planning, apart from hitting the consumer. Normally in bumper years the price goes down. Nevertheless we have decided to stick to this price of Rs 15 per maund not only for Orissa but for Madhya Pradesh also.

It may perhaps be possible to allow for some minor charges for transport.<sup>171</sup>

As you must know, we have decided for the State to take up the wholesale trading in rice.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

169. File No. 31(85)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

170. R. Jaganatha Rau (1909-91); Congressman from Orissa; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-89; Member, Parliamentary Delegation to USSR, 1958, and Indian Delegation to UN General Assembly, 1959; Union Deputy Minister for Works, Housing and Supply, 1962, Economic and Defence Coordination, 1962-63, Department of Supply, 1963-64 and Law and Department of Social Security, 1964-66; Union Minister of State for Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation, 1966, Department of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications, 1966-69, Works, Housing and Supply, 1967-69, Petroleum and Chemicals and Mines and Metals, 1969-70, and Law and Department of Social Welfare, 1970-71.

171. Nehru wrote this also to C.D. Gautam, Congress Lok Sabha MP from Balaghat, Madhya Pradesh.

**165. To Harekrushna Mahtab<sup>172</sup>**

5th December, 1958

My dear Mahtab,

I do not quite know what scheme for land ceiling you have approved. I have, however, been informed that according to your new scheme big land-owners owning thousands of acres will not be affected in any way, as no ceilings on the existing holdings are being imposed. Small land-owners, however, if they live elsewhere, will be affected. This is rather an odd way of applying the ceiling.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**166. To B.C. Roy<sup>173</sup>**

5th December 1958

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your two letters—one of December 3rd about rice cultivation and the other of December 4th about remittance of salaries and profits by Indian Nationals in East Pakistan.

I enclose two cuttings from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* about the fall in the price of rice in Calcutta. What I am interested in is how Pashupati Das & Sons<sup>174</sup> got hold of his large quantity of rice which they are now being compelled by circumstances to sell at a much lower price. I have had on many occasions bad reports of Pashupati Das & Sons as the chief hoarders and profiteers in rice in Bengal. In fact, they have been called, I believe, the rice king.

In a statement issued by Prafulla Sen<sup>175</sup> it is stated that there was no cornering of stocks of rice and paddy by big traders this year. This is not borne out by the advertisement issued by Pashupati Das & Sons. It would appear that they managed to get hold of this large quantity of rice even though there was a scarcity in Calcutta.

172. File No. 17(97)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

173. File No. 31(85)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. Copied to Ajit Prasad Jain.

174. Pashupati Das & Sons Private Limited, established in Calcutta in 1891.

175. Minister for Relief, Supply and Refugee Rehabilitation in the West Bengal Government.



If there are any wholesale rice dealers who have obviously been profiteering, I hope they will not be appointed the licensed agents of the West Bengal Government for rice in future.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

## 167. State Trading in Foodgrains<sup>176</sup>

Prime Minister Warns Grain Wholesalers In U.P.—Hartal  
Threats Will Not Be Tolerated—State Trading Explained

Jhajjar (Punjab), Dec. 7.- Prime Minister Nehru today warned that the Government would not be cowed down by any threats on the part of wholesale dealers to compel the Government to deviate from their declared policy of state trading in foodgrains.

Pandit Nehru, who was addressing a public meeting<sup>177</sup> here said that wholesale dealers in foodgrains in U.P. had given the threat of observing "hartal" to put pressure on the Government and the people to allow them to profiteer as before. This was an entirely wrong thing.

Pandit Nehru said: "I have heard that the wholesale dealers are annoyed at the Government's decision to introduce state trading in foodgrains. I have read in newspapers that the wholesale dealers in U.P. have decided to observe hartal. This is an entirely wrong thing. I agree that state trading will not enable any wholesalers to make undue profits any more. But the wholesalers will get their due profit. We do not want to stop that. But if these wholesalers give these threats of hartal, which obviously means that the wholesalers want to squeeze the neck of the Government and the people to make excessive and improper profits, then it is clear that no Government will allow this and come under this threat". (Loud cheers)

Pandit Nehru said that the Government had taken the decision to have state trading in foodgrains to keep the price of foodgrains under control. "We do not want wholesale dealers to be denied their legitimate profits or suffer a loss. But

176. Report of speech at a public meeting, Jhajjar, 7 December 1958. *National Herald*, 8 December 1958.

177. Partap Singh Kairon, the Chief Minister of Punjab, also attended, *The Hindu*, 8 Dec. 1958.

no longer will they be allowed to make improper profits. The biggest need of the day is to keep the prices of foodgrains under control and prevent profiteers and speculators to play with foodgrain prices”.

The Prime Minister explained in some detail the new state trading scheme in foodgrains and said: “We may have some initial difficulty but this decision will soon be implemented. We propose to choose some big wholesale traders, who are good, and give them licences to buy foodgrains on behalf of the Government at prices fixed by the Government. These dealers will get a certain commission on these purchases which will constitute their legitimate profit. We will store these foodgrains and release it to retail dealers”.

### Government Plan

Pandit Nehru said that the Government proposed to keep two million tons of foodgrains as reserve stock. If prices of foodgrains fell, the Government would buy from the peasants. If they rose, they would sell. So, the prices would be pegged at a reasonable level. This would benefit both the peasants and the consumers.

The Prime Minister made an impassioned appeal to the peasants to increase the yield per acre. “You should think of profit not in terms of increase in prices but of increasing production. You have to consider these things, and I hope you will help us by producing more”.

Pandit Nehru laid great stress on the need to develop co-operatives in every village.<sup>178</sup>

The Prime Minister said that the Punjab Government should explain through leaflets and pamphlets their scheme of state trading in foodgrains and help develop co-operatives. In this respect, the Punjab Government would have to change their laws on co-operatives drastically. The present laws actually prevented growth of co-operatives, he added.

The Prime Minister commended co-operative farming to the peasant audience and said that it could help all of them to better their prospect. Each peasant, of course, would continue to own his land but he would co-operate with others in farming. Later, the produce could be distributed among peasants in a proportionate way.

178. *The Hindu* reported Nehru saying that the cooperative should become the “big bania” of the village. It should play the role which was earlier played by village merchants and traders.



“You can change the face of your villages by co-operative efforts. You must take pride in your village and vie with others in keeping it clean, having schools in it, and making it more prosperous”, Pandit Nehru said.

Earlier, Prime Minister Nehru laid the foundation stone of a college at Jhajjar, one of the most backward tracts of Punjab. The college, which is the first of its kind in the area, will help the people of the “backward area to move from darkness to light”. The college is being constructed with the help of donations received from the people of Jhajjar and neighbouring areas and contributions from ex-servicemen of the region.

#### 168. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>179</sup>

December 7, 1958

My dear Ajit,

I am sending you a letter in original from Mahtab.<sup>180</sup> Before I reply to it, I should like to have your comments and advice.

We have definitely fixed the price of paddy, that is, the price to be paid to the cultivator by the wholesalers which in the present case will be the Government. But I remember you saying to us that in case of paddy being obtained in the interior, far from the railhead, some adjustment could be made for transport. If this is not done, different prices will be paid to people in different areas, or rather they will receive different prices as some will have to pay for the transport.

Mahtab also says that he is not increasing last year's prices, but actually reducing them somewhat.

Then there is a question of commission to be paid to our licensed agents which for the current year will be some of the wholesalers whom we license.

Please return Mahtab's letter to me with your reply.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

179. JN Collection.

180. Harekrushna Mahtab, Chief Minister of Orissa.

## 169. Sugarcane Prices<sup>181</sup>

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: सभापति महोदय, जो सवाल आपके सामने पेश हैं,<sup>182</sup> उस पर मेरे साथी, जिनकी खास तवज्जह उस पर रहती है, जवाब देंगे,<sup>183</sup> लेकिन उसके कुछ पहलू हैं, जिनकी तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान और इस हाउस का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। कुछ पहलू दूर के हैं और इस हाउस को इन बातों को खासतौर से निगाह में रखना है।

अभी कुछ जिक्क हुआ foreign exchange का।<sup>184</sup> वह भी एक हिस्सा है, एक जुड़ है हमारे बड़े सवाल का। पंचवर्षीय योजनायें हैं, हमारे बढ़ने का सवाल है, आइंदा की तरक्की के लिये हम कितना पैसा invest करें, ये बड़े सवाल हैं। जाहिरा इसमें हमें महज़ गौर नहीं करना है, लेकिन बड़े कदम उठाने पड़ेंगे, अगर हम तरक्की करना चाहते हैं।

मुझे ठीक याद नहीं है, लेकिन जहाँ तक मुझे ख्याल है, हम समझते हैं कि हम आइंदा के लिये, तरक्की की investment वगैरह के लिए 9 फीसदी सालाना बचायें। और जितने मुल्क अक्सर हैं, वे उसका दुगना और ढाई गुना कर रहे हैं। और अगर इसमें ढील हो, तो जाहिर है कि हम वहीं के वहीं रहते हैं। कुछ दिनों में हमें तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना का विचार करना पड़ेगा, लेकिन उसके विचार करने के पहले हम सब दरवाज़े बढ़ने के बंद कर दें, तो जाहिर है कि उस पर विचार करना बहुत कारामद नहीं होगा।

अभी जो माननीय सदस्य कह रहे थे कि इस गणित से उसके दाम मुकर्रर होते हैं,<sup>185</sup> वह बहुत ठीक बात है। उन्होंने कई बातें कहीं—कि तोलने में ख़राबियाँ होती हैं वगैरह, वगैरह। वह तो गौरतलब है और उन पर विचार करना चाहिये और ख़राबियों को दूर करना चाहिए। लेकिन बुनियादी बात आपके सामने यह है कि गन्ने के दाम बढ़ें या न बढ़ें। मोटी बात है। और ख़राबियाँ निकलें। जाहिर है कि हर एक आदमी चाहता है कि हमारे किसानों का फ़ायदा हो, जितना हम फ़ायदा पहुँचा सकते हैं। लेकिन उस फ़ायदे की कोशिश में, एक आर्जी फ़ायदे की कोशिश में, उनको आख़िर में नुकसान पहुँचायें, हमारा planning सब ठंडा हो जाए यह कैसे ठीक है? इससे न उनको फ़ायदा होगा और न किसी और को।

क्या इस वक़्त जो दाम हैं, वाजिबी दाम हैं? चूँकि मैं कोई expert नहीं हूँ इसलिए मैं इसका जवाब नहीं दे सकता हूँ। लेकिन दो तीन मोटी-मोटी बातें हैं जो मैं कहना चाहता

181. 18 December 1958. From *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIV, cols 6198-6203.

182. Motion by Braj Raj Singh, Socialist, UP, S.M. Banerjee, Independent, Kanpur, UP, and Sarjoo Pandey, CPI, UP, on sugarcane prices. An amendment to raise the price from Rs 1-7-0 to Rs 1-12-0 per maund was lost, 130 to 21.

183. Ajit Prasad Jain, the Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

184. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, BJS, UP, pointed to the anomaly of mill-owners exporting sugar at a loss for India to earn foreign exchange.

185. Sarjoo Pandey claimed that after Independence sugar prices were rising while sugarcane prices were falling whereas before Independence they moved in tandem.



हूँ। एक तो यह बात है कि जैसा कि एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि शक्कर वगैरह के दाम बाकी दुनिया के देशों के दामों से काफी बढ़े हुए हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि हम इसको बाहर export करें। तो अगर हमें बाहर export करना है तो हम दूसरे देशों का कैसे मुकाबला कर सकते हैं। अगर हमारे दाम अधिक होंगे, हम उनका मुकाबला नहीं कर सकेंगे। यह मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि कोई भी मिल मालिक नुकसान उठाकर चीनी बाहर भेजेगा। Private sector में कोई भी ऐसा नहीं करता है। लेकिन यह और बात है कि अगर कोई आइंदा के फायदे के लिये थोड़े दिन नुकसान उठा ले तो वह उठाने को तैयार हो जाता है। अगर मिल मालिक ऐसा नहीं कर सकता है तो फिर government को नुकसान को बरदाश्त करना पड़ेगा, government को subsidy देनी होगी और यह सवाल उठे बगैर नहीं रहता है। ऐसे मौके पर यह कहना कि और उस फर्क को बढ़ा दिया जाए या कोई ऐसा कदम उठाया जाए जिससे फर्क बढ़ जाए और देशों की sugar के मुकाबले में, तो जाहिर है कि इससे दिक्कतें बढ़ जाएँगी और जो असली चीज है वह आसान हम नहीं कर पायेंगे।

दूसरा मसला यह है कि हमारी जमीन कुछ पहले से ज्यादा गल्ले की तरफ जा रही है। इसका मतलब यह कि गन्ने से गल्ले की तरफ जा रही है।

आज सुबह मैं आचार्य विनोबा भावे की पदयात्रा में शरीक हुआ और एक दो मील उनके साथ चला। उनके साथ मेरी बातें भी होती रहीं। मैंने उनसे कुछ यों ही जिक्र किया इसके बारे में, वह भी इसी गन्ने की हालत के बारे में पूछ रहे थे। वह कहने लगे कि जब वह गोरखपुर में थे तो उन्होंने वहाँ अपने एक व्याख्यान में कहा था कि बहुत जल्दी लड़ाई आने वाली है गल्ले में और गन्ने में।

रघुनाथ सिंह<sup>186</sup>: गल्ला-गन्ना।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: लड़ाई से मतलब यह है कि ज्यादा गल्ला पैदा किया जाए या गन्ना पैदा किया जाए। उनकी राय यह थी कि गल्ला पैदा किया जाए और यह राय उनकी बहुत जोरों की थी। उनकी राय यह थी कि ज्यादा गन्ना होता जाता है गल्ला उसके मुकाबले में कम होता है। इनका मुकाबला नहीं है और मैं समझता हूँ सारी चीज एक है। मैं कोई expert नहीं हूँ जो यह बताऊँ कि गल्ले को पैदा करने वालों पर ज्यादा बोझा है क्योंकि उसको हम ज्यादा बढ़ा रहे हैं।

तो ऐसे मौके पर आप एक चीज का ध्यान रखें और वह यह है कि हमें कोई ऐसा काम नहीं करना चाहिये जिससे गल्ला पैदा करने से जो लोग हट चुके हैं उनकी तादाद हम बढ़ायें। यह बात मुनासिब मालूम नहीं देती है। हम चाहते हैं कि हर एक को फायदा हो, हर एक को लाभ हो लेकिन हमें उसके आर्थिक नतीजे जो निकलते हैं उन पर भी गौर करना है।

186. Congress MP from Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh.

दूसरे export के बारे में मैं यह नहीं कहता कि हमें बहुत export करना चाहिए या हम बहुत ज़्यादा export करना चाहते हैं। हम इसके नाकाबिल होते जाते हैं और अगर दाम बढ़ें तो और भी नाकाबिल हो जाएँगे।<sup>187</sup>

[Translation begins]

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Chairman, the question<sup>188</sup> which is being discussed right now in the House will be comprehensively answered by my friend<sup>189</sup> who also happens to be an expert on this matter. However, I only want to draw the attention of the House to certain aspects of this question. Some of these are of long-term significance and the House should take a special note of them.

Just now some reference was made to the foreign exchange situation.<sup>190</sup> This is a part of our bigger economic question, the five-year plans, and our entire progress. How much we should spend for our future progress is an important question. Of course, simply pondering over these issues will not lead us anywhere. If we are to march towards progress, we will have to take big steps.

So far as I remember we need to save about nine per cent of our annual total income toward future investments. In other countries it is more than double of this. This is a problem which has to be tackled in a firm manner. If there is any laxity in this regard, the country would remain where it is. Shortly we have to think about the Third Five Year Plan and before we do that it will not be advisable to close all doors of progress.

An Hon'ble Member pointed out the fallacies in fixing the sugarcane price.<sup>191</sup> He mentioned many things like the malpractices in weighing. All these relevant grievances should be redressed properly. But the basic question is whether sugarcane prices should be increased or not. Obviously everybody wants that our farmers should have as much profit as possible. But how far is it appropriate that in the process of providing temporary advantage to the farmers the entire system of planning is undermined. This will neither help them nor anybody else.

The basic question is whether the present prices are reasonable. I am not an expert on this, so I cannot answer this question. However, one thing is clear

187. On 30 Dec., Nehru wrote to the Secretary of the District Congress Committee, Meerut, that the sugarcane price of Rs 1-7-0 should be held, which, in any case, "would be most unfortunate because it would injure the cultivators very greatly."

188. See fn 182 in this section.

189. See fn 183 in this section.

190. See fn 184 in this section.

191. See fn 185 in this section.



that, as one Hon'ble Member said, the price of sugar in India is much more than the price in the rest of the world. We want to export sugar but we cannot compete in the world market. If our prices are higher, we cannot compete with them. I do not think any mill owner will export sugar at a loss. Nobody works at a loss in the private sector, although for some time this might be done in expectation of future gain. Then the question arises, should the Government subsidise the export of sugar to compete with world prices. It is clear, therefore, that any step that further increases the difference in the price of sugar in India as compared to international prices will create more difficulties and we shall not be able to make things any easier.

Another matter is that more of our land is being diverted to cultivation of foodgrains. This means that it is being diverted from sugarcane to foodgrains.

This morning I joined Acharya Vinoba Bhave in his padyatra. I walked with him for a mile or two, and we talked about various things. I casually mentioned to him about this matter. He was enquiring about sugarcane. He told me that when he was in Gorakhpur, he said in a speech there that very soon there is going to be a competition between sugarcane and foodgrains.

Raghunath Singh:<sup>192</sup> Foodgrains-sugarcane.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What is meant by competition is whether more of foodgrains should be produced or sugarcane. Vinobaji was strongly of opinion that foodgrains production should go up. His view was that as there is an increase in sugarcane production, the production of foodgrains goes down. I think there should be no competition between the two. I am not an expert to tell you as to whether the foodgrains cultivator is carrying more burdens since we are promoting foodgrains production.

So you should keep it in mind that we do not take any step which increases the number of those who have shifted away from foodgrains cultivation. This does not seem to be appropriate. We want that everyone should be benefited but we should also keep in mind the economic consequences of any step that we might take.

Secondly, as regards exports, I do not say that we should increase our exports or that we want to increase our exports. We are becoming incapable of exporting sugar, and if prices increase we will become still more incapable.<sup>193</sup>

[Translation ends]

192. See fn 186 in this section.

193. See fn 187 in this section.

**170. To Harekrushna Mahtab<sup>194</sup>**

December 20, 1958

My dear Mahtab,

Thank you for your letter of the 18th December about land reforms in Orissa. I am not dealing with the various matters raised by you in detail. I am not an expert on these matters and, in any event, this whole question is going to be considered with some fullness at the Congress meetings in Nagpur.<sup>195</sup>

I might say, however, that this question of land reforms generally was considered at great length by the Committee appointed by the AICC. Their report must have reached you.<sup>196</sup> The subject of land reform has been before us continuously for ten years or so and the progress made has been slow. Indeed it has become rather a joke in some foreign countries when they refer to land reforms in India. We have talked tall and done little.

Our ultimate objective is to have no intermediaries at all in the land and for this land to be jointly cultivated under the supervision of the village cooperative. If that is kept in view, anything that comes in the way is not good.

Your opinion against an imposition of ceiling on holdings personally cultivated is opposed to the opinion of the Committee. The use of the words "personal cultivation" in this connection is hardly accurate when personal cultivation means any quantity of hired labour. To equate this ceiling in rural areas to urban incomes may be correct according to some sentimental or strictly logical approach, but I do not see how it can be dealt with in the same way. We try, of course, gradually to equate the two incomes, but the methods adopted in regard to urban incomes are entirely different because the problem is a different one.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

194. File No. 17(97)/56-61-PMS.

195. 64th annual session of the INC, held at Nagpur, 9-11 Jan. 1959.

196. The Dhebar Sub-Committee Report; see item 2, fn 35, for details.



171. To N.G. Ranga<sup>197</sup>

December 25, 1958

My dear Ranga,<sup>198</sup>

I have received your letter of the 23rd December. I have also received the representation you have sent me urging that ceilings should be introduced simultaneously on agricultural incomes and on industrial, commercial or professional incomes.<sup>199</sup>

This matter is, of course, of importance and has often been discussed. On the broad principle that there should be no discrimination and that we should aim at progressive equality, there is not much dispute, at least I hope, among Congressmen. But opinions differ as to how to attain this objective. I should have welcomed some kind of proposals in the representation. All that is hinted at there is that incomes of Government employees or professional employees should have a ceiling.

I do not think it is correct to say that there should be ceilings on income in rural areas. The ceiling is on the holding of land, which is a different thing. It is a well recognised fact that large land holdings are antisocial and prevent the growth of a community, that is, where the population is large and there are many landless people. It would be different if the population was limited and there was a great deal of land available. One of the first steps that any country takes in order to advance socially and economically is land reform. This land reform inevitably includes some kind of land distribution above a certain ceiling. This is what the Americans did even in Japan. Thus, this is not socialism, but the inevitable necessity of the situation.

People living in rural areas can add to their incomes in any way open to them. Thus, the income need not be limited. We want small industries to increase greatly and flourish in rural areas. Then there are so many ancillary industries. It is only in a very backward system of agriculture that people rely on large holdings. If this agriculture is to advance, we have to adopt socially progressive measures, and these include a limitation on the holding of land, intensive cultivation and subsidiary industries.

This I feel is the only result we can arrive at in so far as land is concerned. The other question that arises is what we have to do to so-called urban or industrial or professional incomes. How exactly does one limit these incomes? The normal

197. File No. 32(5)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

198. Congress Lok Sabha MP, Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.

199. A representation from more than 90 members of the CPP proposed.

way is heavy taxation, and I am not aware of any other feasible way. Further, all industrial progress depends today on Science, Technology, etc. We have to encourage this in every way. This requires highly specialised training and the demand for such people is so great that we are unable to keep our well-trained men in India as they are called out to other countries. We pay them one-third or one-quarter of what they can get in other countries.

I am pointing out just one consideration to be borne in mind. I think that the people who have signed the memorandum, perhaps, have not given thought to this aspect of the problem.

The problem is with us, of course, and we have to take measures progressively to equalise matters in rural and urban areas. But the way is to raise rural incomes, both from intensification of production from land and from rural industry, not taking some step which acts as an effective barrier to all industrial or like progress. I should, therefore, like the signatories of the memorandum to consider this matter and make suggestions which we can consider and discuss.

Social justice is an obvious aim that we must keep in view. But there will be not much social justice or socialism if we cannot drag ourselves out of the state of poverty and underdevelopment that we are in. Social justice may lead to the conclusion logically that we should immediately equalise all incomes and property holding in India. Even if that was possible, it would result in no great gain to anybody and a sudden winding up of most of our work in industry and other spheres.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 172. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>200</sup>

December 26, 1958

My dear Ajit,

I am much concerned to find that directions have not yet been issued to State Governments about wholesale trading in foodgrains. This decision was taken by the National Development Council early in November. However complicated the subject, surely it should not require months to give effect to a matter which is considered of urgent importance. I hear criticisms of this delay all over the place. I should have thought that instructions could be issued within 10 days or

200. A.P. Jain Papers, NMML.



so of the decision. At least preliminary instructions could have been issued then to be followed up by fuller instructions a week or two later.

Here is a vital decision which has created a great deal of interest and some controversy in the country and if we delay in this matter, we shall be put to ridicule and many people will say that we really do not mean what we say. State Governments can well take shelter under the excuse that they are waiting for the Central Government's instructions. Meanwhile time passes and the matter may well become beyond control at least till the next season.

I repeat that I think that it is of urgent importance to send some directions almost immediately.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 173. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>201</sup>

December 27, 1958

My dear Ajit,

I think I mentioned to you that when I went to Roorkee and visited the Building Research Institute,<sup>202</sup> I was told that they had made some very suitable model godowns for storage of grain in villages. Unfortunately no use had been made of them. I mentioned this matter at a function of the Indian Standards Institution here.<sup>203</sup>

Now the Indian Standards Institution has sent me some papers and six models. They complain also that while they have worked on these hard, nobody paid attention to them and many of the evils of storage continue. I am sending you these models as well as the papers sent by the ISI to me. I do wish something was done in this matter. I think that your Ministry should get in touch with the Building Research Institute at Roorkee and ask them for their models also. Then, having selected one or more models, you could ask the Community Development people to take them up in the villages, apart from your own Ministry.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

201. A.P. Jain Papers, NMML.

202. Nehru visited the Central Building Research Institute on 26 Nov. 1958.

203. Inauguration of a convention, 24 Nov.; for details of granary model, see item 146.

**174. To Y.S. Parmar<sup>204</sup>**

December 28, 1958

My dear Parmar,<sup>205</sup>

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of the 13th December. It has been difficult for me to keep up with my correspondence because of heavy work.

In your letter you refer to something that apparently appeared in the *Blitz* to the effect that I have suggested the removal of the ban on the cultivation of poppy in some areas because of the poverty of the people. I have not seen this report. It is completely untrue. I have made no such proposal.

What happens sometimes is that I receive representations from lots of people and I forward them to the Ministry concerned for them to consider it. Possibly I received a representation to this effect and forwarded it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**175. To Achal Singh<sup>206</sup>**

30th December, 1958

My dear Achal Singhji,<sup>207</sup>

I shall be grateful if you could let me have some information confidentially. I have been told that Messrs Chiternal Ram Dayal of Agra, Commission and Wholesaler Agents in grain, purchased a large quantity of khandsari sugar in Bareilly in a forward contract and then managed to get the rates increased by Rs 5/- per maund. By this manoeuvre they made a lot of money.

Further that the same firm purchased the forward beejak of arhar and stocked arhar in large quantities at Hapur and Agra. Having controlled this in a large measure, they manoeuvred to raise the rates even though there was good season of arhar. Prices in fact shot up higher than ever in the last 50 years.

I am further told that the firm is now beginning to do forward business in gur and trying to store large quantities of this.

204. JN Collection.

205. Congress Lok Sabha MP from Mahasu, Himachal Pradesh.

206. File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

207. Congress Lok Sabha MP from Agra, Uttar Pradesh.



I am writing to you confidentially to request you to find out and let me know about these matters.<sup>208</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 176. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>209</sup>

30th December, 1958

My dear Ajit,

The Soviet Ambassador<sup>210</sup> saw our Secretary-General<sup>211</sup> a few days ago and discussed the question of increased agricultural production in India. The Ambassador is, I believe, some kind of an expert on this subject. He said he was greatly interested in it and would like to see me to have a talk about it. I hope to see him probably on the 3rd or 4th January.

The Ambassador's idea is that the Government should set up a sizeable public sector in agriculture by establishing large-scale farms in the different States. For this purpose, the Government should, as far as possible, bring into use land which has hitherto remained uncultivated. Such farms would not only serve as model farms which would help in popularising efficient methods of cultivation, but would enable the Government to build up reserves of foodgrains without having to rely as now either on imports or on local procurement from cultivators.

To some extent, this was I believe the practice adopted by the Soviet Government in the early years. There, of course, conditions were and are different from ours. But it does seem an idea worth exploring. If we have a few such large-scale farms, we would get all the produce for our Central reserve.

208. Achal Singh replied on 3 Jan. 1959 that the market impact of this firm's forward trade in khandsari sugar was insignificant; but he did not say anything about their manipulating prices as Nehru charged. Again, he did not confirm or deny that the firm had manipulated arhar prices, only that it had made a profit of Rs 15 to 20 lakhs when the Government stopped forward trading in the commodity. As for gur the firm had bought 10 to 12 lakh maunds at Rs 12-8-0 per maund at the start of the season; the price now was Rs 16 per maund. He also complained about smuggling induced by the sealing of zones and official corruption.

209. File No. 31(30)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

210. P.K. Ponomarenko.

211. N.R. Pillai.

What exactly is the position of the big farm you are putting up with Soviet machinery?<sup>212</sup> You wrote to me about it some time ago but I should like to have later information. Is it a State farm and do we get the produce of it directly?

I should like to have your reply before I see the Soviet Ambassador.<sup>213</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 177. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>214</sup>

December 30, 1958

My dear Ajit,

Your letter of December 30th.

So far as Kerala is concerned, you should act according to our talk the other day. If the miller does not comply with orders on him, we should, of course, call upon the Andhra Government to take action under the Essential Commodities Act.<sup>215</sup> If they refuse, we shall certainly consider what we can do then. In any event, we must take such actions as we consider proper.

As regards Orissa, I am going tomorrow to Cuttack, and I shall speak to the Chief Minister there.

I agree with you that there is likelihood of our having a good deal of non-cooperation from the State Governments. I do not think that will last very long, provided we persist in our policy and programme. Anyhow, we have to act according to our lights.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

212. The Suratgarh Central State Farm in the Sri Ganganagar district of Rajasthan. The first mechanised farm, it was established in 1956 with Soviet machinery, gifted before the visit of the Soviet leaders, N.A. Bulganin and N.S. Khrushchev (Nov.-Dec., 1955).

213. Nehru met the Soviet Ambassador on 4 Jan. 1959.

214. File No. 31(85)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

215. The Government assumed powers by the Essential Commodities Act of 1955 to control the production, supply, distribution, and pricing of essential commodities.



**178. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>216</sup>**

December 31, 1958

My dear Ajit,

L.G. Rajwade<sup>217</sup> came to see me some days ago, and I talked to him about the Central Warehousing Corporation.<sup>218</sup> I asked him to send me a note on this which he has done. The following paragraph appears in the note:

“The new scheme of States engaging in wholesale trade in foodgrains opens out very great possibilities for the State & Central Warehousing Corporations; we could perhaps legitimately ask to be entrusted with the storage of grain held on Government account. Our interest in the kharif areas, where heavy procurement is likely to be undertaken during the next few weeks, is particularly great and the Corporation will be grateful if a hint could be thrown out that in surplus areas, storage of foodgrains which are being acquired, should be done at a warehouse where one exists not only in the current kharif but during all the subsequent seasons to come. This will enable the Corporation not only to go full steam ahead with their work of preservation and quality grading, but also adapting their programme of construction to the actual needs of the areas.”

I think that it would be a good thing if you drew the attention of the State Governments to this suggestion that our warehouses should be used by them more especially in connection with this wholesale trade business.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

216. File No. 31(85)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

217. (1912-1999); joined the ICS, 1937; Collector in various districts of Sind before Partition, and in Nasik, 1948; Civil Administrator, Aurangabad, 1948-50; Chief Secretary, Hyderabad State, 1950-51; Divisional Commissioner, Nagpur, 1956-57; Joint Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 1959-62; Chairman, Regional Planning Board, Bombay Metropolitan Region, 1967; Chief Secretary, Government of Maharashtra, 1970-72; a founder member of the Ecological Society, Poona, 1982.

218. Established in 1957 to provide logistical support to the agricultural sector, it now handles warehousing services for industrial products also, and offers warehousing consultancy services and training.

(c) Industry and Labour

**179. A Strong Trade Union Essential<sup>219</sup>**

रामचन्द्र भाई,<sup>220</sup> भाइयो और बहिनो,  
एक ज़माने से, बहुत दिन से, कोशिश हो रही थी कि मैं यहाँ आऊँ। चार बार द्रविडजी<sup>221</sup>  
आये, रामचन्द्र भाई मेरे पास आए, मुझे याद दिलाया, मुझसे वायदा करवाया यहाँ आने का,  
और मैंने वायदा किया, लेकिन कुछ न कुछ रुकावट आ गयी। तो आज जब मैं यहाँ आया  
तो मुझे इस बात की खुशी हुई। एक तो यों भी एक वायदा पूरा किया मैंने, दूसरे यह कि  
वो कुछ, बहुत कुछ मैंने सुना था आप लोगों के काम के बारे में, उसको खुद मैं देख सका  
और कुछ उसका अंदाज़ लगा सका, और मैं साफ-साफ आपसे कह दूँ, मेरे ऊपर उसका  
बड़ा असर हुआ है। (तालियाँ)

तो, क्योंकि असर होता है सबमें ज़्यादा जब कोई लोग या कोई व्यक्ति अपने ऊपर भरोसा  
करके आगे बढ़ते हैं। इससे ज़्यादा कोई धन-दौलत किसी व्यक्ति या किसी राष्ट्र के लिए  
नहीं है कि यहाँ के लोग अपने ऊपर भरोसा करके आगे बढ़ते हैं। और बहुत सारी बातें जो  
महात्माजी ने हमें सिखाई, उसमें एक बहुत बड़ी बात यह थी कि, थोड़ा ही हमने सीखा,  
कुछ सीखा उस ज़माने में, कि अपने ऊपर भरोसा करो। हमारे स्वराज की लड़ाई में हमने,

219. Speech inaugurating Workers' Training College at Indore, 3 November 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

A first of its kind in the country, the college was constructed through voluntary contributions and labour of the textile workers of Indore by the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh within the campus of Shram Shivir, headquarters of the Madhya Pradesh branch of the INTUC. It had been completed about two years before and cost some Rs three lakh.

220. Most probably Ramsingh Bhai Verma (1912-1991); social and trade union worker; participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 and Quit India Movement in 1942; engaged in trade union work since 1932; General Secretary, Indore Textile Labour Association, 1942; President, Indore Textile Labour Association since 1947; President, Madhya Pradesh Branch of INTUC since 1947; Secretary, National Textile Federation, 1949; Vice-President, INTUC, 1953; Member, Madhya Bharat Legislative Assembly, 1949-56; Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Nimad constituency, Madhya Pradesh, 1957-62.

221. Vyankatesh Vishnu Dravid (1913-1994); jailed in the freedom movement; worked as official in Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association, 1937-40; organised labour in Indore and other centres in Central India, 1941-49; Founder-Member, INTUC; Minister, in Holkar State, 1949, in Madhya Bharat, 1952-56 and in Madhya Pradesh, 1956-64; President, INTUC, 1965-67; President, Indore Mill Mazdoor Sangh and Madhya Pradesh INTUC; Vice-President, Indian National Textile Workers' Federation.



हमें पसंद था कि और दुनिया के देश हमसे सहानुभूति रखें, मित्रता करें, लेकिन हमने किसी के सामने हाथ नहीं फैलाया पैसे के लिए, न किसी और तरह की सहायता के लिए। और सच बात यह थी कि जिस ढंग से हमारा स्वराज का आंदोलन था, उसमें बाहर की सहायता भी बहुत अधिक नहीं हो सकती थी। हाँ, सहानुभूति की, हमदर्दी की हो सकती थी। और लड़ाइयाँ होती हैं वहाँ, हथियारों की होती हैं, सहायता और हथियार माँगे जाते हैं बहुत कुछ, उसकी हमें आवश्यकता नहीं थी। खैर, तो गांधीजी ने कहा था, पुरानी बात है, कि अपने ऊपर जो कौम भरोसा करती है, अपनी मदद करती है, उसी की ईश्वर भी करता है, वह आगे बढ़ती है। जिस दर्जे हमने इस सबक को सीखा उतना ही हमारा देश बढ़ा है, जितना और सीखेंगे उतना ही तेजी से हम बढ़ेंगे। इसलिए जहाँ मुझे यह मिसाल मिलती है कि खुद लोग कुछ करते हैं अपनी मेहनत से अपने लिए, तो मेरा दिल खुश होता है। वह आपने एक इमारत बनाई और तो इसलिए, इस इमारत और इस काम के लिए, आपको बधाई, मुबारकबाद। (तालियाँ) और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि कुछ, यह जो तरीका आपने यहाँ चलाया, उसका असर और भारत में भी पड़ेगा, आपकी संख्या के जो भाग हैं और और जगह।

दूसरी बात यह कि जो मैं आज गया कुछ आपके जो नयी आबादियाँ बसी हैं, नन्दा नगर और जिस जगह का नाम आपने जहाँ तक मुझे मालूम है, बगैर मुझे पूछे नेहरू नगर रखा है, और मैं आपको बता दूँ एक ज़माना हुआ, बहुत पुरानी बात है, कोई तीस बरस से ऊपर की बात है, जब मैंने यह कहा था कि कायदा कानून होना चाहिए हिन्दुस्तान में कि किसी आदमी, जो ज़िंदा है, उसका नाम कहीं नहीं रखना चाहिए। मैं एक ज़माने में Allahabad Municipality का चैयरमैन था,<sup>222</sup> तो मैंने municipality में कायदा बनाया, जो कि बाद में लोगों ने उसको उखाड़-पछाड़ के फेंक दिया, कि कोई ज़िंदा आदमी का नाम नहीं रखना चाहिए, न सड़क पर, न इमारत पर, न पार्क पर, न किसी जगह। जब मर जाए तो और बात है। अच्छा, हाँ, तो होता क्या था? होता क्या है आप जानते हैं? Municipality के लोग जितने अपने member हैं उनके नाम से सड़कें बना देते हैं। अजीब तमाशा है। कोई बहुत प्रसिद्ध आदमी दुनिया में नहीं होते हैं वे, लेकिन कम से कम वह अपना नाम जमा देते हैं किसी सड़क पर, इमारत पर। तो इसलिए यह अच्छा कायदा है कि किसी जीवित पुरुष का नाम नहीं रखना चाहिए। मरने के बाद ज़रा तराजू से आप उसको तौल सकते हैं और फिर शायद दबाव भी नहीं पड़े आप पर कि आप लिहाज़ में आके, कौन नहीं कहे वगैरह, एक-दूसरे के आके, मंजूर कर लेते हैं। खैर, तो मैं यहाँ गया, और मुझे इसमें बहुत दिलचस्पी है, यह slum areas, गंदी बस्तियों के हटाने में, और ठीक-ठीक मकान, घर बनें, तो बहुत सारी बातों को मैंने यहाँ देखा। मुझे पसंद आई, कुछ विचार भी हुए, और कुछ मुझे पूरा समय भी नहीं मिला कुछ पूछने का बाज़ बातें जो मैं जानना चाहता था, लेकिन आम असर मेरे ऊपर अच्छा हुआ।

222. Nehru was the chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board from Apr. 1923 to Jan. 1925.

और जो आपने बच्चों के लिए प्रबंध किया है maternity वगैरह का अच्छा है—लेकिन यह तो आपने एक तरीका शुरू किया है कुछ मैं आधा ही समझा—जिसको आप नेहरू नगर कहते हैं<sup>223</sup> उसमें मुझे बहुत पसंद आया वह। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसमें तरक्की हो सके। लेकिन उसूल मुझे पसंद आया। मैंने एक दफे कहा था गंदी बस्तियों के सिलसिले में यह जो बड़ी-बड़ी योजनायें बनती हैं उनके लिए मकान बनाने के लिए, इतनी बड़ी योजना बनती है कि पैसा नहीं होता, याने जो होता ही नहीं कुछ, तो ऐसी हालत में मैंने कहा पहली बात यह है मकान आप न बनाइये किसी के लिए, आप जमीन तैयार कीजिए, आप जमीन में पानी का इंतजाम कीजिए, drainage का इंतजाम कीजिए, रोशनी का इंतजाम कीजिए, जो बुनियादी चीजें हैं उसके लिए। मैं अक्सर देखता हूँ municipality कहीं-कहीं मकान बना देती है, न पानी है, न रोशनी है, न drainage है, मकान बना दिया, यह निकम्मी बात है। मकान से ज़्यादा ज़रूरत होती है पानी की, रोशनी की और drainage की। मकान न भी हों तो मुझे मंजूर है। जमीन ऐसी जहाँ यह बातें हों, बजाए इसके कि मकान हों जिसमें यह ज़रूरी बातें नहीं हों। इसलिए यह बात मुझे बिल्कुल पसंद आई कि municipality या जो कोई करता है, वह जिनकी यह सामाजिक सेवाएँ हैं, social services हैं, वह पहले होनी चाहिए, मकान की ईंट-पत्थर रखने के पहले, चाहे मकान न बने, मकान पीछे बन जाएगा। लेकिन यह गलत बात है, ख़तरनाक बात है, कि मकान बन जाए बगैर social services के। वे फिर रह जाती हैं और नये मकान होते हैं वह भी गंदी बस्तियाँ हो जाती हैं थोड़े दिन बाद, यह ख़तरा है। तो यह बात मुझे पसंद आई कि यहाँ जोर दिया गया है यही सामाजिक सवालों पर, social services पर, कि यहाँ उन्होंने पानी का प्रबंध किया, कुछ drainage का है, रोशनी का है, और कुछ उन्होंने बना भी दिए कुछ गुसलखाने वगैरह, बाकी छोड़ दिया मकान बनाना। तो उसूलन यह ठीक बात है। इसमें क्या तरमीमें हों, क्या तरक्की हो यह गौरतलब है, तो वह भी ठीक है।

अब दो-चार बातें मैं आपसे—समय कम है, देर हो गयी है और जाना है, लेकिन दो-चार बातें मैं, आम बातें, कहूँगा आपसे। यह कुछ पास से कुछ दूर से, मेरा संबंध मजदूर दल से रहा यहाँ, कुछ थोड़ा सा और देशों में भी रहा, बहुत अधिक तो नहीं लेकिन कुछ रहा, कोई तीस बरस से, इससे भी शायद अधिक। मैंने इसके इतिहास पढ़े और देशों में जहाँ कि सौ बरस पुराना है। कोई भारत का भी मैं जानता हूँ और दिलचस्पी मैंने ली और मेरी राय हमेशा से रही कि मजदूरों के मजदूर दल, trade unions वगैरह आवश्यक हैं और उनको मजबूत होना चाहिए। और इसी तरह से वह अपनी रक्षा कर सकते हैं, अपनी उन्नति कर सकते हैं और इसी तरह वह जाब्वे से आगे बढ़ सकते हैं, हुल्लड़बाजी से नहीं। और वह ठीक है। वह ठीक है और होना चाहिए। लेकिन एक और बात, वह यह कि ज़माना तेजी से बदल

223. Nehru also inaugurated two model houses of the slum clearance scheme to rehabilitate 7,100 families at Khajrani. The settlement, named after Nehru, was estimated to cost about Rs one crore.



रहा है और यह हरेक को समझना चाहिए कि ज़माना इतना ज़्यादा बदल रहा है तेज़ी से कि हम और आप पिछड़े जाते हैं, याद रखिए, और बड़ी कोशिश करते हैं उसको पकड़ने की, लेकिन वह आगे चलता जाता है। और इसलिए बड़े पेंच हैं हमारे मुल्क में और दुनिया में। वह पुरानी कहानियाँ मजदूर दल और हड़ताल और lockout और कारख़ाने के मालिक वगैरह के झगड़े और उनके फ़ायदे और लाभ, उनकी बुरी बातें और अच्छी बातें यह सब चलती जाती हैं और चलेंगी कुछ रोज़।

लेकिन वाक़्या यह है कि आजकल के ज़माने में इसका संबन्ध कम हो गया है, इस बात का, पुरानी बात का, पुरानी बात है। हालाँकि यह आजकल है, मैं जानता हूँ, लेकिन आजकल के ज़माने से पिछड़ गयी है, और हल्के-हल्के ख़त्म हो गयी है। यह रिश्ता भी, एक मजदूर और मालिक का यह रिश्ता, वह कभी न कभी ख़त्म होना है। ज़माना बदलता है। जैसे रिश्ता एक बड़े ज़मींदार और काश्तकार का था, वह ख़त्म हुआ। तो यह रिश्ते चलते गये और उसमें किसी का कसूर नहीं है। हमने ज़मींदार को अलग किया, कुछ ज़मींदार भले थे, कुछ बुरे थे। ज़मींदार का कसूर नहीं था, एक प्रथा का कसूर था। वह एक पुराने ज़माने में ठीक थी, नये ज़माने में नहीं रही वह ठीक, उसको हटाना पड़ा। ज़माना बदलता है। हम बैठके ज़मींदारों को गालियाँ दें तो गलत बात है, यह मूर्खता की बात है। उनका कोई कसूर नहीं। उनमें कोई अच्छे हैं, कोई बुरे हैं। हम जागीरदारों को बुरा भला कहें, वह भी कोई अच्छे हैं, कोई बुरे हैं, लेकिन ज़मींदारी प्रथा आजकल के ज़माने में नहीं चल सकती। उसका हमें अन्त करना है, क्योंकि ज़माना बदलता है। इसी तरह से ज़माना बदलता है और जो यह रिश्ता रहा है बड़े-छोटे इत्यादि कारख़ानों का, मालिक-मजदूर का, वह भी आजकल के ज़माने में ठीकतौर से खपता नहीं है। आजकल के ज़माने में बहुत कुछ और चलेगा बहुत कुछ, लेकिन खपता नहीं। तो उसको भी बदलना है, शान्ति से बदलना है, मिलकर बदलना है, सहयोग से बदलना है, लेकिन बदलना है। वह बात चलती नहीं। (तालियाँ)

क्योंकि, और यह शब्द भी जो है, मजदूर दल, यह दल, वह दल, यह भी कुछ अब गलत हो गये हैं, या गलत होने चाहिए। अपने-अपने ढंग से देश के हर रहने वाले को मज़बूत होना चाहिए। अपने-अपने ढंग से मैंने कहा, क्योंकि एक काम सब नहीं करते हैं, तरह-तरह के काम करते हैं, लेकिन बुनियादी तौर से हरेक को काम करना है, देश में अपनी मेहनत से कुछ पेश करना है। और वो ज़िम्मेदार लोग हों, जो ज़्यादा तेज़ लोग हों, जाहिर है उनको ज़िम्मेदारी ज़्यादा मिलेगी, इसलिए नहीं कि वह ऊँची जाति के हैं, ऊँचे ख़ानदान के हैं कुछ, लेकिन उनमें माद़ा ज़्यादा है, ज़िम्मेदारी ओढ़ सकते हैं। जाहिर सी बात है। हमें एक बड़ा काम करना है, कोई engineering का, तो हम एक engineer को ढूँढते हैं जो एक अच्छा engineer हो। उसमें कोई यह नहीं कि वह किसी ज़ात का हो, किसी ख़ानदान का हो, कि राजा का बेटा है कि नहीं, अच्छा engineer होना चाहिए और जो अच्छा हो, जिस ढंग से अच्छा हुआ हो। तो इस ढंग से इंसान में दो बातें होनी चाहिए, एक तो हरेक को बराबर

का मौका मिलना चाहिए, सीखने का, यह बड़ी भारी बात है, देशभर में हरेक को बराबर का मौका मिले, पुरुष, स्त्री, हर जाति को। बराबर का मौका मिलने के माने हैं, पहली बात खाना मिले, काम मिले, घर रहने को हो, पढ़ाई का प्रबंध हो। यह सब सिलसिले हरेक को मिलें। तो उसमें जो तेज दिमाग हों, वह आगे बढ़ेंगे और उनको बढ़ना चाहिए, मौका हरेक को बराबर का हो। अब उसमें जो अधिक कर सकते हैं, अक्लमंद ज़्यादा हैं, तेज हैं, वह आगे बढ़ेंगे, अच्छी बात है, उनको ज़्यादा ज़िम्मेदारी मिलेगी, ज़्यादा बड़े काम उनके सुपुर्द होंगे। जो कम कर सकते हैं कम होंगे उनके। तो इस तरह से समाज हल्के-हल्के बदलें और बदलेंगे, और हिन्दुस्तान की बात नहीं, दुनिया में।

और इसमें यह भी आप समझें कि बड़े प्रश्न होते हैं समाजवाद, साम्यवाद, और पूंजीवाद वगैरह, और इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि फर्क है उनमें, उन विचारों में, लेकिन बुनियादी तौर से आप देखें तो वह सब इसी तरफ जा रहे हैं चाहे पूंजीवाद, चाहे समाजवाद, चाहे साम्यवाद, सब उसी तरफ जा रहे हैं, जिसको welfare state कहते हैं, जिसको कहते हैं कि अधिक से अधिक बराबरी हो, जिसमें हर एक को मौका मिले, उसी तरफ सब जा रहे हैं, आजकल की दुनिया का दस्तूर है। और यह बात छिप जाती है, बड़ी-बड़ी बहसों में यह बात, कि सब दुनिया उधर जा रही है। कुछ एक रास्ते से जा रही है कुछ ज़रा दूसरे रास्ते से। हम किस रास्ते से जा रहे हैं, यह हमें निश्चय करना है, क्योंकि हम कोई वजह नहीं कि हम कोई किताब में लिखा हुआ रास्ता है, अमरीका की किताब में या रूस की किताब में या जापान की किताब में या किसी और किताब में, उसको आँखें बंद करके चलें। हम उनकी किताब पढ़ें, हम उनके अभ्यास से, तजुर्बे से, लाभ उठाएँ और खुद निश्चय करें हम किस रास्ते पर चलेंगे, यह बात। लेकिन बात यह है, बुनियादी बात, कि मोटीतौर से सारी दुनिया उधर जा रही है। अगर वहाँ पहुँचे, अगर बीच में अपना नाश न करलें atom bomb वगैरह से, तो दूसरा प्रश्न आ जाता है। तो यह तो मैंने बड़ी बात आपसे कही।

अपने देश की बात, हमारे लिए हम एक तरह से क्रांतिकारी ज़माने में बढ़े। एक तो स्वराज्य आने के बाद बड़े-बड़े काम करने थे, हमें समाज बदलनी थी, और यह था, वह था। दूसरे वह बातें यूरोप में, अमरीका में हुई थीं सौ बरस हुए, वह हमें आज करनी हैं, याने हमें आजकल की यह industrial ज़माने में, कारख़ाने की दुनिया से, हमें पूरीतौर से कदम बढ़ाना है। आपके इंदौर में कई textile mills हों, यह कोई कारख़ानों की गिनती में नहीं है, यह तो बच्चों का खेल है। यह तो हर जगह खड़ी हो जाती है, जिसके पास पैसा हो खड़ा करदे ज़रा सी लाकर मशीन वगैरह। ठीक है, लेकिन वह एक बुनियादी चीज़ नहीं हैं। बुनियादी चीज़ें बन रही हैं आजकल राउरकेला में, भिलाई में, दुर्गापुर में, और जगह, बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारख़ाने, या सिन्ध्री में, या जहाँ बिजली बड़ी पैदा हो रही है भाखड़ा-नांगल में, या दामोदर में, या अभी मैं परसों भोपाल में था, वहाँ वह बड़ा बिजली का कारख़ाना बन रहा है, या हमारे बनने वाले हैं कारख़ाने बड़े-बड़े, जिससे मशीन बनें, जिससे कारख़ाने बनें, याने कारख़ानों के बाप बन रहे हैं, जिनकी औलाद कारख़ाने हों। (तालियाँ) तो यह चीज़ें



एक मुल्क को बदलती हैं, और बदल रही हैं और बदलेंगी भी तेजी से, अभी तो बुनियाद पड़ी है। यों तो आपके यहाँ पर, या हिन्दुस्तान में textile mills वगैरह बम्बई, अहमदाबाद, इंदौर, कानपुर, मद्रास कहाँ-कहाँ हैं। उसने तो नक्शा हिन्दुस्तान का नहीं बदला, हाँ, कुछ लोगों को काम मिला और बात है, कुछ लोगों को फायदा हुआ, लेकिन अब ऐसी बातें हो रही हैं जिसको कहते हैं क्रांति की। वह क्रांति के सिलसिले और बढ़ें।

दो चीजों से देश बढ़ता है, कारखाने बढ़ते हैं—एक तो कितना वहाँ लोहा पैदा होता है और दूसरा कितनी वहाँ power, बिजली की शक्ति, और शक्ति। और शक्ति दो चीजों से बढ़ती है, और चीजें ऊपरी चीजें हैं। और आप इसका अंदाज़ कर सकते हैं कौन देश बढ़ा हुआ है अगर आप पूछें, वगैर देश का हाल जाने आप पूछिए, इस देश में कितना लोहा पैदा होता है, कितनी बिजली की शक्ति है। बस दो बातों से आप आँखें बंद करके कह सकते हैं देश कहाँ है। यह बातें हमें बढ़ानी हैं यहाँ। उसकी औलाद होती है उसकी चीजें और निकलती हैं, बढ़ती हैं, तो यह ग़रज़ कि एक क्रांति भारत में हो रही है। क्रांति ख़ाली इसमें नहीं कि चीजों के पैदा करने में, नयी-नयी चीजें होंगी, कारखाने होंगे, काम होगा, यह सब बातें, लेकिन उसका असर पड़ता है समाज के संगठन पर, समाज के ऊपर, समाज की आदतों पर। और इसलिए हम एक दरवाज़े पर हैं, बल्कि कुछ दरवाज़े के अंदर घुस आये हैं, अपने समाज के संगठन को बदलने के लिए, समाज के परिवर्तन के लिए। एक जो बिल्कुल खेतिहर समाज होती है उसका एक संगठन होता है, जो एक industrial कारखाने की होती है, उसका बदलने लगता है। आजकल हम ये कर रहे हैं। तो जो क्रांति सौ बरस हुए यूरोप वगैरह में हुई थी, वह क्रांति हमारे यहाँ अब हो रही है। फर्क इतना है कि उससे तेजी से हो रहा है। जाहिर है हम कोई सौ बरस थोड़े ही लगायेंगे इसके करने में, तेजी से करना है। उसमें कठिनाई है और कैसे समय में करना है जबकि यूरोप में और और दुनिया में एक और भी एक बड़ी क्रांति होने वाली है वह atomic energy की, अणु शक्ति की।

पहले बड़ी क्रांतियाँ हुईं। कैसे हुई? कि मशीन वगैरह जो आप देखते हैं, कैसे? एक बड़ी शक्ति पकड़ी थी वो मशीन चला सकती थी। क्या शक्ति थी पहले? शक्ति तो वह मामूली भाप थी, steam। आपके engine भाप से चलते हैं, आप सोचें आपकी हर रसोई में भाप निकलती है, वह शक्ति है। लेकिन एक आदमी ने हज़ारों वर्षों बाद देखा, यह तो शक्ति है, इसको पकड़ना चाहिए। पकड़ के उसने पहिए बनाये, मशीन चलाई, दुनिया बदलने लगी, रेल चलने लगी, समुद्र के जहाज चलने लगे, उससे समाज बदलने लगे। इस तरह से समाज बदलती है। व्याख्यानों से नहीं बदलती है, या उपदेशों से। वह बदलती है जब रहन-सहन का तरीका बदल जाता है, जब नई शक्ति आती है। तो steam ने आकर बदला, भाप ने। उसके बाद बिजली आयी। वह एक बड़ी शक्ति है। बिजली कोई नई चीज़ थोड़े ही थी, वह एक बड़ी शक्ति थी बिजली, हज़ारों बरस से लोग आसमान में देखते थे कड़कती हुई। लेकिन, कुछ समझदार आदमियों ने देखा, क्या चीज़ है उसको समझें। आपको मालूम है एक बाज़ लोग कैसे उसको समझने का यत्न करते थे। एक थे अमेरिका में बड़े आदमी, उन्होंने

पतंग उड़ाई। पतंग बादलों में भेजी जहाँ बिजली कड़क रही थी और देखा कि उस धागे से, तार से, कितनी आ सकती है, इस तरह से एक आजमाकर वह समझे कि बिजली कैसे बन सकती है, रगड़कर, वगैरह-वगैरह। बिजली बनाई, और बिजली को जमा किया, और अब तार से भेजते हैं, खैर, पंखे और बिजली सब, तो होती है रोशनी, लेकिन बड़े-बड़े कारखाने बिजली से चलते हैं,<sup>224</sup> बड़ी शक्ति है। बिजली ने आके समाज को बदला और दुनिया को, और बदल रही है। अब अणु शक्ति आई।

गोया के हम बड़े क्रांतिकारी जमाने में हैं और एक तो पहले हम वह क्रांति को हम पूरा करें जो सौ बरस हुए हुई थी यूरोप में। और एक यह आज एक नई शक्ति है। तो हम पिछड़ गये। पहले करते-करते वह आगे बढ़ गये, फिर हम पिछड़ गये। यह जमाना है, और जमाना जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा दुनिया में है, एक चाहे उसका नाम कुछ रखो, चाहे उसको स्वीकार लोग न भी करें, लेकिन समाजवाद की तरफ जाने का जमाना है। खैर, हम तो जाना ही चाहते हैं। तो ऐसी हालत में हमें इतना हमें काम करना है, इतनी ताकत से हमें करना है अपने देश में, कि हम पिछड़ न जाएँ, आगे बढ़ें, लाभ उठायें, इस क्रांति से, इनको पूरा करें। क्योंकि आखिर में वो परिश्रम से होती हैं बातें, कानून से तो होती नहीं। कानून से क्रांति हो जाए, कानून से चीजें बन जाएँ, या कोई नारों से हो जाए, वह तो परिश्रम से, चाहे परिश्रम अमेरिका करे, पूंजीवादी देश में, चाहे साम्यवादी देश में, रूस में काम हो। दोनों जगह परिश्रमी लोग करते हैं, याद रखिए, और दोनों जगह कितनी ही आपस में बहस करें या झगड़ा करें, कारखाने में काम करेंगे। तो एक सा काम करते हैं, और जो ज्यादा परिश्रम करता है वह ज्यादा पैदा करता है। जिसकी ज्यादा अकल है, वो ज्यादा परिश्रम करता है। कोई कारखाने में फर्क नहीं हो जाता साम्यवादी देश में और पूंजीवादी देश में। वह एक ही ढंग के हैं। क्योंकि दोनों औलाद हैं विज्ञान की। तो यह बात है, यह बनाने हैं।

अब हमारे यह इम्तहान का सवाल है, क्योंकि यह बातें अपने आप तो भारत में नहीं होंगी। यह तो होंगी हमारी मेहनत से, परिश्रम से, सारी जनता के, मिलकर, और वो चीज उसमें रास्ते में, आप हमारे परिश्रम के, जो चीज हमारे धन-दौलत पैदा करने के, सामान पैदा करने के रास्ते में आए, वह रुकावट डालती है और क्रांति से दूर करती है, पास नहीं करती। तो जमाना दूसरा आ गया, इसलिए पहले जो भी कुछ हो, आजकल के जमाने में यह एक गुनाह है कि हम ढील दें इन बड़े कामों में, पैदा करने में, चाहे वह हड़ताल से हो, चाहे वह lockout से हो, चाहे वह किसी और तरह से हो।

अब यह बात सही है, यह तो इसलिए मैंने आपसे कह दिया सब स्वीकार करलें लेकिन जब अन्याय होता हो तो क्या किया जाए? अन्याय होता है उसमें कोई संदेह नहीं, तो उसका उपाय ढूँढना चाहिए। यह नहीं कि हम लाठी के जोर से उसको निश्चय करें। वह

224. Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) charged a jar from a key at the end of a kite string in June 1752.



तो एक पुराना ढंग हो गया। लेकिन उसका ठीक प्रबंध होना चाहिए और प्रबंध किये जाएँ और इसलिए मजबूत trade union की जरूरत है कि शान्ति से, अपनी शक्ति से, मशवरे से, सलाह से, यह बातें तय हों। क्योंकि [अन्याय] होता है। उसकी कोई मदद भी नहीं कर सकता है, न दुर्बल की मदद कर सकता है, न बहुत मदद हो सकती है जो, क्या कहूँ, जो कि एक जिसमें कोई रोकथाम नहीं है, एक आवागर्दी है, हर वक्त हाथ पैर पटकता है, वह भी जो एक मुश्किल हो जाता है उसको मदद करना। एक trade union है, एक मिलकर संयुक्त शक्ति है लाखों की, जिससे ताकत बढ़ती है कि मिलकर काम करें और समझ बूझकर काम करें, जाया न करें। हर छोटी बात पर लड़ाई न लड़ें। निश्चय करें। खैर, government का, सरकार का, यह इंतजाम होना चाहिए कि ऐसे फैसले इंसाफ से तय हों, और अटके न रहें बहुत दिन तक। उसके जो कुछ प्रबंध हुए हैं, आप जानते हैं।

तो गरज कि यह एक नयी दुनिया के दरवाजे पर आप हैं, और उसमें यकीनन अधिक से अधिक हिस्सा उस नई दुनिया में उन लोगों का होगा जो कि कहा जाए, जो कि मजदूर दल या जो मशीन वगैरह। मजदूर दल में मैं उसको शामिल करता हूँ, सब काम करने वाले बड़े engineer, छोटे engineer, हर तरह के काम करने वाले मजदूर दल, फर्क नहीं है, और सभी को करना है मिलकर काम करना है। तो यह कौम हिन्दुस्तान में बढ़ती जाती है। हम इस वक्त लाखों engineer, overseer, वगैरह, छोटे-मोटे, उन्हें तैयार करने का प्रबंध भारत में कर रहे हैं, क्योंकि अब पुराने BA, MA की पूछ कम हो गयी है, आप जानते हैं, लेकिन एक overseer की पूछ ज़्यादा है, BA, MA से। दुनिया बदल रही है व overseer की जरूरत ज़्यादा है। BA, MA भी काम करते हैं, और करेंगे और अच्छा काम करेंगे, खप जाएँगे। लेकिन इस वक्त जो उलट-पुलट हो रही है हमारे काम में, तो यह हो गया है कि जो लोग इन नये तरह का काम जानें उनको कठिनाई नहीं होती है रोज़गार मिलने में, लेकिन जो कुछ पुराने पढ़े लिखे हैं, उनको कुछ कठिनाई हो जाती है, उनको कुछ नई बातें सीखनी पड़ती हैं।

तो यह नई दुनिया है। तो नई दुनिया में नये दिमाग़ से चलना है, नये ढंग से चलना है, और इस पुरानी दुनिया की तरह महज अपनी शक्ति जाया करना लड़ने-झगड़ने में नहीं, बल्कि अपनी मजबूत शक्ति करके मिलके कदम बढ़ाना है। आपने यह सब बनाया, अपनी एक शक्ति का नमूना दिखाया, यह आपको मुबारक हो।

जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins]

Ram Chand Bhai,<sup>225</sup> brothers and sisters,  
Efforts have been made for a long time to bring me here. Dravidji<sup>226</sup> and Ram Chand Bhai have come to me again and again, reminding me and making me promise to come here. But some obstacle or the other came up. So I am happy to be here at last and I have fulfilled a promise. Besides, I could see whatever I had heard about your work. Let me tell you quite frankly that I am very impressed.

When an institution or some people or an individual advances through self-reliance, it makes a great impact. There can be no greater wealth for an individual or a nation than self-reliance. Of the lessons that we learnt from Gandhiji, the most important one was of self-reliance. During our freedom struggle, we welcomed the sympathy and friendship of other countries. But we never begged for any kind of assistance from others, financial or other. The fact of the matter is that the manner in which we fought for freedom did not require any assistance from outside. There could only be sympathy for us. When wars are fought with weapons, help is sought in the form of weapons and money. But we did not need such assistance. Gandhiji taught us to believe that an ancient race like ours must help itself for God helps those who help themselves. India succeeded to the extent that we learnt that lesson and the more firmly we follow that path, the faster we will advance. Therefore, wherever I find an example of self-reliance, I feel extremely happy. I would like to congratulate you on constructing this building. Secondly, I hope that your effort will set an example to the rest of the country, especially to your branches in other places.

I visited a number of your new colonies, Nanda Nagar and another which you have named Nehru Nagar without, as far as I know, my consent. Let me tell you that thirty years ago I had declared that a rule should be made against naming any building or institution after a living individual. I was the Chairman of the Allahabad Municipality<sup>227</sup> and had made this rule but it was later given up. No road or building or park was to be named after a man who was alive. What happened earlier was that all the members of the municipality used to name one road each after themselves. It is really extraordinary that people who are in no way famous give their names to roads and buildings. So, it is a good rule that nothing should be named after living persons. Perhaps you can judge

225. See fn 220 in this section.

226. See fn 221 in this section.

227. See fn 222 in this section.



### III. DEVELOPMENT

a human being better after his death, when there will be no undue pressure on anyone. Anyhow, I visited these colonies for I am interested in removing the slums and rehabilitating the people living there. I liked many of the things that I saw there. Some new ideas occurred to me but I did not have the time to ask about some of the things that I wanted to know. But the general impression that I carried away with me is good.

The arrangements that you have made for maternity and childcare is good. Though I have seen only half of what you are trying to do in the colony that you have named Nehru Nagar,<sup>228</sup> I liked the general principle. I had once said in connection with slums that instead of drawing up ambitious projects for alternative arrangements requiring a great deal of money, which we do not have, it is better to begin with developing the land for houses by making arrangements for water supply, drainage, electricity, etc., which are essential things. I often see that municipalities build houses with no arrangements for water, electricity or drainage which is absurd. I would much rather have properly developed land rather than houses. Therefore, I liked the principle that the social services should be first provided for even before laying even a brick in the ground. The houses can come up later. But it is wrong and dangerous to put up houses without the social services because even the new colonies become slums in no time at all. I liked the fact that you have laid stress on social services here and provided water supply, drainage and lighting and even some toilets. This is absolutely right in principle. Ways and means of improving this system can be considered.

Now, let me tell you a few things. Time is short and I have to go, but I would like to talk about a few general things. I have had contacts with workers' organisations off and on for thirty years in India and abroad too where the movement is a hundred years old. I have studied its history in India and in other countries and have always been of the view that trade unions are very essential and ought to be strong because they are instruments for the protection of workers' rights and progress. This is the only way they can advance, not by making noise. But we must understand that the times are changing very fast and, in fact, so fast that we may be left behind. We make efforts to keep pace with the times, but the times change too rapidly. So India and the world are facing great difficulties today.

The old tales of trade unions and strikes and lockouts, and the debate on the pros and cons of the struggle between the mill owners and the working classes continue and will do so for some more time. But the fact is that in the present times these things are on the decline. The very concept of the relationship

228. See fn 223 in this section.

between the capitalist and the workers has to go sometime or the other just as the old relationship between the big land-owners and the peasants has come to an end. There was nobody to blame for the zamindari system but the zamindari system had to be abolished. There were good as well bad individuals among the zamindars but mainly it was the system itself which was to be blamed. It may have been relevant in some previous age but it was no longer so in the modern times. So it had to go. The times change. But it is foolish to abuse the zamindars personally for they were not to be blamed. Some of them were good, others were bad. The zamindari system could not exist in the modern times and had to be abolished because the times are changing. Similarly the old system of relationship between the mill owners and the workers is no longer relevant in modern times. It may go on for some time but we have to change it also, gradually and peacefully, and with everyone's cooperation. It cannot continue to exist indefinitely.

For one thing, these very terms, the working class or this class or that class, have become irrelevant today or ought to become irrelevant. Every individual in a country ought to be a worker in his own way. I say "in his own way" because everybody cannot do every task. But basically everyone should do some job and produce something useful. It is obvious that those who are more capable and intelligent will get greater responsibility and this will be not by virtue of their being born in a superior caste or family. It is pretty obvious that only those who have the ability can take on big responsibility. If we want to get an engineering job done, we will look for a good engineer, irrespective of his caste and heredity. What we need are good engineers, no matter what their background is. So everyone in the country must get equal opportunities of education and training, irrespective of caste, creed and sex. First of all, everyone must get enough food, house to live in, education and employment. If these things are available to everyone, the intelligent ones will go very far and take on more responsibilities and the ones who are less so will do as much as they can. In this way, we want to change the entire society.

There are often debates about capitalism and communism and socialism. There is no doubt about it that there are differences in these ideologies. But basically all of them are moving in the same direction towards the concept of a welfare state, in which there is greater equality and opportunity. This is the present trend in the world but it is often clouded by the great arguments that rage over the isms. We must decide which way we want to go to reach this goal. There is no reason for us to copy blindly something which may be written in some Russian or American or Japanese book. We may read their books and learn from their experience, but we must decide for ourselves what we want to do. Broadly speaking, the whole world is moving in a particular direction and will reach its



goal if it does not destroy itself with an atom bomb in the meanwhile.

We are living in revolutionary times today in India. For one thing, we were faced after Independence with the great tasks of changing the entire social organisation of the country. Secondly, we are trying to industrialise India and bring about the kind of industrial revolution which took place in Europe and the United States a hundred years ago. There may be many textile mills in Indore. But they do not matter much for they can be put up anywhere by getting a few machines, provided someone has enough money. It is not a basic industry; it is child's play. The key industries are in Rourkela, Bhilai, Durgapur and other places where there are big steel plants, and there is the fertiliser factory in Sindri, or there is Bhakra-Nangal and Damodar Valley where electricity will be produced, or in Bhopal where I went the day before yesterday and saw a big heavy electricals plant coming up. We are putting up big industries, the father of industries whose progeny will be other industries.

Such things change an entire nation and will speedily do so. We are only laying the foundations just now. The textile mills which have come up all over the country, in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Indore, Madras and elsewhere, have not changed the map of India in any way. It is a different matter that a few people may get jobs. But the other industries are revolutionising the country. A country can advance industrially by two things. One is steel and the other is power, electricity or other kinds of power. The rest of the things are secondary. You can judge how advanced a country industrially is by the amount of steel and electricity it produces. We must increase the production of these two things. The other things are its off-shoots. In short, there is a revolution in India today, not only because new industries will produce more goods and provide more employment, but due to the impact it has on the entire social organisation and customs and traditions. We are on the threshold of great social changes. We are changing from a purely agrarian society to an industrial society. We are doing in India today what happened in Europe a hundred years ago. The only difference is that we have to do it faster because it is obvious that we cannot take a hundred years to industrialise India. There are great difficulties involved and we have to accomplish it at a time when Europe and the western world is on the threshold of a bigger revolution—the nuclear revolution.

How did the earlier revolutions come about? Man had harnessed the great sources of energy hidden in nature, like steam which is an ordinary thing known to human beings for centuries. Now, this steam was utilised to run machines and trains and steamships which revolutionised the entire world. This is how societies change, not by giving lectures. When, the entire way of life of a society changes, it brings new vigour. After steam came electricity; there was also nothing new about it. People all over the world had been seeing lightning

for thousands of years. But it was only when man realised its significance that it began to be used as a source of power. You may have heard how a great man in the United States discovered the conduction of electricity through a kite and gradually the wise people discovered how electricity could be used for lighting and other purposes and, most important of all, to run industries.<sup>229</sup> Electricity has revolutionised the entire world. Now atomic energy has made its appearance.

Thus we are in the midst of a revolutionary era. We must bring about an industrial revolution in India which had happened in Europe more than a hundred years ago. We became backward because we failed to do the same. This is the era, no matter what name you may call it and irrespective of whether people accept it or not, when the world is moving towards socialism. We want to move in that direction too. So we have to work hard and put our entire strength into the progress of the nation because ultimately it is by hard work that revolutions can be brought about and not by passing laws. Whether it is in the United States or the Soviet Union, whether it is a communist country or a capitalist country, people have to work hard. No matter what their ideological differences are, both produce enormous amounts of goods, and the harder they work the more they produce. There are similar industries in both the countries, because they are the off-shoots of modern science.

We are living in these times and it is a testing period for us because these things will not happen in India automatically. It can be done only by the hard work of all the people and anything which comes in the way of production or creates an obstacle, creates a distance between a revolution and us. Times have changed and it is a crime in the modern age to slacken in these big tasks of production and industrialisation, whether it is because of a strike or a lockout or something else.

Now, all this is no doubt true but how is an injustice or an imbalance to be corrected? There is no doubt about it that injustice does happen and so a solution has to be found. The method of force has become outdated. But some appropriate arrangement has to be made. A strong trade union is very essential in order to solve any disputes peacefully and by mutual consultations. A trade union represents the combined strength of millions and is necessary for helping an aggrieved person. It should be capable of strong action, instead of frittering away its energies in futile wrangling. The government, on the other hand, should make arrangements for the speedy solution of disputes. You are aware of the various measures that have been taken in this connection.

229. See fn 224 in this section.



Anyhow, we are on the threshold of a new world and undoubtedly the workers will have a very major role to play in it. I include even the engineers in the class of workers because there is no difference. Everyone must work together. This class is growing in numbers in India because we are making arrangements to train millions of engineers and overseers. As you know, BAs and MAs are of less importance today as compared to an overseer for you need more overseers in this changing world. It is a good thing to have BAs and MAs also. But in the changing conditions we need people who are trained in new kinds of jobs. Those who learn new professions and skills will have less difficulty in finding jobs. Those who have done traditional courses may find it difficult to get jobs. So they have to learn new skills.

So this is a new world and the new world needs new kind of thinking and action. We can no longer afford to indulge in our old habits of petty feuds and wranglings. We must become a united force and march ahead. I congratulate you on the building of this institution for it is an example of your strength.

Jai Hind.

[Translation ends]

## **180. Respecting Assurances to Striking Workers<sup>230</sup>**

When the Port & Dock Workers Union representatives wrote to me on this subject,<sup>231</sup> I informed the Minister of Transport & Communications<sup>232</sup> and suggested to him to draw the attention of the Madras Government to the assurance we had given to the Union at the time the strike was called off.<sup>233</sup> This assurance was that there would be no victimisation or legal proceedings except in cases of violence. I was informed later that the Madras Government had replied saying that these were clear cases of violence and therefore they did not go against the assurance given.

Later I wrote to the Madras Chief Minister myself on this subject.

230. Note to Kesho Ram, 5 November 1958. File No. 26(36)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

231. They sent two telegrams and four letters in Oct. 1958 asking for cases to be withdrawn.

232. S.K. Patil.

233. The nation-wide port and dock workers' strike, 15 June 1958 - 25 June 1958. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 153-154 and SWJN/SS/44/p. 454.

When the deputation came to see me,<sup>234</sup> I told them that unless there was clear violence our assurance would be kept but it was for the Madras Government to judge whether there was any case of violence or not.

I saw some of the Madras Ministers in Hyderabad and spoke to them on this subject. They told me that this was a bad case of violence and they had examined it fully and taken legal opinion, etc. Further that it was not their practice to withdraw cases after they had been instituted. It was for the court to deal with them. They added that Shri Anthony Pillai<sup>235</sup> was not a person deserving sympathy at all and the way he often acted was very objectionable.

There the matter ended so far as I was concerned and I had to leave it to the Madras Government.

I suggest that the answer might be somewhat as follows:

(a) Yes.

(b) The Prime Minister informed the deputation that the assurance he had given at the time of the withdrawal of the strike would be kept. This assurance was that there would be no victimisation and no prosecutions except in cases where violence and criminal offences had taken place. The attention of the Madras Government would be drawn to this matter and it would be for them to decide whether there had been such violence or not. The Madras Government was thereupon informed of this. Their reply was that they had every intention of respecting the assurance given to the Union. It was only in cases of obvious violence that they intended to proceed.

234. On 23 Oct. 1958 a deputation of three from the All India Port and Dock Workers' Federation urged Nehru to withdraw cases against S.C.C. Anthony Pillai, the Vice-President of the Federation, and 75 others. In the police firing on striking workers in Madras on 16 June 1958, six were killed and hundreds injured.

235. S.C.C. Anthony Pillai was President, Madras Labour Union, General Secretary and Vice-President, All India Port and Dock Workers Federation, and Socialist Lok Sabha MP from Madras North.



## 181. Improvement of Techniques and Tools in Village Industries<sup>236</sup>

Industries In Villages—Increased Use Of Power—Mr. Nehru's Plea

New Delhi,

Nov. 5.

Prime Minister Nehru to-day, emphasised the need for the improvement of techniques and tools in vogue in village industries.

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing members of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission here said that the idea that what was known as industrialisation caused widespread unemployment might be true in the short run but from the longer perspective such industrialisation helped to create more and better employment opportunities.

Citing instances in Western countries where unemployment was non-existent, the Prime Minister said that a time might come in India also when industrial development gathered sufficient momentum and made sufficient progress, when they would even be faced with shortage of man-power as in West Germany.

"This does not mean", he added, "that we should not give our attention to the development of khadi and village industries. In an under-developed country such as ours, where the problem of unemployment stares us in our face, we have to find solutions for it". Development of these industries, he said, was useful in providing large employment opportunities and helped create in the minds of the people an urge for productive work.

Mr. Nehru said: "What I wish to point out is this—we should increasingly use power wherever available and help the artisans to improve their conditions of work and thus help them to improve their standards of living. Industrialisation does not mean textile mills and the like. The basis of industrial development is steel. We are putting up big steel plants. They are giants. They will take care of the children, the small industries. Steel production helps to produce machines and other tools. It is in our hands to see what machines are needed and what machines are produced to suit the needs and conditions of our country. Another point that I would like to urge is that in planning we should not take only a short-term view. We should develop thinking in the context of perspective planning. We should think in terms of 20 years and 25 years hence and order our schemes from that perspective".

236. Report of speech to the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, New Delhi, 5 November 1958. *The Hindu*, 7 November 1958. Several Ministers attended.

## 182. To V.T. Krishnamachari<sup>237</sup>

November 12, 1958

My dear V.T.,

In *The Statesman* of this morning, there was an item of news about the manufacture of drugs in India and of a decision arrived at by the Planning Commission in regard to it.<sup>238</sup> This led me to find out what the Planning Commission had done about it. I discovered a paper giving a report of the meeting of the Planning Commission on the 1st of November. Unfortunately, I was not in Delhi on that date, and so I could not attend this meeting. You may remember that previously a date had been fixed to consider this matter, as I wanted to be present at it. But this date was postponed. I had taken a rather special interest in this and had read a considerable number of papers. I had also met the Russian team when it was here<sup>239</sup> and had a fairly long discussion with them. I would have liked to have been present when this matter was considered by the Planning Commission.<sup>240</sup>

Today, I received a letter from our Ambassador in Moscow.<sup>241</sup> With this, he sent a note of a conversation he had with the leader of the Russian team. The impression I gathered from this note and the letter was different from the proceedings of the Planning Commission. It appears that the Russian team went back with one impression and, later, the Planning Commission met and decided otherwise.

I must say that I do not wholly agree with the present decision of the Planning Commission. I think that the Russian team's advice in this matter should have been accepted, and it is desirable to have another anti-biotic plant. I have no doubt that the need for it will increase, and it is not fair to assume that further

237. File No. 17(48)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

238. The newspaper reported that the Planning Commission would prepare a drug manufacturing programme after approving a Soviet report on drug manufacture in India. Negotiations on collaboration would be held in Moscow and an agreement was likely to be signed by Jan. 1959.

239. A Soviet team of eight, under M.A.G. Natradze, and an Indian one led by A. Nagaraja Rao, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, had discussions in New Delhi from 3 Apr. 1958 on the drug industry in India. The Soviet team also toured India to study it.

240. See item 189.

241. K.P.S. Menon.



production will not be necessary. Any such plant will take three to four years to put up. We have hardly touched a great part of India so far as medical relief is concerned. The more we spread our medical centres, the more will the need increase. It is better to think of that now, than to try to catch up later. We have had to spend a great deal in foreign exchange on the import of drugs, and we should see to it that the need for import does not arise in future. Also it is well-known that the profits on the drug industry are very great. Probably, you are aware of the conspiracy case started by the U.S. Government against a number of major manufacturers of drugs in the United States. The charge is that these manufacturers had conspired to get bogus patents, to build up monopolies, and to keep up prices at a high level. It is for this, among other reasons, that it has been considered desirable to develop this drug industry rapidly in the public sector. I am not particularly happy in a part of it going to the private sector.

Anyhow, we had to deal with an offer of assistance from the Soviet Government, which would cover the entire foreign exchange component. We had two visits of Russian teams, and at one time, a very comprehensive report was produced by them.<sup>242</sup> They have always laid great stress on the anti-biotic plant as the first priority. As I have said above, I think that stress is justified. It has been said that while they would provide the foreign exchange component, our internal resources may not be enough to meet the rupee charges. This raises wider questions of some importance. I think that our present policy in regard to internal resources is restrictive and not wise. About this, I shall write to you separately.<sup>243</sup>

There is a certain political aspect to this problem also. After asking the Soviet Government to help us in this business, and getting a substantial offer from them, we have treated them rather casually, as if we were doing them a favour. On two or three occasions, the Soviet Ministers in Moscow have hinted at this. We treat them on the same level as a private firm. That, of course, is not a right approach to a Government whom we asked for help and who gave it. They do not profit by this in any way, as a private firm might. We have many dealings with them and are likely to require their help in many other ways. If we give them the impression that we do not treat them seriously, that will neither be courteous to them nor profitable to us.

242. On 14 Oct. 1958, Manubhai Shah, Union Minister of State for Industry, received the Soviet recommendations for setting up five plants for manufacturing drugs, including antibiotics; the Soviet government also offered 80 million rubels aid for foreign exchange.

243. See item 122.

But, political considerations apart, I think that the proposal they made ought to be accepted by us. I should like this matter to be considered afresh. If necessary, it might be referred to the Cabinet.<sup>244</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 183. To Morarji Desai<sup>245</sup>

November 12, 1958

My dear Morarji,<sup>246</sup>

I have received your two notes dated 9th November in regard to the contracts concluded by the Ministry of Defence with a Japanese firm for the manufacture of tractors<sup>247</sup> and with a German firm for the manufacture of trucks.<sup>248</sup>

I agree with you that it would have been better for these contracts to be considered more fully before being finalised. While it is always desirable to avoid delay, sometimes this attempt to avoid it leads to greater delay later or possibly to undesirable situations.

Both these contracts for manufacture depend ultimately on the economic aspect. It is obviously desirable to make these trucks and tractors in India, and the sooner the better. It would be desirable to do so even if the cost was slightly higher than the imported article. But all this should be as carefully worked out as possible before decisions are taken. I do not myself know at present how far this was so worked out by the technical and other advisers of the Defence Ministry. I propose to go into this matter rather fully in consultation with these advisers. The Defence Minister<sup>249</sup> has left for New York.

I do not quite know what value to attach to the protests made by Indian manufacturers of motor vehicles. They talk sometimes of some assurance being given to them. What this assurance was, is not clear, nor is it clear to me

244. On 18 Nov. 1958, Nehru wrote to Vishnu Sahay, the Cabinet Secretary, that since the Soviet side absorbed the foreign exchange component, the Indian side should meet all rupee expenditures.

245. JN Collection.

246. Union Minister of Finance.

247. By the agreement of 9 Sept. 1958 with the Komatsu Manufacturing Company of Japan, tractor manufacture in 1959-1962 would require foreign exchange of Rs 40 lakh.

248. With M.A.N. of Munich, West Germany, on 11 Sept. 1958.

249. V.K. Krishna Menon.



how they can expect an assurance that they will have some kind of a monopoly. Their past performance has not always been satisfactory and the way the price of trucks was increased by Rs 8,000 by the Tata Mercedes-Benz group does not, *prima facie*, do them much credit. I understand that every effort was made to reduce this price, but this did not yield much result. I gather that now a hint has been thrown out by the Tata Mercedes-Benz people that they are prepared to reduce the price to a much greater extent. This itself indicates the value of competition.

I agree with you that all such matters should be carefully considered. What the process for that should be may be looked into later. Our normal processes are rather slow moving.

When I have gone into this matter more fully with the expert advisers of the Defence Ministry, I shall write to you again.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 184. To K.D. Malaviya<sup>250</sup>

November 14, 1958

My dear Keshava,

Your letter of the 14th November.

We should certainly expedite the consideration of the question of oil equipment, etc. As for an agreement with the Soviet Union for scientific and technical cooperation,<sup>251</sup> I am entirely in favour of it and we should go ahead with it. But the draft that has been sent to you by the Soviet Embassy is not happily worded. The English of course is very bad and not always intelligible. Apart from this, I do not see the necessity for having a permanent commission for this purpose. We should provide for frequent consultations between Soviet scientists and Indian scientists. I would personally be agreeable to such consultations taking place not less than once a year and by turns in Moscow and in Delhi or some other place in India.

250. JN Collection.

251. By the agreement of 21 May 1956 in New Delhi, the USSR would supply oil drilling equipment worth Rs 74 lakh; in May 1957, India also agreed to purchase more equipment for Rs 37,24,000.

I think that the next step to take about this proposed agreement is to get a draft prepared on our side. This draft will keep in view what the Soviet has suggested. Professor Thacker<sup>252</sup> should be asked to prepare a draft. This should be considered by the External Affairs Ministry. I am returning the Soviet draft.

I have just seen your other letter of November 13 in which you discuss the method of considering proposals for Barauni refinery. Whatever procedures we may lay down for the future, it is quite clear that this question of the Barauni refinery<sup>253</sup> will have to come up before the Cabinet. Before it comes up it should go to the Planning Commission. There is no point in having a Planning Commission if such matters are not considered by it. I realise that people make difficulties, but the way to meet these difficulties is not to give them a reason for them. As soon as your papers are ready, copy should be sent to the Planning Commission and to the Cabinet Secretary who should be informed that this matter is for Cabinet, but meanwhile it has been sent to the Planning Commission.

The Planning Commission should be requested to deal with it expeditiously and if necessary to have a full meeting of the Commission to consider it at an early date. It might be mentioned that the Prime Minister has suggested for an early consideration, as the matter will have to be put up before the Cabinet soon.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 185. To Lal Bahadur Shastri<sup>254</sup>

November 18, 1958

My dear Lal Bahadur.<sup>255</sup>

As you know, we are anxious to increase the export of our handicraft goods, and for this purpose a Handicrafts Development Corporation<sup>256</sup> was set up early this year by your Ministry and the All-India Handicrafts Board.<sup>257</sup> I have only recently seen the list of Directors of this Corporation. Among them is

252. M.S. Thacker was Director, CSIR.

253. In Bihar; built with Soviet collaboration for Rs 49.9 crores; commissioned in July 1964.

254. JN Collection.

255. Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.

256. Established on 12 Apr. 1958.

257. Set up in 1952 to advise the Union and State Governments on handicraft policy and execution.



L.C. Jain,<sup>258</sup> Secretary, who is not only the Secretary of the All-India Handicrafts Board, but the General Secretary of the Indian Cooperative Union. The Chairman of the Board is Ramanathan Chettiar,<sup>259</sup> M.P.

I must say that this Board is not a very bright one, except for some good members. But, so far as the Secretary, L.C. Jain, is concerned, I am sorry that he has been made Secretary of both the All-India Handicrafts Board and the Handicrafts Development Corporation. He is also the Secretary of the Indian Cooperative Union. Last year, I pointed out to Keshava Deva Malaviya that L.C. Jain's ideas about cooperation were opposed to our ideas. He went with a small team to China and wrote a report which struck me as completely biased against not only China, but against cooperative farming and all that. On an enquiry being made, we found that he was closely in touch with some American agencies or men here and, in fact, that his minute of dissent to that report on China was largely written by an American. There were several other matters of a personal nature which were not to the credit of L.C. Jain.

I gather now that L.C. Jain, backed by some Americans, is anxious to prevent our trade in handicrafts developing in the Communist countries, and everything is done to that end. As a matter of fact, I think that the market in the Communist countries for handicraft goods is a very big one and, as you know, we have just had a trade treaty with the Soviet Union for this purpose.

I think that a man, who is strongly suspected of being influenced and helped by US agents, is not a good man to have in such a position as Secretary of the Handicrafts Board and the Handicrafts Development Corporation. I do not know the Chairman of the Development Corporation, Ramanathan Chettiar. Possibly, he inclines that way too. It has been stated that under L.C. Jain, the Indian Cooperative Union works to "defeat Nehru's socialism".

258. Lakshmi Chand Jain (1925-2010); economist, Gandhian activist and writer; participated in the freedom movement; a founder of the Indian Cooperative Union in 1948 and its General Secretary for twenty years; at various times member of the World Commission on Dams, Secretary of the All India Handicrafts Board, and High Commissioner to South Africa; member, Planning Commission, 1989-90; awarded Ramon Magsaysay Award for Public Service, 1989; author of *Grass without Roots: Rural Development under Government Auspices* (New Delhi: Sage, 1986) and *The City of Hope—The Faridabad Story* (New Delhi: Concept, 1998).

259. R. Ramanathan Chettiar (1913-95); merchant and banker; Councillor, Corporation of Madras, 1948-52; Sheriff of Madras, 1949-50, and Mayor, 1950-51; President, Rotary Club of Madras, 1953-54; Member, Local Board of State Bank of India, 1955-57; Congress Lok Sabha MP respectively from Pudukottai and Karur, Madras State, 1957-62 and 1962-67; Chairman, Indian Handicrafts Development Corporation, 1958-59.

There are a number of other matters that have come to my notice in this connection. I gather that a proposal was made by Mundkur, Managing Director of the Handicrafts Development Corporation, to the State Trading Corporation for the transfer of all handicrafts export work to the Communist countries, to the Handicrafts Development Corporation. I am not quite sure what happened to this proposal.

I have further received reports that Kanwaljit Singh, who is, I think, in charge of the Handicrafts Section of the State Trading Corporation is not a very reliable person.

I gather that the Handicrafts Board has also been of opinion that they should avoid exhibitions of handicraft goods in Communist countries.

I gather further that two Americans, Mrs Jane Liu and Mrs Vidya Chanda, have been appointed by the Handicrafts Board on salaries of Rs 4,500 and Rs 3,300 respectively. The money comes from the Ford Foundation. Although I am told that the Head of the Foundation in India, Douglas Ensminger<sup>260</sup> opposed these appointments, why two American nationals should be appointed on heavy salaries to these posts, is not clear to me.

These are some odd facts which have been reported to me. I cannot, of course, say how far they are entirely correct. But they certainly deserve enquiry. More particularly, the impression one gets that the Handicrafts Development Corporation as well as the Board are bringing their political prejudices in this matter and are being influenced by some Americans.

I shall go into this matter more thoroughly fairly soon. But I should like you meanwhile to send for two persons separately and enquire from them what the position is. One person should be Ranganathan,<sup>261</sup> Commerce Secretary, and the other should be Mundkur, Managing Director of the Handicrafts Development Corporation.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

260. Sociologist and representative of the Ford Foundation for India and Nepal, 1953-70.

261. Saurirajan Ranganathan (1908-1990); ICS; permanently deputed from the UP to the Government of India, 1939; Secretary, Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1956-66; retired, 1966; Comptroller and Auditor General of India, 1966-72; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1974-80.



### 186. To Lal Bahadur Shastri<sup>262</sup>

21st November, 1958

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I am sending you a letter from S.V. Ramaswamy.<sup>263</sup> He mentions a rather strange case of inordinate delay. For a simple operation like the shifting of a technical institute to a handloom centre, we have taken some years already and now the Deputy Textile Commissioner calmly tells us that by 1960 this might be done. If we proceed in this leisurely way, we shall all be dead before much is done anywhere.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 187. Importance of Small Industries<sup>264</sup>

Among the many problems that face India, the growth of industry certainly occupies a prominent place. We lay stress, and rightly so, on agricultural production because that is the very basis of everything that we do. But to that is allied industrial production.

So far as the big and more especially the basic industries are concerned, we are laying down adequate foundation for their development. As these begin to function, it is inevitable that smaller industries will grow. At the same time, I feel that very special stress should be laid now on small industries and cottage industries. It is these small and household industries that should spread widely all over the country and not only absorb a large number of our unemployed but also add to our production. They do not require foreign exchange to any marked extent. They require enterprise and assistance. The growth of these small and household industries also helps in balancing our economy by the development of the decentralised sector.

I would like, wherever possible, for these small and household industries to be developed on the cooperative basis. Thus they have the advantage of decentralisation as well as the advantages which come from working on a larger scale.

262. JN Collection.

263. Deputy Minister of Railways, 1958-64.

264. Message for *Major Industries of India Annual*, edited by M.P. Gandhi, 26 November 1958. PIB.

The industrial estates which have been started in various parts of India, have been a good beginning.<sup>265</sup> But much more has to be done and I hope it will be done. The idea behind these industrial estates is to provide good factory accommodation in well planned areas, equipped with facilities like water, electricity, sewerage, post office, bank, fire station and road and rail communications. Small industries which have grown up in crowded city localities are taken to these estates. This helps in clearing up the city of slum areas and providing better and healthier accommodation for the workers engaged. It should help them also in developing their cultural and social life in those centres. But, above all, it helps in the development of small industries.

### 188. Construction of Bhilai Metallurgical Plant<sup>266</sup>

I enclose a copy of a letter from Mr Khrushchev addressed to me,<sup>267</sup> which was given to me by the Soviet Ambassador<sup>268</sup> this evening. The Ambassador had recently come back from Moscow, where he had attended a meeting of their Central Committee.

2. I told him that so far as I knew, much improvement had been made in speeding up things and many more people had been engaged in India as well as from the Soviet Union. He said this was true and some of the matters referred to in Mr Khrushchev's letter had already been dealt with. Nevertheless, the pace was not as fast as it might be, and there was room for improvement.

3. As for the reference in Mr Khrushchev's letter to the Bhilai Directors having asked the Soviet organisations to limit the dispatch of equipment, he said that probably this was due to lack of storage capacity and the fear that equipment might suffer during the monsoon period. Anyhow, this limitation had now been removed.

4. I asked him about what Mr Khrushchev has said in regard to the organisation of management and running of the plant. What did this mean? He

265. Industrial estates for small-scale industries started in 1955 in Rajkot, Gujarat. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 130-134.

266. Note to Swaran Singh, Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel, 26 November 1958. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 17(37)/57-66-PMS.

267. N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, USSR, wrote that Soviet specialists who had visited the plant in Sept. were concerned about delays and that Soviet organisations had been asked to reduce equipment supplies that year. He also stressed the importance of management.

268. P.K. Ponomarenko.



explained to me that it was necessary to have the staff that would run the plant in position as soon as possible. They must get used to the plant now and understand it thoroughly and know how to work it, before the time for working it actually comes. Otherwise, there would be a gap period which would mean a considerable loss and, what was more dangerous, mistakes might occur in running it later, causing serious damage to some part of the plant. He said something about pig iron getting congealed if an error was made, and thus injuring the plant. He added that he was venturing to make this suggestion to me as he himself was an engineer and they had had such unhappy experiences in the early days of the Soviet Union.

5. I shall have to reply to Mr Khrushchev.<sup>269</sup> I shall be grateful if you could let me have full material for this reply.

6. The Ambassador also gave me the aide memoire which, he said, had previously been given to Bhoothalingam.<sup>270</sup> I am enclosing this also.

#### 189. To Manubhai Shah<sup>271</sup>

December 2, 1958

My dear Manubhai,<sup>272</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 29th November, with which you sent me some Notes for the Cabinet. I have rather hurriedly read these notes. When the Planning Commission considered the Soviet proposals, I was unfortunately not present. Their tentative decision appears to have been that the Antibiotics Project should be left in abeyance for the time being and that, for the present, even a project report should not be asked. The main reason for this apparently was that this Antibiotics Project was not necessary as we were likely to produce enough of these drugs, etc., with the existing arrangements. Secondly, that while the foreign exchange component for this will be provided by the USSR, this would also necessarily involve internal finance and we may find it difficult to find this money. So far as I remember, these were the tentative conclusions.

When I read this, I felt that this was not a correct decision in regard to antibiotics. I feel that it is highly likely that our demand for them will be much greater than is imagined, and then we shall have to import them from abroad

269. Nehru's reply, item 194.

270. Subramanya Bhoothalingam, Secretary, Ministry of Steel.

271. JN Collection.

272. Union Minister of State for Industry.

and spend foreign exchange in the process. It is far better to provide for that almost inevitable demand from now onwards, than to wait and have to spend much more money later, as well as foreign exchange.<sup>273</sup>

As for internal resources not being adequate, my own approach to this problem of internal resources is rather different. I think that for any worthwhile and productive project, internal resources should not come in the way. We are unnecessarily cautious and restrictive in this matter and, in an economy which we want to be dynamic and growing, this is not a wise policy. On the one hand, we lay stress on ever greater production and, on the other, we put brakes on that production.

There was another reason of a different kind before me. In this matter of the USSR building up a drugs plant in India, we have had two high-powered teams from the Soviet Union visiting India and spending a good deal of time here. They have presented a comprehensive report.<sup>274</sup> We have been slow in dealing with them, and the impression created in Moscow had been that we are not serious and play about with such matters. It is not a good impression at any time, and more especially with a government. We have to deal with a government on somewhat different footing than with a private firm. Some of the leading personalities in the Soviet Union have expressed their surprise at the long delays and lack of decision on our part. We have received some help from the Soviet Union, and we are likely to receive much more help in the future. It is not desirable, therefore, to give them an impression that we are not serious in our approaches to them. Politically also, that has a bad result.

The Soviet team gave first priority to the Antibiotics Project and argued in favour of it. Personally, I agree with them. Even if we had some slight doubt about priorities, I would give them the benefit of the doubt in such a matter.

I see that you are asking for a project report about Antibiotics now from the USSR. This is right. But I hope that no impression is given to them that this matter is still pending decision on our part.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

273. See item 182 for Nehru's similar arguments to V.T. Krishnamachari.

274. See item 182, fn 242.



# 190. To Vishnu Sahay<sup>275</sup>

December 3, 1958

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

I spoke to you about M.N. Dastur<sup>276</sup> today. I have found in my papers a two-month old letter from him to Pitambar Pant.<sup>277</sup> As this letter gives a fairly full account of his organisation, I am sending it on to you.

I mentioned his name to you in connection with the small team that is going to China.<sup>278</sup> I think that he will be a very good man for that type of work.

But, apart from that, I feel that he is probably far the most competent Iron & Steel expert in India. In fact, I think he is probably better than the foreign consultants we have engaged at a very high price. It seems to me a great pity that we are not utilising him.<sup>279</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

275. File No. 31(827)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

276. Minu Nariman Dastur was Chairman, M.N. Dastur and Company (P) Ltd.

277. Head, Perspective Planning Division of the Planning Commission.

278. N.S. Raghupati, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel, led a five-member delegation to China and Japan in Mar.-Apr. 1959 to study the steel industry.

Dastur stayed back in China for a detailed study of Chinese steel plants.

279. Nehru spoke on these lines even earlier. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 172,175.

**191. To Bhupesh Gupta<sup>280</sup>**

5th December, 1958

Dear Bhupesh Gupta,

You asked me a question about territorial waters in connection with our exploitation of oil in the Cambay area yesterday in the Rajya Sabha. I gave a brief answer.<sup>281</sup> I should like to add something for your information.

The Geneva Conference on the Law of the Sea held some months ago<sup>282</sup> agreed to a convention on the Continental Shelf. According to this Convention, our rights for exploiting natural resources for a distance of about 100 miles from the shore are fully protected and no one can interfere. Thus there is no danger of any interference by a foreign authority in regard to our oil exploitation in that area.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

280. File No. 17(311)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

281. On 4 Dec. 1959, Bhupesh Gupta, CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal, claimed that statements by some Americans seemed to suggest their asserting rights in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea. He asked whether India would reconsider its territorial limit in order to protect oil deposits. Nehru replied that the recent conference in Geneva had arrived at no agreement and that it would have to be considered again either at another conference or in the United Nations. On 5 Dec., Asoke Sen, the Union Law Minister, wrote to Nehru that such an agreement did in fact exist, that the Convention on the Continental Shelf conferred sovereign rights on coastal states for the exploitation of natural resources like oil. In the case of India, the continental shelf stretches about 100 miles. In a mild rebuke to Nehru, he concluded, "I shall be obliged if you refer to me in future any question that may be asked on these questions." Nehru graciously replied the same day: "I agree with you that the question of our exploitation of the oil in the Cambay area should have been sent to you." See File No. 17(311)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

282. The United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was held at Geneva from 24 Feb. to 27 Apr. 1958 and India was represented by Asoke Sen.



## 192. To Sampurnanand<sup>283</sup>

December 5, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,<sup>284</sup>

I see that the question of giving a State loan to Shanti Prasad Jain came up before the Uttar Pradesh Vidhan Sabha. The adjournment motions were, of course, rightly rejected.

But I must say that I have often wondered why the UP Government gives such large loans to big industrialists. The whole purpose of encouraging private industry is to draw in fresh capital from the people through private industry. To give them large loans defeats that purpose. If we have all that money, surely we can start a public venture.

In particular, I regret to say that some of these big industrialists are thoroughly unscrupulous. The kind of information that reaches me has often shocked me.

I know that the Central Government has put up Finance Corporation<sup>285</sup> and has, in addition, sponsored big loans to some industrialists, especially for the chemical industry. I do not think we are very wise in giving these big loans. Small loans to encourage small industries, of course, stand on a different footing.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 193. Oil Exploration<sup>286</sup>

At the suggestion of the Deputy Chairman, the proposal regarding the additional allocation of funds for Oil & Natural Gas Commission was first taken up for consideration. Deputy Chairman stated that the Planning Commission have also taken the view that high priority should be assigned to the drilling programmes at Cambay and Sibsagar. On the other hand, it was not clear that in the context of

283. JN Collection.

284. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

285. Central Industrial Finance Corporation was set up under the Industrial Finance Corporations Act, 1948, in order to provide credit to industrial enterprises that commercial banks did not normally cater to.

286. Summary record of the meeting of the Planning Commission, 10 December 1958. File No. 6/SII, Planning Commission. Also available in JN collection.

the difficult resources position, the drilling programmes at Jawalamukhi and Hoshiarpur should be accelerated or even pressed forward at the tempo envisaged earlier. In this connection there were the twin questions of personnel and higher operational and foreign exchange costs on the new drilling rigs that have to be closely examined.

2. Minister for Mines & Oil<sup>287</sup> stated that though the results from drilling at Cambay, Jawalamukhi and Hoshiarpur are encouraging so far and an oil region has been discovered at Cambay it would be difficult and technically unsound to hazard a guess as to the final out-come of our efforts in these regions. In spite of the good results at Cambay, no one could say at this stage whether of Hoshiarpur, Jawalamukhi and Cambay, Cambay would ultimately prove to be the best. By continuing the work at all these places the risks of failure, even after the discovery of an oil region at Cambay, could be reduced very much whereas by withdrawing from Hoshiarpur and Jawalamukhi and concentrating at Cambay alone the possibility of failures and burden of cost on a single oil-field could be very much increased. In this connection the Minister for Mines & Oil again emphasised the gas discovery in Jawalamukhi and said that the drilling programme there at this stage should not be slowed down in view of the gas discovery. He also referred to the drilling programme at Sibsagar and said that the Planning Commission had been advocating a high priority to operations at Sibsagar. If, therefore, drilling operation is continued with equal vigour at all the four areas Government could be reasonably more sure of showing promising results within the next 2 years than by merely concentrating in Cambay and going slow at Jawalamukhi and Hoshiarpur. In view of all these considerations the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel have asked for the additional allocations so that the risks that are being taken in this game of oil exploration would be rewarded on a balance of achievements secured at the various fields undertaken for drilling.

3. The Ministry intend to put down about 22 holes in Cambay and 2 to 3 holes in Jawalamukhi and Hoshiarpur over and above maintaining the tempo at Sibsagar if the additional allocation asked for is made.

4. As regards personnel, Shri Malaviya stated that the Commission was striving hard to reduce the number of foreign experts per drill in the shortest time possible. He informed the Commission that as against 22 foreign experts per drill engaged in the early stages of drilling operations the number has currently been reduced very substantially, in some cases to 11. The O and N G Commission is endeavouring to reduce this number further if possible to 4 or 5

287. Keshava Deva Malaviya.



persons in the coming year. He cautioned against very much reduction in the number of foreign personnel because of lack of prolonged experience of Indian personnel and in this connection he said that the drilling equipments are too costly to be entrusted to a leadership which has experience below a safe minimum limit. The training programmes are being expedited in order to cope with the vast undertakings and the programme of gradual reduction of foreign personnel.

5. The Minister for Mines & Oil also mentioned that one of the causes of large requirements of foreign exchange in the drilling programme was the consumption of big quantities of drilling pipes and casings. The Finance Minister<sup>288</sup> drew the attention of the Minister to the fact that the Rumanian drills are costlier than what it was before and their being hard in demanding strict terms of payment. The Minister for Mines & Oil informed that the Rumanian drill previously acquired was cheaper because it was readily available in India from equipments brought over for the 1956 exhibition.

6. The Prime Minister enquired from Shri Khera<sup>289</sup> whether any appraisal of the gains to the economy from the oil programmes has been made with reference to definite periods of time. Shri Khera pointed out that in the case of oil, there were so many reservations entering into the calculations that estimates tend to become invalid and have, therefore, to be made with caution. It is hoped that oil would be proved after nine months of further work at Cambay, if 2 million tons are discovered, it would result in a saving of about Rs 18 crores of foreign exchange in crude oil alone. As regards natural gas, Shri Ghosh<sup>290</sup> pointed out that it is relatively quicker to exploit gas. In reply to a question from the Prime Minister, Shri Ghosh stated that with 2 drills it would take about half a dozen years to prove the reserves of gas. It was pointed out by the Minister for Steel, Mines & Fuel<sup>291</sup> that the exploration for gas is more complicated on account of the fact that the gas fields will have to be larger and the pressure of the source of supply high before investment for its exploitation could be undertaken. However, the programme for exploitation as well as the programme for exploration can move in step as soon as reasonable reserves of gas at sufficient pressure are established without having to wait for the completion of the entire exploration programme. It was pointed out by the Minister for Mines & Oil that the exploration for gas in Jawalamukhi is more complicated on account of the Himalayan folds and structures.

288. Morarji Desai.

289. S.S. Khera was Secretary, Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

290. A.M.N. Ghosh was Technical Member, Oil and Natural Gas Commission.

291. Swaran Singh.

7. In reply to a query from the Prime Minister, Shri Malaviya stated that there are offers from USSR for the supply of drills and if clearance is given they could obtain two in March 1959 and another two by November 1959. After adding these four drills it was hoped by them that the requirements for drills even in the first part of the third Plan would be adequately met.

8. In summing up, the Prime Minister explained the broad approach that should be adopted and expressed the view that while there were undoubtedly risks in expending large amounts under the exploration programmes and a case could therefore be made out for caution, there was the other side of the picture namely that if we do not go ahead at full steam, we would not get adequate and rapid results. By and large it would be desirable to get the additional four drills without commitment to their deployment in specific areas. Such an approach would provide flexibility and enable the Oil and Natural Gas Commission to concentrate drilling activities where the results show better promise. The Planning Commission agreed with the Prime Minister's approach with reference to the proposals put forward by the Oil & Natural Gas Commission, Ministry of SM & F for drilling and production of oil.

9. The Minister for Mines & Oil referred to the item relating to the token provision mention under Annexure B to the note. He stated that large expenditure of foreign exchange is involved for obtaining piping and casing in connection with drilling operations. The O & NG Commission was considering in this connection the manufacture of drilling and casing pipes. The token provision was suggested by the Ministry to convey their intention of getting project reports for the manufacture of such equipment in the country.

#### Establishment of Barauni Refinery

10. The Finance Minister pointed out that the commitments on the Barauni refinery would have to go in step with the second stage of the pipeline from Gauhati to Barauni and desired to know whether the resources for the pipeline could be reckoned upon with certainty. Shri Malaviya pointed out that the B.O.C. have given the impression that they might find it difficult to raise more than ten million pounds and made the suggestion that for the additional funds their claim might be commended for consideration of a Loan by the World Bank. His personal view was that the Burma Oil Company might come forward with the necessary funds since there is no outlet for the oil expected to be produced in the absence of the Barauni refinery. Apart from this, the Ministry was confident that they would be able to make other arrangements in time if the full requirements for the construction of the second stage of the pipeline were not to be made available by the B.O.C. In the end, Shri Malaviya assured the Finance Minister that they



were keeping in mind the importance of coordinating the construction schedules of the pipeline and the Barauni refinery.

11. Reference was made to the interest shown by the Austrian Party (M/s Simmering and Graz Pauker A.G.) and to the line that would have to be adopted in case the Austrians submitted specifications about the end of February. Shri Khera pointed out that the Barauni refinery was certainly not the last to be constructed in the country and the Austrians would be told that Government would avail of their offer for the next refinery.

12. In the course of further discussion the suggestion of the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel to open negotiations with the USSR Government for the equipment of the Barauni refinery was approved.

#### 194. To Nikita Khrushchev<sup>292</sup>

16th December, 1958

My dear Mr Chairman,<sup>293</sup>

The Soviet Ambassador to India came to see me on the 26th November, 1958, and handed to me your letter dated November 22nd. This letter dealt with the construction of the Bhilai Metallurgical Plant by India in cooperation with the Soviet Union.

I am grateful to you for this letter and am particularly gratified to learn that, in spite of your heavy work and numerous engagements, you have taken personal interest in the construction of this plant. This plant is of great importance to us and I have been taking a good deal of interest in it. I have also visited it. Apart from the importance of this plant as one of the major projects in heavy industry in India, we have valued it as a symbol of cooperation between India and the Soviet Union. We have been grateful to the Soviet Union for all the assistance they have provided for it.

I have delayed sending an answer to your letter as I wanted to find out what the latest position was at the Bhilai Plant and, for this purpose, I requested my colleague, the Minister in charge of the Bhilai Plant, to visit it and report to me.<sup>294</sup> He has now done so and sent me his report.

292. File No. 17(37)/57-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to Swaran Singh, Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel, Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, P.K. Ponomarenko, Soviet Ambassador in India and K.P.S. Menon, Indian Ambassador in Moscow.

293. Chairman of the Council of Ministers, USSR.

294. See item 188.

When the Soviet Ambassador saw me at the time of giving your letter, he mentioned that since you had written, some improvement had been made at Bhilai and additional people had been engaged to expedite the programme of work.

I need not tell you how anxious we are that the Bhilai Plant should progress according to schedule and start functioning as early as possible. Every delay means loss to us. I have constantly impressed those in charge of the plant with the need for carrying on the work as expeditiously as possible. My colleague, the Minister in charge, has also been visiting Bhilai from time to time and has had discussions with the Soviet Chief Engineer there<sup>295</sup> and with visiting Soviet experts.

The report that I have now received about Bhilai indicates that there has been a great improvement in the work there in recent weeks. I am informed that the physical erection of the works required for commissioning the first blast furnace which will produce pig iron will be practically completed by the end of this month. A great deal of testing and tuning up is going on at present and it is hoped that the interval between the completion of the erection and the "blowing in" of the blast furnace may not be more than a month. That is, blast furnace may start functioning early in February.<sup>296</sup>

I am also informed that the engineers and the operating staff will be in position in time. Over a hundred out of the 140 Soviet experts required for operation at this stage are already in Bhilai and the rest are flying in from day to day. Our own Indian operatives and skilled workers are also moving into position. About 150 of these Indian operatives are returning after training in the USSR. There are about 900 skilled workers in position in Bhilai and over 500, who were under training in various centres in India, are now reaching Bhilai. It appears thus that the arrangements for the management and running of the first stage are well in hand.

In your letter you have expressed some concern that the entire plant might not be completed according to schedule by the end of 1959. I share your concern at any delay. The position on the 1st of December was that the work remaining to be done was about 230,000 cubic metres of concreting in civil engineering works, about 82,000 tons of erection of steel structures and about 79,000 tons of erection of equipment. It is expected that the civil engineering works will be completed in time even though this might involve some strain. The work of installing the plant and machinery, including electrical works, is, I understand, being done

295. V.E. Dymshitz was the Soviet Chief Engineer, 1957-59.

296. The first blast furnace of the Bhilai Steel Plant was commissioned on 4 Feb. 1959.



satisfactorily and the Soviet experts have approved of the organisation for this work. This is almost completely in charge of the State engineers.

For the erection of steel structures, some contractors were engaged and they have not proved very satisfactory. Efforts are being made to put matters right as early as possible. According to the Soviet Chief Engineer, the extra effort required necessitates the employment of an additional 1,800 skilled workers, about 250 Indian engineers and 200 Soviet experts. We have at present 7,800 workers erecting the steel work and plant and machinery and 4,500 installing electrical equipment and instruments. There are 550 Soviet experts assisting them and 300 will come from the USSR in the next few weeks. This work has involved some strain on us because our resources in skilled personnel were rather limited, but we hope to get over this difficulty. The Soviet experts on the spot have asked for skilled men only. Our main effort now is to improve the quality of our working force rather than enlarging its size.

I greatly regret that occasionally there has been some delay. You have referred in your letter to the request made by the Bhilai construction Board of Directors to the proper Soviet organisations to limit the dispatch of equipment this year. On enquiry I find that this was for a short period during the monsoon season when heavy rains were coming down and making it difficult for them to protect this equipment. This has been remedied now and I hope there will be no further delay in this matter.

You will appreciate that we had to begin with limited experience in this kind of construction of heavy plants. We started simultaneously building three large new steel plants and doubling the capacity of an old plant. With the help and advice of Soviet and other experts, however, large numbers of our people are now being properly trained. It is rather difficult for me to say at this stage whether the entire work at Bhilai will be completed by the end of 1959. We shall strain our utmost to this end, but it may be that there is a slight delay and the work is not completed till early in 1960.

May I say that one of the happy features of this great undertaking is the complete cooperation of the Soviet and Indian engineers and the enthusiastic way in which people are working at Bhilai.

I should like to thank you again for the personal interest you have taken in this matter.

I send you my warm regards and all good wishes for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 195. To Lal Bahadur Shastri<sup>297</sup>

December 25, 1958

My dear Lal Bahadur,

Vinobaji mentioned to me the other day that some big firms in Kutch had been given contracts for salt manufacture.<sup>298</sup> He asked me why we did not encourage smaller people there to do so. I said I would enquire. Please find out what the position is.<sup>299</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 196. Seeking Advice on Oil Exploration<sup>300</sup>

I am much intrigued by the telegram from Washington No. 676, dated December 24, from Shri B.K. Nehru<sup>301</sup> to Shri A.K. Roy.<sup>302</sup> This is about Mr Levy.<sup>303</sup>

2. In this telegram, it is stated that no terms of reference have been received yet, nor any indication regarding the basis on which he is to be paid, nor have any papers as recommended in a previous note of October 18th been sent to him. Therefore, (1) papers are asked for, (2) terms of reference have to be telegraphed, and (3) indication given regarding terms that may be offered to him.

297. File No. 17(333)/59-PMS.

298. Vinoba Bhave and Nehru met at Gangad, near Ahmedabad, on 17 Dec. 1958.

299. Shriman Narayan, Member, Planning Commission, who was present at the meeting, recorded in his book *Vinoba – His Life and Work* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1970), p. 312, that Lal Bahadur Shastri explained to Vinoba Bhave that small holdings up to ten acres were exempt from licences whereas large manufacturers were required to renew their licences for the production of salt in order to prevent unfair competition with smaller firms. Shastri also pointed out that the Government had decided not to grant any new licences to large manufacturers.

300. Note to Morarji Desai, 26 December 1958. File No. 17(204)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

301. Secretary, Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance.

302. Secretary, Revenue, Ministry of Finance.

303. Walter James Levy was an American oil consultant; connected with various international organisations.



3. Further it is stated that he should be paid his commercial fee in order not to embarrass him with other Governments but that he will put this entire sum in Foundation for use of Indian students or some other agreed Indian purpose, thus doing our work without any net benefit to himself.

4. All this rather confuses me. Mr Levy is, I understand, an eminent economist in the oil business. He is not an oil technician. His advice therefore may presumably be partly in the realm of policy and partly in the economics of oil production. So far as policy is concerned, we have already decided about it and various arrangements have been made for the erection of refineries, pipelines, as well as further exploration and exploitation of oil in India on behalf of the States. The Rumanians are putting up a refinery in Assam and an agreement has been arrived at.<sup>304</sup> We have practically agreed on dealing with the Russians in regard to the second refinery to be situated at Barauni. In Cambay, Jwalamukhi in Hoshiarpur and in Assam investigations are proceeding by various engineers from the Soviet Union, Rumania and elsewhere and we have already ordered drilling machinery.<sup>305</sup> Thus we have gone far in making arrangements for exploration and exploitation and many of the arrangements are with governments like the Rumanian Government and the Soviet Government.

5. What papers except some general papers can be sent to Mr Levy? It would probably not be right to send him detailed papers for our dealings with the Rumanian Government and the Soviet offer that may lead us into embarrassing positions. And what terms of reference can be given to him except the most general ones?

6. So far as the fee is concerned, it is very good of Mr Levy not to benefit himself. But anyhow we shall have to pay probably a heavy fee to fit in with what he gets from other governments. Other governments, however, deal with major private firms in the United States and the position here is different. In any event, how are we to indicate the fee? It is for Shri B.K. Nehru to make some suggestions for us to consider.

7. All this rather confuses me. Since we have indicated to Mr Levy that we should like him to come here, I suppose we should stand by that invitation. It is not clear to me at all how this will work out. In this matter, Finance Ministry should keep in intimate touch with our Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel and, more especially, with the Department dealing with oil. I hope you will consult them fully about it.

304. Gauhati refinery, the first one in the public sector, inaugurated by Nehru on 1 Jan. 1962.

305. ONGC had four drills, one each at Jwalamukhi (Punjab), Hoshiarpur (Punjab), Cambay (Bombay) and Sibsagar (Assam). Rumanian technicians supervised at Jwalamukhi and Russians at Hoshiarpur.

**197. To Jagjivan Ram<sup>306</sup>**

December 27, 1958

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

Your letter of the 20th December about the competition between the railways and road motor traffic. You have pointed out the difficulties railways have to face. The question is how to get over these difficulties. Presumably, the right course would be for some proposals to be made which can be considered firstly by the Ministers concerned here and, later, with the State Governments. Some such steps should certainly be taken.

May I refer to a very small matter? Your letter is typed on seven sheets of thick paper. Only one side of the paper is used, and there is plenty of spacing. This is needlessly wasteful when we are trying to economise on papers.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**(d) Education**

**(i) Student Unrest**

**198. To Ram Subhag Singh<sup>307</sup>**

November 21, 1958

My dear Ram Subhag,<sup>308</sup>

I was not present yesterday when you spoke in the Lok Sabha on the Banaras Hindu University.<sup>309</sup> Today however, I read the transcript of your speech there and I was surprised and distressed to do so. Apart from the fact that it was a

306. File No. 27(51)/59-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

307. JN Collection.

308. Secretary, Congress Party in Parliamentary and Lok Sabha MP from Sasaram, Bihar.

309. Speaking on the motion moved by him and 24 members from all parties, Ram Subhag Singh accused K.L. Shrimali, Union Minister of State for Education, of misleading the House, of failing to engage with students in Banaras, and of compelling the University authorities to summon the police into the campus. When Shrimali suggested that politicians should keep off the University, Ram Subhag Singh riposted that political leaders had the right and duty to be informed on matters of public importance.



fierce and very ungenerous attack not only on the Education Minister but on the Government, the tone was to my thinking all wrong.

The first thing that you should have realised is that the Education Minister is only the mouthpiece of Government in this matter. On the last occasion the subject came up before the House, I spoke on it.<sup>310</sup> Not only has the Government given the most careful consideration to the various steps taken, but they have consulted the most eminent educationists in Delhi and outside.

Everyone is anxious that the University should be reopened. I hope this will happen in the near future, but there is no value in reopening it if exactly the same conditions prevail which led to its closure.<sup>311</sup> This subject is not one for the Hindu University only but affects education all over India. Three or four days ago, the Allahabad University students organised processions and looted a number of shops.<sup>312</sup> We have come to a strange pass if this kind of thing is approved.

I propose to mention this matter at the next Party meeting.<sup>313</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 199. Banaras Hindu University<sup>314</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: [...] There are two items in the agenda: The Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament Bill and the Parliament Prevention of Disqualification Bill. Two matters, these two bills [...]

310. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 460-466.

311. BHU students had been agitating since Aug. 1958 to have the Mudaliar Committee (appointed in July 1957) report and the ensuing 14 June 1958 Ordinance withdrawn, and V.S. Jha, the Vice Chancellor, removed. The Executive Council closed the University indefinitely from 8 Oct. 1958.

312. In solidarity with the BHU students who were agitating for the reopening of their University, students of Allahabad University and other local colleges and schools went on strike for one day on 17 Nov. 1958, organised processions through the Civil Lines area and attacked property.

313. See item 199.

314. Proceedings of the meeting of the CPP, 22 November 1958. Tape No. M-37/c, NMML. Nehru spoke in English and Hindi.

Well, how many of you sitting here understand Hindi or rather who does not understand Hindi? Will you please raise your hands? Fine. Dasappa,<sup>315</sup> you think you are following it? Are you sure you are understanding it?

There is one matter which I should like to mention before we start this agenda. I wrote to Secretary Ram Subhag Singh about the discussion in the Lok Sabha two days ago<sup>316</sup> on the Hindu University Bill. Now, I was present only for a little while in the course of the discussion so I did not follow it, but later I read the transcript, part of the transcript of the speeches, and I was much distressed at the type of speeches, the tone of speeches, and the content of speeches; all three matters. Now, the resolution was that, more or less, that the Hindu University should be opened soon or immediately. Now, there is no argument that everybody wants the Hindu University to open as soon as possible. But the question is, and for obvious reasons, that we cannot allow large numbers of young men and women hanging round, it is obvious. I give you some instances, leave out other instances. There are a number of foreign students studying in the Hindu University whom we have sent. Now, what are we to do with the foreign students? We have to make provision for them; if not there, elsewhere. We cannot keep them hanging, so other students too. So there is no doubt about that. The question is how this matter has to be approached and how settled.

Now, I am afraid that the whole discussion that took place that day will delay the opening of the University by encouraging certain elements that have created a lot of trouble and mischief there. They may be relatively few, some hundreds, but hundreds can do a lot of mischief. That is one thing. But here is a matter in which I find that our Education Minister was personally attacked, his bona fides were brought into question, as if this important matter was done by the Education Minister. The whole process started long ago. It was discussed in the Lok Sabha previously when this matter came up, when the Bill came up,<sup>317</sup> and before. A committee was appointed, a high powered committee.<sup>318</sup> It made certain proposals; those proposals, by and large, were accepted, not all. We did not agree on some comments on the committee's report; there were some mistakes in the committee's report [...] Anyhow, I am not going into that question now.

Here is a matter of extreme seriousness affecting all our educational apparatus in India; it is so serious that it may come to this that we may actually

315. H.C. Dasappa, Lok Sabha MP from Bangalore, Mysore State.

316. See item 198.

317. See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 198-205 and SWJN/SS/44/pp. 460-466.

318. SWJN/SS/42/pp. 170, 201 and SWJN/SS/43/pp. 151, 624.



end and finish a few universities in India. Education is not going into an examination, passing it—we have had enough of that—and passing it by some fair means or other. Education is having a certain atmosphere of studying. Now, unfortunately that is going, but for my part I would rather put an end to every single university in India and have done with it and start afresh. But this kind of playing about, this business and encouraging elements which have put an end to real education, whether it is teachers or others, it is really one of the major problems of India and for this to be treated in this casual way in the House and by our members and by our Secretary in his speech has shocked me, when I read his speech. It is amazing. Apart from everything, it was an absolute breach of discipline of this party, hundred per cent breach of discipline that a matter of this kind should be brought up in this way. It could have been brought up in the party, brought up in the Executive Committee, in the House. [...] I do not mind any kind of criticism or condemnation of Government. You know that we do not really; we allow a great deal of laxity in this matter. But what happened day before yesterday has delayed the opening of the University, I tell you. The very object that we are striving [is] hard to get because it has encouraged Mr Shibbanlal Saksena<sup>319</sup> and others who were carrying about a raging, tearing campaign there. And we all know Mr Shibbanlal Saksena; his sense of responsibility or judgement is not particularly good.

But how are we to behave in this matter? It is a very serious matter affecting the whole educational apparatus of this country. Here we are consulting almost every able educationist in the country about this. I am no expert at education; I have some ideas. In regard to Hindu University we have consulted carefully. We have appointed a committee now which is called the Executive Committee which admittedly consists of able educationists who have no personal grouse in the matter.<sup>320</sup> The poor Vice Chancellor does not count. I mean to say, as if we are

319. (1907-1985); participated in the freedom movement; Member, UPPCC and AICC, 1928-51, UP Legislative Assembly, 1937-46 and 1964-67, Constituent Assembly, 1946-50 and of the Provisional Parliament, 1950-52; Founder President, Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, 1952-58; Independent Member, Lok Sabha, 1954-62 and 1971-1979; Member, Praja Socialist Party, 1959-60, Socialist Party (Lohia Group), 1961-63 and United Socialist Party, 1963-64; rejoined Congress in 1964 but left it in 1969; formed Samajwadi Congress Party of UP and became its President in 1971.

320. In July 1958, The President of India, appointed M. Patanjali Sastri, former Chief Justice of India, Hansa Mehta, former Vice Chancellor, M.S. University, Baroda, H.N. Kunzru, Member of Parliament, A.R. Wadia, Director, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, S.K. Basu, Member of Parliament, A.N. Khosla, Vice Chancellor of Roorkee University and Sukhdev Pande of the Birla Education Trust, Pilani, as members of the Executive Committee.

being led by the nose by the Vice Chancellor, it is absurd. We are trying to produce conditions to start it as rapidly as possible and in as good a way as possible. Because, remember this, if it is merely started as a result of this agitation with the same persons carrying on, then you may take it from me that the Hindu University is doomed, and possibly other universities too. That is a disaster we wish to avoid, but as I said at the beginning it really is a matter of very serious concern that this University should remain closed and thousands of students, should, sort of, have nothing to do or should wait for it. That is a very bad thing and we have to look into it and make arrangements for them as soon as possible. I was greatly distressed at this matter therefore I wanted to mention it to you ...

Well, Mr Dasappa has made a very pertinent observation. If this motion was supposed to come, why did not we meet earlier to consider it? Well, frankly it is partly our fault, my fault if you like. It never struck me. I will be glad to discuss that matter there. It never struck me that it will take that particular turn, of course. But even so one ought to have thought of that. It is a lapse on our part undoubtedly.

Govind Ballabh Pant: The matter has been discussed twice...<sup>321</sup>

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वो तो आप बिल्कुल ठीक कहते हैं। दो दफे इस पर बहस हो चुकी है। इस वक्त बहस की बात एक ही थी। महज पुराने किस्से नहीं थे, यहाँ सब पुराने किस्से उठाये गये। सिर्फ एक बात थी कि जल्दी से जल्दी इसको खोला जाये, ठीक ढंग से खोला जाये, वो एक माकूल बात थी। इसपे ज़ि़क़्र हो सकता था। यहाँ तो सारी पुरानी कब्रें खोली गयीं और उखाड़ी गयीं और हरेक पे लांछन किया गया। नक्शा ही दूसरा हो गया और उनकी तारीफ जिन्होंने सब वहाँ ये एक तूफान किया है।<sup>322</sup>

[Translation begins]

Jawaharlal Nehru: What you are saying is quite true. There has been discussion on this matter twice. At this time, there was only one issue for discussion and it had nothing to do with the old matters. But only old matters have been raised. The only issue was that the University should reopen at the earliest and it should be reopened in a proper manner. That was the right thing to do. This matter should have been discussed. But here skeletons in the cupboard have

321. After this the proceedings are in Hindi.

322. After this the proceedings are in English. These are given immediately after the English translation of the preceding part of the proceedings.



been dug out and insinuations hurled upon everyone. The whole scenario has changed and those responsible for the mess have been praised.<sup>323</sup>

[Translation ends]

I think really we must pull ourselves up together. This kind of loose functioning does not do credit to any party and it is really, it surprises me how we are going, gradually going in a wrong direction. We have to meet very, very grave problems. We cannot function and [...] ourselves, well, more or less, as a present to some Opposition Members and others to exploit us.<sup>324</sup>

अन्य: हिंदू यूनिवर्सिटी का जो प्रश्न था—मैं तो लोकसभा का Member नहीं हूँ, राज्यसभा में हूँ, वहाँ भी इस प्रश्न पर विचार हुआ था। [...]

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: [...] उसका तो ज़ाहिर है मौका हमेशा आपको मिलना चाहिए मौजू मौका, लेकिन आप Education Ministry का इसपे कहते हैं, आप चाहें आप कार्यकारिणी को न पसंद करें, वो और बात है। ये बात कार्यकारिणी के सुपुर्द की गयी, अच्छे आदमियों को हमने चुना, वो गलती करें, सही करें, किसी न किसी को ज़िम्मेदार बनाना होता है। हम एक शख्स को ज़िम्मेदार बनायें, एक committee को ज़िम्मेदार बनायें और फिर उसको काम न करने दें तब तो कोई ज़िम्मेदारी रहती नहीं है, फिर तो चीज वो बह जाती है, कोई काम दुनिया में नहीं हो सकता है, आप सोचें। आप इस तरह से इस committee को एक सहायता न दें, मदद (न) दें, हर वक्त टीका-टिप्पणी। नयी committee है, यानी नयी से मतलब डेढ़ महीने, दो महीने से तो आयी है। ये तो कोई बहुत पुरानी committee नहीं है कि बहुत तजुर्बा हो। आप शुरू ही से उसके रास्ते में रुकावटें डालें, मुश्किल करें, फिर उसके बाद आप सोचें कोई और committee बनाने की, कोई दूसरी, कोई और committee बनेगी इस तरह से। आप जाते कहाँ हैं। आप देखिए ना, ये तो एक बे सर और पैर का सवाल हो जाता है। ये और बात है कि आपकी तजवीज़ें हों, उनसे सलाह करें, उनको बताएँ, कुछ न कुछ करें, नहीं तो, न तो कोई माकूल आदमी committee में आयेगा, फिर न कोई committee बन सकेगी।

फिर एक, मेरे कोई समझ में नहीं आता—Parliament ने एक कानून पास किया, इसी हिंदू यूनिवर्सिटी के बारे में, बहस हुई उसपे, दो दफे बहस हुई थी, एक committee बनी थी उस पर, अब उसको मौका देना है कुछ न कुछ करने का ना। ये मतलब नहीं कि उसको सलाह आप न दें, कोई न दे, या उनसे कोई गलती हो तो उनको बताया जाए। लेकिन अगर

323. After this the proceedings are in English.

324. After this the proceedings are in Hindi.

आप हर वक्त उनकी जड़ खोदते रहें, फिर कौन ज़िम्मेदार है, ये मुझे बताइये। Parliament तो ज़िम्मेदार नहीं हो सकती। Parliament राय दे सकती है। कौन उसका ज़िम्मेदार है? वो तो, वहाँ तो फिर न शरीफ आदमी रहेंगे यूनिवर्सिटी में, professors वगैरह की हैसियत से, न कुछ और, फिर एक अजीब तमाशा हो जाए। ये गौर करने की बात है न? मैं तो तरीके से कह रहा हूँ। इस बात में क्या गलती है? और याद रखिए कि सवाल इस वक्त उठ के आया लेकिन, लेकिन...<sup>325</sup>

[Translation begins]

Someone: I am not a Member of the Lok Sabha. I am in the Rajya Sabha. There also there was a discussion about the Hindu University [...]

Jawaharlal Nehru: [...] Obviously, you should always have the opportunity of discussing these matters. But you refer to the Education Ministry. You may or may not approve of the Committee which has been formed—that is a different matter. But we have tried to put together good people in this committee and the matter has been entrusted to them. Now, they may or may not deal with the matter in the right way, but we have to make somebody responsible. Now, if we entrust the responsibility to an individual or to a committee and hinder them in their work, then nothing can be achieved. Please think. If you refuse to cooperate with or help the committee, and keep criticising it all the time, how can it function? After all it is a new committee—constituted just six weeks or two months ago—and it cannot have the benefit of experience all at once. It does not take you anywhere to create difficulties right from the beginning. Can't you see that the whole thing is absurd? It is a different matter that you should give your opinion, consult the committee, guide them, whatever it is. Otherwise no intelligent person would ever be prepared to become a part of the committee.

Secondly, I can't understand one thing more. Parliament passed a law on the Hindu University; there were two debates on it; and then a committee was formed. We have to give it an opportunity to function now. I am not suggesting that you should not advise it. If they are wrong, tell them about it. But if you try all the time to undermine their legitimacy, tell me who would agree to take on the responsibility? Parliament cannot take on the responsibility. Parliament can only express an opinion. At this rate no honest person would be prepared to function as professors, etc., in universities. This matter ought to be considered

325. After this the proceedings are in English. These are given immediately after the English translation of the preceding part of the proceedings.



carefully. After all, I am not saying anything wrong. I am telling you the proper way of going about it. What is wrong about it?...<sup>326</sup>

[Translation ends]

Well, I am merely replying to our friend here. I was saying that it is not possible at this stage here to discuss the long past history of the Hindu University. There was a culmination of that: maybe many mistakes were committed by various people, by various Vice Chancellors, professor and others. We cannot go into that as a culmination because this story is a story of old standing. Every Vice Chancellor has recorded his views on it and his great distress at things that were happening there. There it is. Anyhow Parliament considered it and passed a bill. A committee was appointed to take some interim measures till we pass a full new bill or Act. This committee has been functioning for a little while, for about a month, six weeks, I do not know the exact time, maybe two months. Now, it has hardly had much time and it has had to face continuously these difficulties which have included physical obstruction, violence, etc.

Now, I do not mind students occasionally misbehaving, even offering violence. I do not like it if they do it, of course; they should pay the penalty for it. But where the whole basis of this new reconstruction of this Hindu University is attacked and uprooted then what is to take its place? Think all that. Are we to appoint another committee? The present committee certainly consists of very high class men, there is no doubt about it, and unbiased men. They have nothing to do with old quarrels or new. Would any decent men, decent educationists agree to serve on any future committee? There will be a blank, there will be a vacuum. What exactly happens? We just leave matters to chance to drift, you see. You must consider these questions and you regret, I regret, everybody regrets all that has happened and more particularly that large number of students there are, for the present, unprovided for in regard to education. It is a most distressing thing and should be put right as soon as possible. But if you try to put it right in the wrong way, you do not put it right, you make it wronger still. And then what do we do afterwards? Not only there but somewhere else, the same procedure follows. The other day in Allahabad—it has been a fairly well-behaved university but suddenly a procession starts of students and because some shopkeepers did not observe hartal, they loot their shops and break them. What have the shopkeepers got to do with the university matters? They loot their shops. It is an extraordinary thing and then the students said afterwards, as I

326. After this the proceedings are in English.

am told, we are very sorry, we did not do it, some hooligans joined us. Well, that is just it. You see if you do something which gives an opportunity for hooligans to function then... you are right, yes... But the shops had nothing to do either, it is quite right. There were some foreigners there who were that evening leaving by air for a foreign country, [...] all his baggage just thrown away, the poor fellow could not leave. You see these are symptoms which are bad, unhealthy symptoms and because those symptoms came up in a marked way in Banaras—they occur in other places too—a kind of internal crisis was created and after an enquiry certain proposals were made by a committee and certain actions taken by the Lok Sabha.

Now, it is open for any person to say that that action might have been different from this, of course; but there it is. We have to have some finality about things and now it is to everybody's interest, whatever his view about past actions may be, to get the Hindu University functioning properly as soon as possible. It is obvious. It is the national interest, it is the students' interest, it is the teachers' interest, it is State Government's interest, it is the Government of India's and Education Ministry's interest. The question is only how best to do it so as not to have a repetition of what has happened because then it will be much worse even than before because you have failed in what you did.

Now, if a step puts difficulties in the way of a normal return, then you face greater difficulties. We have been responsible. We cannot act, as I said, like a very dear friend Mr Shibbanlal Saksena acts. Because he gets excited, he does not see what has followed his excitement. So, that is the problem. That is why I wanted to bring it to you because it is a serious matter. Then perhaps I thought this aspect had not come up before you.

Someone:...

Jawaharlal Nehru: When I think that my visit is really helpful I shall go there, or anywhere else, at the cost of other work. But I am doubtful what the right time is and... as a matter of fact, the students are not there and I do not wish. I am a fairly disciplined person. I dislike barging in, interfering where the responsibility is somebody else's. There's, we have appointed a committee. I will tell you something which I have not told anybody. I had promised next month in December to go to the Allahabad University convocation. When I heard of these incidents, I wrote to say I am sorry I will not come, and I wrote to the Vice Chancellor that I would rather not go, I do not wish to go, and just chide the students and tell them they must behave themselves, I do not like it. I like those students. Most of them act in haste without thinking. A few persons take a lead; others follow. And I am tired of just running down and saying you have



misbehaved. It does not do any good to them nor me. I do not know what else to say, so I said I would not come. So it had a reverse effect on me, what Mr Raghubir Sahai<sup>327</sup> has said; this kind of thing. But, of course, an occasion may arise when I may go to Allahabad or Banaras or Lucknow, wherever it may be. That is a different matter...

Someone:...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, it is too complicated and difficult a problem for us to deal with it rather casually. What this lady Mrs Ramamurti<sup>328</sup> has said is true, it is correct, and yet even that does not take us very far. What I mean is that few parents understand their children and few children understand their parents, especially in an age of transition, and we are going through this transition, not political at the top. We are going through social changes, big changes, and a child would have respect and affection for the parent and yet consider the parent outmoded, out of date. You see that is the difficulty and one has to proceed very cautiously in this matter, and my difficulty is, that is why I dislike intensely, although sometimes I may in a temper say something, I dislike going and just running down the students: you are bad, it is quite absurd, what is the use of my running down the young generation in India today, it is quite absurd. If they are no good then India is no good; there the matter ends. And what are we working for? But one has to approach them ultimately not in a chiding spirit; in a firm way certainly but nevertheless in an understanding way.

Well, I merely mention this to you because all of us have to give thought to it and, speaking for myself, I can tell you that I am constantly giving thought to this matter and I earnestly hope that the Hindu University will soon start opening, possibly it may start opening in bits, phased opening, I might say, just to see that everything goes right, so gradually the whole thing starts functioning.

Now we come to this matter, the salaries and allowances of Members of Parliament Amendment Bill. I am told, I have not closely seen the Bill, but I am told there are two or three matters in it, amendments<sup>329</sup>. One is: some member of our party has suggested, I believe, that pension should be paid to MPs if they have [...] <sup>330</sup>

327. Lok Sabha MP from Budaun, Uttar Pradesh.

328. T. Nallamuthu Ramamurti was Rajya Sabha MP from Madras.

329. The CPP discussed the bill on MPs' salaries, introduced in the Lok Sabha on 27 September 1958. The bill provided for free rail and air travel for MPs.

330. After this the proceedings are in Hindi.

अन्य: शिब्वनलाल सक्सेना के असर के नीचे वहाँ लड़के जो हैं वो गड़बड़ करते हैं। लेकिन मेरा ये अर्ज करने का है कि शिब्वनलालजी की वजह से नहीं बल्कि Vice Chancellor साहब के एकतरफा रवैये की वजह से वहाँ ...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैंने अर्ज किया था इस बारे में तो उन बातों का मालूम होता है पंचहजारीजी<sup>331</sup> पे कोई असर नहीं हुआ, न उस बहस का, न उन बातों का। मालूम नहीं उन्होंने सुनने की भी कोशिश की थी कि नहीं। तो मैं लाचार हूँ, सिवाय इसके कि मैं कहूँ, जो बहस उन्होंने पेश की है उसको मैं महज गलत नहीं समझता बल्कि गलत से कुछ ज़्यादा समझता हूँ। और इसी वजह से आज मैं आपसे बोला कि इस ढंग की बहस वहाँ House में हुई थी। यहाँ हरेक को अख़्तियार है, पंचहजारीजी को भी अख़्तियार है, लेकिन पंचहजारीजी House में वो कहें तो उनको अख़्तियार नहीं है, मैं कहता हूँ, ये कहने का। और किसी को नहीं है इस ढंग की बातें कहना। क्योंकि बेबुनियाद हैं, गलत हैं और जानते नहीं वो क्या कह रहे हैं। अनजाने में बातें तो बहुत लोग करते हैं लेकिन उन्होंने जो एक इस तरह से personal charges लगाये हैं इसमें। Vice Chancellor ने, सुनिए क्या कहा, उन्होंने 8 तारीख को या 9 की सुबह, 8 को लाठी चार्ज कर [...] ताकि उनको wrong में कर दें। मैं हैरान हूँ ऐसी बातें सुनके, कोई शख्स जो अपने को ज़रा भी ज़िम्मेदार समझता है। Prestige किसकी इसमें? Hindu University की वजह से यहाँ Education Minister साहब जो कि आख़िर में आये हैं इस मसले पे। ये मसला शुरू हुआ उनके Education Ministry में आने के ज़माने के पहले, वो तो आख़िर में आए, जब report वगैरह आ गयी। काफी education authorities हैं, University Grants Commission है, जिसमें बड़े से बड़े Vice Chancellor हैं, जिसमें हमारे पुराने Finance Minister हैं जिनको कोई Hindu University से क्या बुज है, वो उसके Chairman<sup>332</sup> हैं। हर बात उनसे सलाह करके, और मैं नाम नहीं लिया चाहता, लेकिन काफी बुजुर्ग दिल्ली में भी हैं, जो कि बहुत, जिनकी बड़ी हमें इज़्ज़त है, राय में खासकर, education के matters में, सलाह-मशवरा करने को। इन्होंने बांध दिया कि कोई झगड़ा हो रहा है Vice Chancellor और चंद students का और इज़्ज़त की बात है। Vice Chancellor तो वहाँ चंद रोज़ के जो मेहमान हैं, उनका इस्तीफा दिया हुआ है, वो तो नहीं वहाँ रहेंगे।

और दूसरी बात देखिए उन्होंने कहा कि वो पालना चाहते हैं यानि Education Minister, Vice Chancellor को पालना चाहते हैं। क्या मैं अर्ज करूँ कि मैं हैरान हूँ कोई Member इस House का इस किस्म की बेमाने बातें करे। गुस्सा चढ़ता है मुझे। कोई ज़रा ज़बान और दिमाग़ पे रोक-टोक नहीं है यहाँ, इस तरह की बातें की जाएँ यहाँ, जो लोग यहाँ

331. Raghbir Singh Panjhazari was Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab.

332. C.D. Deshmukh.



नहीं हैं उनके खिलाफ। माफ करेंगे, मैं सख्ती से कहता हूँ, लेकिन कहीं लगाम होनी चाहिए ज़बान पर, दिमाग़ पर भी। वो PEPSU से आकर judge कर रहे हैं कि वहाँ क्या हो रहा है बनारस में, और मैं नहीं जानता, मैं बनारस के ज़्यादा करीब रहता हूँ। ज़्यादा मेरे रिश्ते हैं Hindu University से भी और उससे भी। खैर...

अब, दूसरा सवाल लिया जाता है। तो मैंने सुना कि इसमें amendments हैं। एक तो ये कि मेम्बरों को तनख़्वाह मिले। I mean—माफ़ कीजिएगा, pension मिले। Pension मिले। किसका resolution है?

अन्य: एक resolution आया है, ballot में वो आ गया आज।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: भैया, एक resolution आया है और ballot में ही आया है। [...] खैर कहीं भी आया हो, कि अगर उसमें कोई शराफत है कि दस बरस तक Member रहा हो, वगैरह, कुछ शराफत है कि और शायद साठ बरस की उम्र तक हो। मैं जानता नहीं, लेकिन जहाँ तक मुझे इल्म है, कहीं और दुनिया में शायद ये कायदा है नहीं। [...] जी, मौका आपको जरूर दिया जाएगा। किस मुल्क में है, बता दीजिए। ... इंग्लैंड में? pension का?<sup>333</sup> ...ज़रा ठहर जाइये। खैर, रघुवीर सहाय साहब कुछ कहा चाहते हैं तो पेश कर दी जाएगी बात। लेकिन जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा मुझे इल्म नहीं है सब मुल्कों का। शायद उनके पास ज़्यादा वाक़्यात हों। लेकिन एक बात का तो मुझे इल्म है कि हिन्दुस्तान में इसका करना निहायत ख़तरनाक और ग़लत है। आपको, पार्टी को, इसका इशारा भी करना, पार्टी को ख़त्म कर देना है। मैं अपने इल्म से कहता हूँ, यकीनन आपको भी बहुतों को इल्म होगा कि एक, यानी इस वक़्त भी अगर आप अख़बार पढ़ते हैं तो अक्सर टीका-टिप्पणी, नुक्ताचीनी होती है, ये मेम्बरों के, जो, जो ... और उसमें ये बात आप बढ़ायें, तो क्या उसका असर होगा, जो जो साहब उसके हक़ में होंगे उनका बाद में चुनना नामुमकिन हो जाए, और जो कुछ हो। और जो मुख़ालिफ़ीन आपके हैं वो उसका झंडा लेके सबमें जाएँगे, ये देखो ये पेंशन याफ़ता लोग हैं। मैं तो हैरान हूँ उसकी practical aspect देखके। और फिर अगर MPs को हो, तो MLAs को क्यों न हो? उसूल एक है। तो बढ़ता जाता है, फिर एक अजीब तमाशा हो जाए इसमें तो। मैं तो अर्ज करता हूँ आपसे, बड़ी ख़तरनाक बात है, महज़ practically कहता हूँ।

अब ये के हम अक्सर Member तकलीफ़ में होते हैं, हम सब जानते हैं। मैं आपको बताऊँ एक और बात। एक साहब की तजवीज़ आई थी Governors को pension मिलनी चाहिए। Governors की तजवीज़ नहीं थी, Governors में से किसी की नहीं। एक

333. The Party also discussed a non-official resolution by Raghubir Sahai on pensions for MPs. It cited in justification the poverty of some former MPs and similar schemes in the UK, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand.

इसलिए कि गवर्नरी के बाद जो कुछ बेकार से हो जाते हैं, क्या करें। खैर, मैंने तो कुछ समझा नहीं कि वो कुछ बेकार हो जाते हैं पाँच बरस गवर्नरी के बाद। सब पेशे मौजूद हैं। एक शख्स ने पूछा क्या वो जूते... cobbler हो जाएँ? मैंने कहा क्यों न cobbler हों Governor? कौन-सी खराबी है, कौन-सी बेइज्जती है जूते बनाना और बेचना, मोचीगिरी करना? तो मैं, खैर। लेकिन ये एक हमारे Constitution में हमने President के लिए pension रखी है और किसी के लिए नहीं, अलावा service के लोगों को छोड़ दीजिए। और मेरी राय में सही रखी है उनके लिए, दूसरे के लिए नहीं रखी है। उसको आप इस तरह से बढ़ायें तो यानी मेरी सारी एक सियासी जज़्बात जो है, political sense है, वो गवाही देती है कि इससे ज़्यादा ख़तरनाक कदम आप नहीं उठा सकते। अब आप आइंदा जो मुनासिब समझें, करें।<sup>334</sup>

आइये, रघुवीर सहायजी...<sup>335</sup>

[Translation begins]

Someone: It is generally believed that the students, under the influence of Shibbanlal Saxena, are creating problems. But I would like to submit that it is not because of Shibbanlalji but the partisan behaviour of the Vice Chancellor that...

Jawaharlal Nehru: I had spoken to you about these matters. But it is obvious that what I said has had no effect whatsoever on Panjhazariji.<sup>336</sup> Also the discussion that took place has had no effect on him. I don't know if he even tried to understand what was said. So I am helpless except to say that I consider his arguments to be not merely wrong but a little more than that. That is why I referred today to the debates in Parliament. Here everyone has the right to say; Panjhazariji also has the right to say what he likes. But he has no right to say such things in Parliament. Nor has anyone else the right to do so because they are baseless and wrong. They don't know what they are saying. People say a lot of things in ignorance but he has levelled certain personal charges... Just listen to what he has said: the Vice Chancellor ordered a lathi charge [on

334. Finally, the Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament (Amendment) Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha on 12 December 1958. It provided for free first class rail travel to Ministers, and numerous amendments for free or subsidised air travel for MPs were lost with big margins.

335. After this the proceedings are in English. These are given immediately after the English translation of the preceding part of the proceedings.

336. See fn 331 in this section.



the students] on the morning of the 8th or the 9th, or maybe the 8th, to put them in the wrong. I am amazed to hear this kind of talk from a person who regards himself as a responsible individual. Whose prestige is affected? The Education Minister got involved in the matter of the Hindu University towards the end. This matter started much before he joined the Education Ministry. He came into the picture when the reports, etc., had come. Many authorities connected with education are involved. There is the University Grants Commission, on whose board there are senior Vice Chancellors. Our former Finance Minister, who has no bias against the Hindu University, is its Chairman,<sup>337</sup> and we consult him. Then there are many senior people in Delhi. Though I am not going to name them, we value their opinion in matters relating to education. So, all of them are consulted. Now, suddenly this gentleman comes up with the assertion that there is a quarrel between the Vice Chancellor and the students and that it has become a prestige issue. The Vice Chancellor is there only for a few days more. In fact, he has already sent in his resignation, and he will not continue there.

The other thing he said was that the Education Minister wants to protect the Vice Chancellor. What can I say? I am amazed that a Member of the House should say such meaningless things. I feel very angry to see that some members do not have any control over their speech and mind and such things should be said here against people who are not present here. Forgive me for expressing myself in such strong terms but people should exercise some control over their speech and mind. He comes here from PEPSU and tries to pass judgement on what is happening in Banaras. Am I not supposed to know better? I stay nearer to Banaras and have been in closer touch with the Hindu University than he.

Now, let's take another question. I have heard that some amendments have been suggested asking for salaries for members. I am sorry, the suggestion is that Members should get pension. Whose resolution is this?

Someone: One resolution has come. It has come through ballot today.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So there is one resolution and it has come through ballot. Well, it doesn't matter how it has come, provided it is well-intentioned. It says that a person should have been a Member for ten years and there is also a provision regarding age, perhaps sixty years. I am not sure but, as far as I know, such a rule doesn't exist anywhere in the world. [Interruption]. Yes, of course, you will be given a chance. Please tell us, which country? In England? About pension?<sup>338</sup>

337. See fn 332 in this section.

338. See fn 333 in this section.

Wait a minute. Raghbir Sahai Sahab wants to say something. He will be given a chance. As I said, I don't know about all the countries in the world—perhaps he may have more information—but I am certain about one thing, and that is, that to do this in India would be absolutely wrong and dangerous. Even to hint at this would finish the Party. I am saying this on the basis of my knowledge, and many of you must also be aware that there is so much criticism in the newspapers, etc. So, do you know what will happen if this matter is pursued? Whosoever is in favour of it now would find it impossible to get reelected and their detractors will come out and show them flags and point out that these are the people who are pensioners. I am amazed. Think of the practical aspects of it. And then, if MPs get pension, why not the MLAs? The principle is the same. So it spreads, and it may lead to a strange situation. Let me tell you that practically speaking it would be a most dangerous thing.

Well, I am aware that Members are often in financial difficulties. I would like to mention that recently I got a letter from an individual suggesting that Governors should get pension. This was not suggested by one of the Governors. The idea is that after retirement from governorship what is a person to do? I can't understand how a person becomes useless after being a Governor for five years. All sorts of occupations are open to them. Somebody asked me, "Is it alright for a Governor to become a cobbler?" I said, "Why not? What is so demeaning about being a cobbler?" Anyhow, in our Constitution we have a provision about pension for the President and for no one else, apart from those in the services. And I think they have done the right thing. My political sense tells me that there can't be a more dangerous step than to keep widening its scope. Now I leave it to you; you can do what you like.<sup>339</sup>

Please come, Raghbir Sahaiji...<sup>340</sup>

[Translation ends]

Jawaharlal Nehru: My knowledge was very limited about this matter. I thank you for it and I apologise for having indicated that this might not be so. Of course, he has not dealt with the main point that I raised, which is that it will be highly—in the conditions in India, and everything—it will be highly impolitic to do any such thing in mentioning some cases of respected friends and colleagues of ours like Dr Murari Lal.<sup>341</sup> Well, of course, such cases, we know such cases,

339. See fn 334 in this section.

340. After this the proceedings are in English.

341. Former Rajya Sabha MP (1952-56) from Uttar Pradesh.



not only of ex-Members of Parliament but outside Parliament, plenty of our colleagues like that. As a matter of fact, Dr Murari Lal could probably not qualify, because he was only two years here, or something like that. You see, he even did not qualify.

The most of the cases he has mentioned are partly, not wholly, in the nature of provident fund but, you will remember, in all these countries, I believe, which he has mentioned, there are various things applying to the general population, old age pensions, and old age pensions are very considerable, I might tell you, in some countries, old age pensions. Then there is the unemployment dole, all these things, when a country is prosperous enough to do that. In Sweden, the old age pension is probably more. I do not quite remember what it is, but it is a very considerable sum. More than the earnings of most people in India is the old age pension there. Now, if in Sweden in addition to that they provide for something it is part of a scheme. In all these countries there are old age pensions, in all these countries there are unemployment doles, apart from free medical service, free this, free that. So, in a scheme like that, if and if they can afford it they do it, it does not make much difference. But here the real difficulty in India is whatever we do, it applies to a handful of persons however worthy they might be when the great majority are worse off and that creates bitterness of feelings and that is bad enough. But, as I said, the practical aspect becomes a general outcry and agitation. Well, these people go there to feather their own nests; which is not a good idea to spread, although the agitation will be baseless and wrong. And a time may come, well, really what we should aim at is the state providing all kinds of things for everybody, free education, free health, free this, free that, and work even, even for those of relatively advanced years, and old age pensions for those who cannot. But just selecting, I am quite sure, selecting Members of Parliament for this, even though they deserve it very much after their labours, would be a very erroneous thing, creating a bad impression in the public. That is what I would submit to you [...] anybody else wants to say something about this point? [...]

No, about this point I am saying...pensions, yes...but I said that, I said that immediately that spreads out and then what about the members of Municipal Board, what about the panchayats? You see, it becomes difficult. May I take it that much as we appreciate the arguments of our friend Raghubir Sahai, we do not agree with his conclusion at any rate at this particular moment? ... Oh, yes, time is not right; we are not adequately and economically advanced [...] So, just this matter should not be pressed.

What is the other matter, Mr Dasappa?

Someone: Sir, there are just two points which I would like to place before the House. One is with regard to the Members being permitted to do one intermediate journey at least and that too to their constituency during the session by air. This is not my idea; it is an idea of my friends. They say you can permit the MPs to go to their constituencies once by air and get back. The other idea is my own, that is, since we get a free railway pass from one place to another destination, we may be enabled to pay the difference between the railway fare and the airfare and be allowed to travel by air. If we go by railway we get it free; if we go by air we have got to pay the....

Jawaharlal Nehru: [...] keep a promise for certain functions, but Pantji is here and no doubt [...]. Any such suggestions you make in this regard should be noted but there is one broad thing I should like to submit, that anything involving further expenditure on the state should be avoided at the present moment, when we are calling upon people, on the one hand, for austerity and all that; it may be a small sum, it may be a few lakhs, but it does not fit in with our calls on the people. It is a difficulty. That has to be borne in mind. One thing what I think Mr... yes, just... Kapoor<sup>342</sup> said, if I understand him rightly, that a person may travel by air by paying the difference, he is quite right. The Auditor General objected to that; we were doing that. That might be considered or travel by air-conditioned coach by paying the difference. These matters can be considered certainly how they fit in. But what Mr Dasappa said apart from that, involved in addition to that that there should be another intermediate [...]—he can come by air; he can go by air on business. But he wants another, one intermediate travel. That again, if you apply rules, I have submitted, would be a special burden. I just do not think ... that I agree, but I submit to you that at the present juncture what we are telling our people about austerity, it will go with a bad grace, even if our demand is quite justified. Comparisons are made perhaps rightly with the rules regulating our services, they can travel by air-conditioned, or this or that. Well, it is unfortunate but all of us have to function in an illogical way in the matter of salaries. My secretary gets nearly double the salary which I ... more than the double salary sometimes that I get. It is true that I get a house too, and this and that, and there it is, but that raises quite different [...]. I do not like the idea of ourselves, Ministers or MPs, comparing them with them. We stand on a different type of a footing, and, if we, you see that how have we got into this tangle of high salaries. I know that, please. I know that. We have got it because the English people originally, the English ICS men,

342. Jaspat Roy Kapoor was Rajya Sabha MP from Uttar Pradesh.



wanted high salaries to go to England every year or every second year with their families and have all kinds of privileges and they got them, because the government was their government. Then the Indian ICS people came and they said equality although there was no need for Indian ICS men to go to England every year, as if their family was there. He got, including the Indian ICS man got also, the right to take his family to England every second year with his full salary and the state paying—just equality. And so we get more and more entangled. In industry we get entangled in this way, but on the political plane we should think of all this independently, and not compare it. I admit that many of those things are illogical but they are there.

Govind Ballabh Pant: ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Because, the more often we meet the better. Thank you...That report, according to the rules Pantji knows better than I do, has to be sent to the Public Service Commission after certain opportunity has been given to the people concerned to give their explanations. Then the Public Service Commission deals with it. Then, of course, it will come to Parliament, but they have to be given a chance naturally to reply to what has been said about them [...]

Govind Ballabh Pant: I have stated in Parliament and so did the Finance Minister<sup>343</sup> previously that the report will be placed on the Table of the House after these proceedings.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What Pantji said was that he had stated in the House that the report and the review of the Vivian Bose Enquiry Commission will be placed on the Table of the House. After these procedures, that is, the commission reports, the parties concerned are called upon to answer to whatever charges may be made and the Public Service Commission gives its view. These are the procedures. Then this is placed before the House. [...]

343. Morarji Desai.

**200. To K.L. Shrimali<sup>344</sup>**

November 22, 1958

My dear Shrimali,<sup>345</sup>

At our Congress Party meeting today<sup>346</sup> I referred to the discussion on the Banaras Hindu University which took place two days ago.<sup>347</sup> I spoke rather strongly about the speeches and attitude of some Congress Members.

I am, however, much concerned about one aspect of this matter and I am sure you must also be concerned. It is not desirable or even possible to keep thousands of students doing nothing and waiting for something to happen. This is bad for them and bad for the country. Indeed the cases of foreign students studying there have come up before me. What are we to do? A few days or even a few weeks lost do not matter much. But this uncertainty and indefinite prolongation of an enforced holiday is bad.

There are only two ways out of this difficulty. One is to open the University or, the other, to provide for the students in other universities. Obviously it is difficult to provide for thousands of them elsewhere. That will raise very serious problems. We might perhaps provide for the foreign students elsewhere. Therefore it becomes essential that the University should start functioning as soon as possible. The idea that this should be done in a phased way is good. Why should not some departments be opened as soon as possible? The fact that some students or teachers or others create trouble should not prevent us from doing that.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

344. JN Collection.

345. Union Minister of State for Education.

346. See item 199.

347. In the Lok Sabha on 20 Nov. 1958.



201. To Hriday Nath Kunzru<sup>348</sup>

November 28, 1958

My dear Hariji,<sup>349</sup>

Your letter of the 28th.<sup>350</sup> You refer to some statement appearing in *The Statesman*. It is completely incorrect. I gave no assurance of any kind to Ram Subhag Singh. In fact, I did not mention the Vice Chancellor. I wrote to him to say that I had objected to his remarks more particularly because he had imputed motives to people.<sup>351</sup>

Privately, I had mentioned to some people (not to Ram Subhag at all) that the Vice Chancellor had to bear a very heavy burden, and I admired his courage. He had requested us to accept his resignation because he wanted some rest. We had not agreed because this might be misinterpreted. But he deserves rest and, when the proper time comes, we might agree to his resignation. I made it clear at the Party meeting that we cannot submit to the threats of the students.

I wrote to Dr Shrimali separately<sup>352</sup> that I was rather concerned about the fate of the large numbers of students who wanted to continue to study. Some foreign students had actually approached us on the subject. It was our duty to provide for them as well as for others elsewhere if necessary, if the closure of the Hindu University was unduly prolonged. I suggested to him, therefore, that it would be a good thing if gradually and in a phased manner, the University was opened to students.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

348. JN Collection.

349. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Uttar Pradesh.

350. Nehru had suggested to Ram Subhag Singh that the Vice Chancellor of BHU could resign, according to *The Statesman* report; Kunzru feared this would ruin the morale of the University. "Is the Vice Chancellor going to be sacrificed to appease this small number of students who are being led by a few teacher-politicians for their own purposes," he asked.

351. See item 198.

352. See item 200.

## 202. Disturbances in Allahabad University<sup>353</sup>

Please send the following reply to this letter from the President of the Allahabad University Union:

“Dear Shri Pande,

The Prime Minister has received your letter of the 28th November.

He accepts your assurance that the Allahabad University students were not directly responsible for the disturbances and incidents involving looting of shops, etc., which took place in the Civil Lines on the 17th November.<sup>354</sup> It is obvious, however, that those incidents would not have occurred if some of the Allahabad University students had not called for a hartal and taken other initiatives on that day. This is not the first time that such incidents have occurred in Allahabad in connection with some student agitation. On previous occasions also, the students started some agitation and called for a hartal. The result was damage and looting of shops which brought great discredit to the University as well as to the citizens of Allahabad.

From this it is apparent that any such action on the part of the Allahabad University students may lead to such deplorable incidents and the responsibility for them must rest with those who call for some action which is likely to lead to such undesirable developments.

The Prime Minister therefore thought that these facts were apparent to the University students. As it is, quite apart from the looting and damage caused to merchants, a foreign gentleman of repute who was leaving Allahabad that day for a foreign country had his property looted and he was unable to fulfil his programme. Thus, international incidents are caused which may lead to grave consequences.

The Prime Minister would like to point out that not only must a person or group refrain from any undesirable activity, but responsibility attaches to that person or group if there are undesirable consequences of such activities. There are always some people who have no restraint and who wish to take advantage of a situation that has arisen. A responsible citizen should not create a situation which encourages such elements.

The Prime Minister is very heavily occupied and he does not think it necessary for you to come to Delhi to discuss this matter. He has, as I have said above, accepted the facts as you have stated them.

Yours sincerely,”

353. Note to M.O. Mathai, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister, 1 December 1958. JN Collection.

354. See item 198, fn 312.



2. Please send a copy of your letter to the Vice Chancellor of the Allahabad University.

### 203. To Shri Ranjan<sup>355</sup>

1st December, 1958

My dear Shri Ranjan,<sup>356</sup>

I wrote to you that in view of the disturbances which had taken place in Allahabad recently, as a consequence of the students' hartal,<sup>357</sup> I did not think it worthwhile coming to your convocation. I have now received a letter from the President of the Allahabad University Union in which he says that the students conducted themselves in an entirely peaceful manner and it was others who created this trouble. I do not think this explanation is particularly satisfactory even if one accepts it. Any responsible person should keep in view the possible consequences of the action he takes. We have had enough of this type of students' hartals which have resulted in trouble and disturbance. The fact that the actual rioting or looting was done by others does not lessen their responsibility. I think that students should be made to realise this.<sup>358</sup>

However, I do not want to make this an issue in connection with my visit to Allahabad. I shall try to attend your University Convocation on the 21st December.<sup>359</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

355. File No. 8/80/58, PMS.

356. Vice Chancellor, Allahabad University.

357. See item 198, fn 312.

358. Shri Ranjan replied in Dec. absolving the students of misdemeanour, certifying that the president of the Union was a "level-headed boy", accusing "teenaged urchins" for the violence at Civil Lines on 17 Nov., and dismissing reports in Delhi papers about assault on a foreigner as "a pure figment of the imagination." He insisted that Nehru must attend, that "I will simply accept no refusal from you."

359. For Nehru's convocation address at Allahabad University on 21 Dec. 1958, see item 11.

**204. To Sanat Kumar Pande<sup>360</sup>**

11th December, 1958

Dear Sanat Kumarji,<sup>361</sup>

I have your personal letter of December 7.<sup>362</sup>

I need not tell you that I am deeply interested in the affairs of the Banaras Hindu University and naturally in the many young men and women who study there. It has been a matter of deep grief to me that conflicts and difficulties should occur there which compelled our Government to take a rather unusual action. I can assure you that so far as our Government is concerned, their only desire is to help the University to function efficiently and in a disciplined way and to ensure that the students there benefit by their stay in the University.

You have referred in your letter to the unqualified apology which was offered on your behalf. I think you were right in doing so and it is wholly wrong to consider such a step as an act of weakness. There should be no question of strength or weakness in doing the right thing. In fact, normally such an act is an act of strength which raises the person concerned in the estimation of others.

I am glad to know that a large number of colleges in the University have opened or are going to open soon. I hope that the whole University will be functioning soon normally.

As you know, an Executive Committee has been appointed for the University. It would not be proper for me or for anyone else to interfere with the work of that Committee which carries the responsibility of the proper administration of the University and the welfare of the students. I am sure that Committee will keep every aspect in mind and come to right decisions.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

360. JN Collection.

361. Secretary, BHU Students Action Committee, Banaras.

362. The letter was sent to K.L. Shrimali and is not available.



205. To K.L. Shrimali<sup>363</sup>

December 28, 1958

My dear Shrimali,

I enclose a letter I have received from Jagdish Saran Sharma,<sup>364</sup> who has been the Librarian of the Banaras Hindu University.<sup>365</sup> I remember your telling me that the Librarian there had been found guilty of grave malpractices. Presumably it is because of these that he has been dismissed. If there is anything approaching proof of these malpractices, of course nothing more should be done about it.

I find that this person brought out rather good bibliographies on Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian National Congress and on me. Those books showed a certain ability and perseverance.

I am not sending any answer to this letter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

363. JN Collection.

364. (1924-1993); Research Officer and Librarian, AICC, New Delhi, 1954-56; Librarian and Head, Library Science Department, Banaras Hindu University, 1956-59; Librarian-cum-Professor of Library Science, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1959-83; Librarian, Jammu University, 1983-86; Author of several books including *Mahatma Gandhi: A Descriptive Bibliography* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company, 1955), *Indian National Congress: A Descriptive Bibliography of India's Struggle for Freedom* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company, 1959) and *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Descriptive Bibliography* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company, 1955).

365. 27 Dec. 1958, Jagdish Saran Sharma wrote that the Vice Chancellor had hounded him out of his job although an official inquiry had not turned up any evidence against him. He demanded a judicial inquiry, failing which he threatened a "FAST UNTO DEATH" as befitted a Gandhian.

## (ii) Children and Youth

**206. Equal Opportunities for All Children<sup>366</sup>**

जगजीवन राम जी,<sup>367</sup> श्रीमाली जी,<sup>368</sup> इन्दिरा जी,<sup>369</sup> और प्यारे बच्चो, तुम्हें मालूम है कि हम यहाँ बाल भवन का शिलान्यास करने आए हैं। शिलान्यास करना क्या होता है, शिलान्यास? तुमने अभी देखा क्या हुआ? एक पत्थर जो वहाँ पहले से तैयार रखा था, उसको सीमेंट लगा के जमा दिया। अब इसके ऊपर और चारों तरफ मकान बनेगा। यह एक निशानी हो गयी, उस मकान को बनाना शुरू करना, बाल भवन बनेगा। और बाल भवन कैसा होगा उसके वहाँ नक्शे रखे हैं, तुम अभी देख सकते हो, जैसे एक खिलौने का सा मकान बना रखा है यहाँ। उसमें बहुत सारी चीजें होंगी और मैं आशा करता हूँ जल्दी से वह बन जाएगा। कई बरस हुए यह विचार हुआ था, यह ख्याल आया, कि हम एक बाल भवन बनाएँ और फिर उसमें बड़ी कठिनाई हुई। पहले तो सोचा था कि जो रामलीला का मैदान है, वहाँ बाल भवन बनाएँ। फिर वहाँ से उठके यहाँ आ गए, इस जमीन पर, अच्छा हुआ। और इसमें बड़ी देर लग गयी, इसके बनाने में, नहीं तो अब तक बन भी गया होता। जब इसका विचार हुआ था, उस वक्त के जो बच्चे थे अब ज़रा बड़े हो गए हैं, इस इंतज़ार में। अब मालूम नहीं जब तक यह बने कितने लोग और बड़े हो जाएँ। तो फिर इसके माने ये हैं, दो माने हैं, एक तो जल्दी से यह बनना चाहिए और जो छोटे हैं उनको बहुत तेजी से बढ़ना नहीं चाहिए।

तो हमने बाल भवन तो यहाँ बनाया, और और बनेगा। यह एक विचार होता है कि अब इस बाल भवन में दिल्ली के कितने बच्चे आ सकेंगे, बच्चे तो बहुत हैं यहाँ, लाखों बच्चे हैं। अब एक इस छोटे से भवन में कैसे आयेंगे खेलने सब? और यह तो अच्छा नहीं होगा कि हम चुने हुए बच्चों को यहाँ लाएँ। कुछ लोग नहीं आ सकें तो बुरी बात है। सभी को अधिकार होना चाहिए आने का, खेलकूद करने का। यहाँ बाल भवन में कोई इस बात की पहचान नहीं होगी कि कौन एक अच्छी जाति का है, कौन अमीर परिवार का बच्चा है, कौन गरीब, बल्कि विशेषकर जिन बच्चों को और खेलने की कोई जगह नहीं मिलती है उनके लिए यह बाल भवन बना है। सबके लिए है, बच्चों का अधिकार है। हमारी दुनिया जो है आजकल की, और हमारा देश भी, उसमें कुछ बहुत उलट-पलट इंतज़ाम है। एक तो यही है कि मैं उसमें हूँ। दूसरा, यह असल में कि इतने सारे बच्चे हैं उनकी अभी देखभाल

366. Speech when laying the foundation stone of Bal Bhawan, New Delhi, 14 November 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

367. Union Minister of Railways.

368. K.L. Shrimali was Union Minister of State for Education.

369. Indira Gandhi was Chairman of the Bal Bhawan.



ठीक तो नहीं होती। हाँ, उनके माँ-बाप उनसे प्रेम करते हैं, जैसा करना चाहिए, और उनके लिए स्कूल भी बने हैं और कॉलेज भी बन रहे हैं बड़ों के लिए, लेकिन सारे देश के बच्चे तो अभी स्कूल भी नहीं जाते। दिल्ली के बच्चे जाएँ, शहर के बच्चे, वहाँ गाँव के बच्चे नहीं जाते, सब गाँव के। तो सभी को मौका नहीं मिलता। तो यह बात तो ठीक नहीं है। सब बच्चों का एक जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार है।

मैंने जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार कहा। हमारे एक बड़े नेता रहे, बहुत बरस हुए, पचास बरस के ऊपर, करीब पचास बरस, लोकमान्य तिलक थे। उन्होंने कहा था कि स्वराज हमारे देश का जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार है। यानी देश में स्वराज होना यह हमारा एक पैदाइशी हक है। ठीक बात थी, हर एक का पैदाइशी हक होता है, हर देश का, हर, सब लोगों का, कि कोई दूसरा देश उनके ऊपर राज्य न करे। उसी तरह से देश के अंदर लोगों को अधिकार है। किसी को अधिकार नहीं होना चाहिए कि औरों को दबाए या औरों की मेहनत से, काम से अपना लाभ उठाए। सब लोग काम करें, खेलें, कूदें, और काम करें, और उससे उनका लाभ हो, देश का हो। तो जैसे लोकमान्य तिलक ने कहा था कि स्वराज हमारा जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार है, पैदाइशी हक है, वैसे ही हर बच्चे के जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार हैं। जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार हैं उसके कि उसकी देखभाल ठीक हो, उसको खाना मिले, वस्त्र मिलें, उसको खेलने का मौका मिले अच्छी तरह से, उसको पढ़ने का मौका मिले और उसको इस तरह से प्रेम से बढ़ने का मौका मिले। हर भारत के बच्चे का यह अधिकार है, जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार है। यह हमें मानना है, और हर भारत के बच्चे को आदर से और प्रेम से देखना है, क्योंकि यह छोटा मुन्ना सा भारत का एक टुकड़ा है। हल्के-हल्के वह बड़ा होगा फिर बड़े-बड़े काम भारत के लिए करेगा, अपने देश के लिए। और इसलिए हमें इन बातों का विचार करना है कि कैसे यह जो जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार बच्चों का है, वह खाली कागज पर नहीं हो और खाली, आपको, आप लोगों से मैं कहूँ, speech दूँ, lecture दूँ, उसमें हो, लेकिन असल में उसको अपने जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार मिलें। अगर हम भारत के बच्चों के जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार उनको दे सकें, उसका प्रबंध कर सकें पूरीतरह से, तो सारे भारत के जितने प्रश्न हैं सब हल हो जाएँ, सभी का जवाब हमें मिल जाए।

बड़े देश में बहुत सारे सवाल होते हैं। हमारे देश में भी बहुत हैं और बड़ी मेहनत करनी पड़ती है लोगों को उनको हल करने के लिए। कौन लोग करते हैं उसको? भारत के रहने वाले करेंगे न, और बाहर का तो नहीं। और भारत के रहने वाले कैसे करेंगे? जब उन्होंने सीखा है उनको करना। और कैसे सीखेंगे? जब बचपन में उनके जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार उनको मिलें, जब उनको मौका मिले खेलने का भी और पढ़ने का भी। और खेलने को और पढ़ने को एक माने में मिला देने का, क्योंकि खेल भी आवश्यक है, पढ़ना भी, और पढ़ना भी खेल की तरह हो सकता है और खेल भी पढ़ने की तरह हो सकता है। सब मिल-जुल जाते हैं, अलग-अलग क्या, और इस तरह से खेल के और पढ़ के बच्चे बढ़ते हैं और चारों तरफ उनके प्रेम होना चाहिए जिससे वह फूल की तरह से बढ़ के खिलें।

तो जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार तो मैंने कहा, सब बच्चों के होने चाहिए, लेकिन बात तो यह है कि अभी आजकल बहुतों को नहीं मिले हैं। हमारे शहरों में भी कितने बच्चे हैं जिनको नहीं मिलते हैं, जिनकी माता-पिता की ऐसी हालत नहीं है कि उनको दे सकें, और गाँव में जाओ तो वहाँ भी बहुत ऐसे बच्चे मिलेंगे। तो जब हम ऐसा काम करते हैं, जैसे कि बाल भवन यहाँ बनेगा, तो हमें सोचना है कि यह तो अच्छा काम हुआ, लेकिन ऐसे काम बहुत करने हैं कि सब बच्चों की वहाँ पहुँच हो।

तो एक बात और, एक वह भी एक अजीब बात है, बच्चे हमेशा बच्चे तो नहीं रहते, बढ़ने लगते हैं, बढ़ते जाते हैं। ज्यों-ज्यों वे बढ़ते जाते हैं और जब बड़े होके कुछ अपने माँ-बाप के करीब-करीब बराबर हो जाते हैं, तो जितना वह बढ़ते हैं उतना ही वह कुछ अपना बचपन का हाल भूल जाते हैं। फिर अपना सोचते हैं, बच्चों का भूल जाते हैं, यह अजीब बात है। हाँ, अपने बच्चों से प्रेम करें, यह और बात है। लेकिन जो बच्चे के विचार होते हैं, वह कुछ समझ में नहीं आते बड़े हो के। यह बड़े अफसोस की बात है। और फिर जो बड़े हो के वह चाहते हैं कि बच्चे उन्हीं की तरह से हों, तो वह बच्चे बेचारे न बच्चे रहते हैं, बड़े तो होते नहीं, न इधर के रहते हैं न उधर के रहते हैं। बच्चों को बच्चा रहना है, बड़ा नहीं होना है, और यह गलत बात है कि कोई बच्चों को बड़ा करने की कोशिश करे। बड़े तो हम हो ही जाते हैं, चाहे हम चाहें या न चाहें, मजबूरी है, उससे बच नहीं सकते। तो बचपन की अवस्था को हम जितना समझ सकें, जितना अपने कार्यों को उससे मिला के करें, उतना ही अच्छा है।

तो यह याद रखो, यह बाल भवन बनता है कि कोई बच्चा नहीं है दिल्ली का, या दिल्ली शहर के बाहर का, या भारत का, जिसके लिए बाल भवन के दरवाज़े बंद होंगे। वे हर बच्चे के लिए खुले होंगे। अब यह और बात है कभी इतनी भीड़ हो कि वहाँ जगह नहीं हो, वह तो दूसरी बात है। लेकिन यह नहीं कि कोई बच्चा, जो यहाँ आना चाहे और उसकी वहाँ जगह हो और उसको रोक दिया जाए, यह बहुत गलत बात होगी, बाल भवन के सिद्धांत के विरुद्ध होगी, खिलाफ होगी। खुला दरवाज़ा हर बच्चे के लिए, हर बच्चे को प्रेम से लाना, प्रेम से रखना, और हर बच्चे को अधिकार है कि वहाँ आके खेले, कूदे, और बच्चों से मिले और हर बच्चा यह समझे कि यहाँ यह एक बच्चों की जगह है और बच्चों का राज्य है जिसमें सब लोग बराबर हैं।

बच्चे आमतौर से ऊँच-नीच नहीं देखते, न ही देखना चाहिए। यह नहीं कि कोई बच्चा कहे, नाक-भौं चढ़ाए कि हम तो इस जाति के हैं या हमारा बाप बड़ा अफसर है। जहाँ किसी एक बच्चे ने ऐसी बात सोची या कही तो यह बच्चा बहक गया। बच्चा, बच्चा नहीं रहा, वह कुछ और होने लगा हल्के-हल्के। अच्छी बात नहीं है। बच्चे सब बराबर हैं। उनके माँ-बाप क्या काम करते हैं, उससे कोई मतलब नहीं, उनकी जाति क्या है, कोई मतलब नहीं। और कौन अमीर है, कौन गरीब, उससे कोई मतलब नहीं। हाँ, एक मतलब है कि जो बेचारा गरीब बच्चा हो, उससे प्रेम करना है, ज़्यादा आदर करना है, ज़्यादा मौका देना है उसे,



क्योंकि उसको मौके कम मिलते हैं। असल में तो हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे जो बड़े हैं, सब भारत के जो करीब-करीब 40 करोड़ बड़े और छोटे हैं सब लोगों में यह भावना हो कि हम सब बराबर के हैं, ऊँच-नीच नहीं है, सबको बराबर का मौका मिले। हल्के-हल्के उनमें आ जाएगी, बड़ों में भी, हम आशा करते हैं, लेकिन कम से कम छोटों में तो अभी से होना चाहिए और जब यह छोटे बड़े होंगे ठीकतौर से, तब सब देश में फिर वह भावना बराबरी की फैल जाएगी।

जगजीवन रामजी ने, जो कि हमारे देश की जितनी रेलें हैं उन सब की कुंजी अपनी जेब में रखते हैं, और कुंजी घुमा देते हैं तो रेलें चला करती हैं—जैसे तुम्हारे पास खिलौने की रेलें होंगी या खिलौने की मोटर, कुंजी घुमा देते हैं तो चलती है। तो यह बड़ी रेलों की कुंजी घुमाया करते हैं। और उन्होंने तुम्हें बताया, मैं भूल गया क्या बताया लेकिन जाने क्या बताया, कि 38 लाख रोज़ चढ़ते हैं—कितने चढ़ते हैं, भाई?—38 लाख लोग रोज़ भारत की रेलों पर चढ़ते हैं।<sup>370</sup> समझो सारे दिल्ली के रहने वाले जितने हैं दो दिल्ली के लोग, शायद इससे भी ज्यादा, इतने रोज़ चढ़ते हैं और नयी-नयी रेलें बनती हैं। क्यों चढ़ते हैं लोग रेलों पर? काम के लिए, खेल के लिए, आजकल भारत को देखने के लिए जाते हैं बड़े, बच्चे कि हमारे इस महान् देश को देखें क्या-क्या हो रहा है, और बच्चों से मिलें।

तो अब यहाँ यह छोटी रेल बनी है। मैंने अभी उसे नहीं देखा है, तुमने शायद कुछ लोगों ने देख लिया हो। लेकिन मैंने और देशों में और विशेषकर रूस देश में यह छोटी रेलें देखीं जिसको बच्चे चलाते हैं, बड़ा वहाँ कोई नहीं चलाने वाला होता। तो मुझे यह अच्छा लगा और मैंने उसका रूस से जब मैं आया था तो चर्चा किया था। तो मुझे तो मालूम नहीं था कि वो बात मैंने कही थी। उसको बाज़ लोगों के कान में अटक गयी, याद रही उन्हें, और उन्होंने उसका प्रबंध करना शुरू किया और मुझे कुछ आश्चर्य हुआ और खुशी हुई सुनकर कि यह बात पूरी हो गयी और यहाँ बच्चों की रेल एक चलने वाली है।<sup>371</sup> मालूम नहीं कि इस बात को लोगों ने मुझसे छिपाया था या क्या क्योंकि मुझे बिल्कुल मालूम नहीं था और इतनी बड़ी रेलें बन गयी हैं। सब यहाँ station बन गये और मुझे मालूम ही नहीं था। देखो, कितनी बातों से मैं इस देश में बेखबर रहता हूँ। मुझे मालूम होना चाहिए न मुझे सब बातें।

खैर, तो यह बन गया। तो इस समय मैं नहीं जानता क्या इन्होंने प्रबंध किया है—अरे, चढ़ाई का तो मालूम है, सवाल, प्रबंध, चढ़ने का नहीं है। चढ़ कोई भी सकता है, प्रबंध है उसको चलाता कौन है रेल को। बच्चों की रेल को बच्चे ही चलाएँ, नहीं तो बच्चों की

370. Jagjivan Ram pointed out that if children made up a mere 10 to 12 per cent of the thirty-eight lakhs passengers on Indian railways, they would be about 4,00,000, which was more than the number in schools in Delhi.

371. Nehru inaugurated the two-bogey children's train and its half-mile circular track at the Khel Gaon railway station on Bal Bhawan grounds, with himself beside the driver of the baby engine, and G.B. Pant, Jagjivan Ram, and children as passengers.

रेल थोड़े ही है। माना मैंने अभी शुरु-शुरु में ज़रा इसमें कुछ सीखना पड़े, आज नहीं कर सका, कल। लेकिन ऐसा प्रबंध होना चाहिए कि बच्चों की रेल में जो-जो काम हैं, चाहे इंजन चलाना, चाहे रेल के पीछे जो guard होता है वह, चाहे टिकट बेचना, खरीदना, यह सब काम बच्चे करें। एक बच्चा नहीं, बारी-बारी से करें। तब तो ठीक बच्चों का रेल हुआ, नहीं तो क्या है यह कि तुम जाके खाली बैठ गए और काम सब कोई और कर रहे हैं। यह बात ठीक नहीं है। तो थोड़े दिन बाद मैं पूछूँगा, मालूम नहीं किससे पूछूँ, जगजीवन राम जी से पूछूँ, श्रीमाली जी से, इन्दिरा जी से कि अब कौन उसको चलाता है। रेल को बच्चे चला रहे हैं कि बड़े और अगर और जब तक बच्चे नहीं चलायेंगे, उस वक्त तक यह काम पूरा नहीं होगा। अब शायद कोई तुम्हें बताये कि आज का क्या प्रबंध है यह रेल पर चढ़ने का, रेल पे जाने का, देखने का, क्योंकि उसमें जगह तो शायद अधिक नहीं है शायद, पचास बच्चे शायद आ सकते हैं, और बड़ों की उसमें बहुत जगह नहीं है। साफ-साफ बता दूँ ताकि कोई धोखा न हो किसी को। एक तो यों ही बड़ों की जगह नहीं है और एक बड़ा आए पाँच बच्चों को निकालना पड़े, पाँच, दो, तीन, चार, तो यह ठीक नहीं है। हाँ, कभी-कभी बच्चों की जो committee बनेगी इसको चलाने की, उसको अधिकार होगा कि अगर किसी से, बड़े से, खुश हो, तो उसको दावत दे आने की।

इस बाल भवन में और इस रेल में हल्के-हल्के पूरीतौर से बालकों का, बालिकाओं का, बच्चों का राज होना चाहिए, उनका प्रबंध होना चाहिए। इस तरह से उनको इंतज़ाम करने की, प्रबंध करने की आदत होगी, अपने ऊपर भरोसा होगा और ज्यों-ज्यों बढ़ेंगे और बड़े-बड़े प्रबंध उनके हाथ में आयेंगे और बाद में देशभर का प्रबंध उनके हाथ में आयेगा न। याद रखो हमारे देश में बहुत बच्चे हैं सब तरह के, और उन सब बच्चों को अधिकार है कि जब वह बड़े हों, अगर उनमें योग्यता हो, अगर वो जनप्रिय हों, तब हमारे देश के बड़े से बड़े काम वह करें। हमारे देश के सब में बड़े आदमी कौन हैं? हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी हैं। सब बच्चे, चाहे लड़का हो या लड़की, चाहे किसी धर्म के हों, चाहे किसी जाति के हों, चाहे हमारे आदिवासी भाई-बहिन हों, हर बच्चे को अधिकार है कि उसको मौका मिले राष्ट्रपति होने का इस देश का। यहाँ कोई दरवाज़े बंद नहीं होने चाहिए बच्चों के लिए, और सब बच्चों को बराबर के लिए खुलने चाहिए। तो अभी से बच्चों को सीखना चाहिए काम अपने आप करना, जिम्मेदारी अपनी ओढ़ना। हमारे यहाँ अक्सर प्रेम से माँ-बाप बच्चों की इतनी देखभाल करते हैं कि बच्चे अपनी देखभाल भी नहीं कर सकते हैं। तो यह तो बात अच्छी नहीं है। बच्चों को खुद अपनी देखभाल करना सीखना है, तब तो औरों की करें। जो अपनी कर सकता है वह औरों की करेगा।

तो अब दिल्ली में हम इसको कर रहे हैं। और दिल्ली तो एक शहर है सारे देश में, बड़ा शहर है। और भी बड़े शहर हैं, कलकत्ता है, मद्रास है, वहाँ भी कई बाल भवन तो हैं लेकिन जहाँ तक मैं जानता हूँ इस तरह के नहीं हैं। छोटे-मोटे बाल भवन बहुत जगह देखे मैंने। तो मैं आशा करता हूँ कि सब जगह, गाँव में भी और शहर में, बाल भवन होंगे



और उन बाल भवनों में बच्चों का प्रबंध होगा और हर एक बाल भवन का दरवाज़ा सब बच्चों के लिए खुला होगा। कभी यह नहीं कोई कह सकेगा किसी बच्चे से जो आना चाहे और अगर जगह हो कि तुम्हारे लिए दरवाज़ा बंद है। यह बात गलत होगी। और इस तरह से हल्के-हल्के हमारे देश में हर भारत के बच्चे को उसके जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार मिलेंगे।

बस अभी थोड़ी देर में रेल पर चढ़ना होगा, तब ज़्यादा समय नष्ट नहीं करना चाहिए।

[Translation begins]

Jagjivan Ramji,<sup>372</sup> Shrimali, <sup>373</sup> Indiraji<sup>374</sup> and dear children,

You know that we are here to lay the foundation stone of the Bal Bhawan. Do you know what that means? Did you see what happened just now? A stone which had been kept there in readiness was fixed into the ground with cement. Now a building will come up all around it. So it is a symbol of the Bal Bhawan which will come up. The plan as well as a model of the building is kept here for you to see. I hope it will come up quickly. The idea of this Bal Bhawan was thought of many years ago, but there was a lot of problem in implementing it. First we thought of building it in the Ram Lila Grounds. Then we decided on this piece of land which is a good site. All this has taken up a great deal of time; otherwise it might have been ready by now. Those who were little children when it was first thought of have grown up by now. I do not know how many more children would have grown up by the time it is ready. That means two things. One is that it should be constructed quickly and, secondly, the little ones must not grow up too fast.

So we have a Bal Bhawan here and there will be additions to it. The thought that comes to my mind is how many children will be accommodated here. After all, there are millions of children in Delhi. How will all of them be able to play here? It will not be proper to allow a few select children to come here and not the others. Everyone must have the right to come here and play. There will be no discrimination here in the Bal Bhawan on grounds of caste or wealth. In fact, this Bal Bhawan has been built especially for those children who do not have any place to play. In fact, this is for all children; they all have equal rights. Many things in this world, including our own country, are topsy-turvy these days. For one thing, I am in it. Secondly, our children are not well looked after. It is true that their parents love them, as they should, and some schools and

372. See fn 367 in this section.

373. See fn 368 in this section.

374. See fn 369 in this section.

colleges have been built for them. But all the children in the country do not go to schools today. The children in Delhi or other cities may go but all the village children do not go to schools. All of them do not get the opportunity. This is not a correct thing. Education is the birthright of every child in the country.

I said birthright. Fifty years ago, one of our great leaders, Lokmanya Tilak, had declared that freedom is our birthright, which is correct. It is the right of every country and all the people in the world to be free of foreign rule. Similarly, the people in any country must have freedom from oppression. None should have the right to suppress others or exploit their labour. Everyone should enjoy equal rights and opportunities and the fruits of their labour. So, as Lokmanya Tilak said that freedom is our birthright, every child in India also has a birthright, to be well looked after, to get good food, clothes, opportunities to play and read, and to get love and care. We must admit this and look after every child in India with love and care because they are a part of India and will grow up to take on the big tasks and responsibilities of the country. Therefore, we must ensure that the birthright of children does not remain merely on paper or is talked about in public speeches only but is really available to them. If we are able to do this, all the problems of India will be solved and we would have found the answers to all our questions.

There are great problems before any large country. We also face many problems in India and people have to work very hard to solve them. Who solves the problems? The people of India will have to solve them for nobody else will do it for us. We will have to train ourselves to find solutions to our problems. Children must be given all opportunities to play and read, and in a sense the two things should go hand in hand because both are essential for the growth of a child. Children should receive a lot of love and affection from all sides so that they may grow up like flowers.

I talked about the birthright of children. But the fact is that most children do not enjoy it today. Even in our cities, there are innumerable children whose parents are not well off and cannot provide what is due to their children. The same thing happens in the villages. So when we take up the building of one Bal Bhawan, we must see to it that such things are done in many places so that more children may be able to enjoy them.

Now, there is one strange thing. Children do not always remain small. They grow up and reach a stage when they become like their parents. But when they are grown up, they seem to forget their own childhood. They may love their own children. But they seem to fail to understand the problems of children in general. This is a queer thing. They want their children to behave like grown-ups. So the children are neither here nor there. Children must be allowed to enjoy their childhood. It is wrong to force them to behave like adults prematurely. They will



grow up sooner or later whether we like it or not. No one can avoid that. So the more we understand the problems of childhood and plan our actions accordingly, the better it will be.

So please remember that the doors of this Bal Bhawan will be closed to no child, in Delhi or outside Delhi, or in the whole of India. They will be open to every child. It is a different matter that sometimes there may be no space due to overcrowding. But it will be very wrong if a child who wants to come here is not allowed to do so even when there is space. That will be against the principles and ideals of the Bal Bhawan. Its doors should be wide open for every child and they should all be welcomed and treated with love and affection and each child should be allowed to play and mix with other children. Every child must have the realisation that this place is their own. It should be a territory of the young where everyone is equal.

Generally children do not think of disparities and they should not also. It is not a good thing for a child to turn up his nose at another child because he belongs to a higher caste or his father is an officer. The moment a child thinks like this, he goes astray. He no longer remains a child; he gradually becomes something else which is not a good thing. All children are equal and what their parents are or the caste they belong to is of no consequence. It makes no difference whether some are rich while the others are poor. Yes, in a sense, the poor child must be given more affection, more respect, and more opportunities since he gets fewer opportunities. In fact, we want to inculcate this feeling of equality in all the forty crore people of India, the young and the older people. We hope that gradually this feeling will grow and take roots, that everyone is equal and they deserve equal opportunity. Let's hope that this feeling will gradually develop in them, even among the older people. But at least the young must have it from now only so that when they grow up there will be no inequality anywhere in the country.

Jagjivan Ramji holds the key to all the trains in the country and when he turns it the trains run just as you have toy trains and motor cars which go when you turn the key. He turns the key to the big trains. He told you something—I forget what exactly he told you but I think he said that nearly thirty-eight lakh people travel by train every day.<sup>375</sup> It means that the population of Delhi or rather two Delhis, or more, travel by train every day. Why? They do so for various reasons like work, playing games, excursions to see what is happening in this great country of ours and to meet children.

Now, there is a small train here which I have not seen yet. Some of you may have already seen it. But I have seen mini-trains in other countries, especially the Soviet Union, where the children themselves drive them, not the grown-

375. See fn 370 in this section.

ups. I liked this very much and discussed the idea on my return. It appealed to some people and arrangements were made to have one here. I was pleasantly surprised to hear that it has been completed and is ready for use.<sup>376</sup> I do not know if the fact was deliberately kept from me but I had absolutely no idea that a mini-train with stations and whatnot has been built. See, there are so many things in the country of which I am unaware! I should know about everything.

Anyhow, the train is ready. I do not know what arrangements have been made. Well, I know about boarding. The question is not about arrangement for boarding. Anybody can board. By arrangement I mean who drives the train. Children should be allowed to drive their own train, otherwise it will not be a children's train. I agree that in the beginning they will have to be taught and trained and, if not immediately, they can learn gradually. The aim should be to have children manning all the posts whether it is the guard's or the ticket collector's or the driver's, etc. The children should take turns at these things. It will not be a children's game if they get on to the train and expect others to do the work. That is not right. I shall make enquiries after a few days. I do not know whom I am supposed to ask—Jagjivan Ramji or Shrimaliji or Indiraji—whether the children have started running the train, and until they do, the task will not be over.

Now I would like somebody to tell me what the arrangements are for today to board the train, to see it, etc. I don't think it can take more than fifty children at a time and there is not much room for grown-ups. Let me tell you quite frankly so that nobody may have any doubts: Firstly, there is not much room and one grown-up person will occupy five children's seats which is not right. When there is a children's committee to run the train, it will have the right to invite an adult for a joyride in the train, to visit the Bal Bhawan, etc. Gradually, the children must run this completely themselves. In that way they will get into the habit of organising things and gain self-confidence. As they grow up, they will shoulder greater responsibilities and eventually the entire responsibility of the nation will be in their hands.

Please remember that there are innumerable children in our country and they are from different backgrounds. If they have the ability and are popular, then each one of them has the right to aspire for the highest jobs in the country. What is the highest post in the country? It is that of the President. Every child in the country, irrespective of sex, caste and creed, or whether he is an Adivasi, has the right to aspire to become the President if he has the ability. No doors should be closed to any child in India, and should remain open equally for all children. The children must prepare themselves and learn to take on

376. See fn 371 in this section.



responsibilities. In our country parents tend to spoil their children with overprotection which is not a good thing. The children should be trained to look after themselves so that they can look after others and serve the country when they grow up.

We are now starting this [Bal Bhawan] in Delhi, which is but one city in the country. This is a big city. There are also other big cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras where there are many Bal Bhawans. But, as far as I know, there is none like this one. I have seen smaller ones at many places. So I hope more Bal Bhawans will come up in other cities and in villages also and all children will be allowed to come, and its gates should remain open to all children. No one should ever tell a child not to enter the Bal Bhawan and no child should be prevented from coming if there is space there. That will be wrong. In this way, gradually every child in India will enjoy its birthright.

Now, in a short while we shall board the train. Then we should not waste any time.

[Translation ends]

## 207. To Y.B. Chavan<sup>377</sup>

November 18, 1958

My dear Chavan,

Can you let me know what you think of a school in Bombay called St. Catherine of Siena School?<sup>378</sup> This is described as a basic education centre for destitute children of all classes. The address is Retreat House, Bandra, Bombay 20. It is apparently run by a person named Anthony Elenjmittam<sup>379</sup> who was with Gandhiji in Noakhali and met me there. Apart from that, I do not know anything about him.

377. JN Collection.

378. Established on 7 Nov. 1957 by Reverend Father Anthony Elenjmittam, a friend of Mahatma Gandhi, this school was run by a registered Trust for the education and counselling of orphans and street children.

379. Born in Cochin, 1915; educated at Alwaye, Kerala; ordained, 1939; ministry in Italian cities until 1942; studied at Oxford; returned to India, 1945; worked as Editor, *Indian Messenger*, and as Deputy Editor, *Eastern Express Daily*; in Noakhali with Mahatma Gandhi, 1946; Director, Trust for Ramchoddas Lotvala Eastern Philosophy, Bombay, 1952; set up St. Catherine of Siena School at Bombay for destitute children, 1957; founded the Mission of Sat-Chit-Ananda in Assisi, Italy; author of several books including *The Upanishads* (Bombay: Aquinas Publications, 1977) and *St. Francis of Assisi* (Bombay: Aquinas Publications, 1963).

From the description of the School, I should like to help it, if there is nothing wrong about it. I could send it some money from my Children's Fund. But I shall only do so if you give your approval.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 208. To the American Children<sup>380</sup>

November 24, 1958

My dear children,<sup>381</sup>

Our Consul General in New York has written to me that you paid a visit to him and gave him a number of letters, addressed to me. He has sent me this packet of letters also, and I have been very happy to read them and to have all your good wishes on my birthday. I have also liked the sketches that you have sent.

I am glad to know that you have been learning about India in your class. India is far away from America, and there are many things here which are different from what you find in America. But behind these differences are children and boys and girls who, perhaps, are not very different. It is when people grow up that they become rigid in their thinking and views, and look at differences more than similarities.

Just as you are learning something about India I should like children in India to learn about America and other countries. If we could know each other and understand each other more, the world would be a better place to live in.

I hope that when you grow up, you will not become rigid and stand-offish and will remember that people of all countries, even though they differ, are members of the same human family. It is, perhaps, good that they differ in many ways, because if everyone was alike, the world would become a very dull place. It is good to have this great variety in this world and, at the same time, to know that behind this variety, there is a common humanity.

About 2,300 years ago, there was a very great and wise man living in India. He was the emperor, and his empire was a vast one, stretching not only over a great part of India, but also a part of Central Asia. His name was Ashoka. When he became emperor, like others of his kind, he wanted to conquer other countries

380. File No. 9/2/58-PMP. Also available in JN Collection.

381. Of the sixth grade of the Little Red School House in New York City. Nehru asked M. Gopala Menon, Consul General of India in New York, to forward this letter to them.



and thus increase his empire. He waged a cruel war on a neighbouring country. But, when news came to him of the suffering and horror of war, he changed his mind completely and became a different person. Although he was winning the war, he put an end to it and declared that in future he would work for peace only. He used to issue messages to his people, and some of these he had carved out on huge stone columns or rocks, so that future generations might read them. We have still got many of these columns and rocks, and so we can read these messages of a man who lived 2,300 years ago in India. They are very interesting, and they teach us much that we ought to know. In one of these carved messages on a huge stone column, he wrote something as follows: "All people should live at peace with each other. They should respect their own faith and their own opinions, but they should also respect the faith and opinions of others who differ from them. If they respect others, these others will respect them and their faith and opinions."

If we could learn this old message of tolerance today, how much better would our world be.

Thank you for all your letters and affectionate wishes.

I send you my love and good wishes.

Jawaharlal Nehru

## 209. Pen-Friendship with Nehru<sup>382</sup>

I am sending you a bundle of letters, sketches etc. which have come to me from a school in New York. These children called on our Consul General in New York and gave them to him to be forwarded to me on my birthday. I have read a number of them. Perhaps, you might be interested in seeing some of them.

2. Among these papers is a kind of a story or essay about the new hoop craze in America. There are some pictures too. This might interest you.

3. Most of these children are about 11 years old. Many of them ask me to supply pen-friends to them. This is beyond my capacity. I do not know if we can help them in this matter at all.

382. Note to Indira Gandhi, 24 November 1958. JN Collection.

## 210. Learn from Other Countries<sup>383</sup>

Mr President<sup>384</sup> and friends,

Last year I had the privilege of meeting many of you or some of you<sup>385</sup> and I should just like to know how many of those who are present today were present in the Hall last year. ...So there are many newcomers; altogether how many? [...] Your association is independent or connected with other associations in Delhi or Bombay? ...I am happy indeed to meet you a little. I wish there is time and opportunity for us to meet and talk to each other, discuss some matters with each other. But I am afraid that it becomes very difficult; indeed even in Delhi I can find very little time to meet foreign and even Indian students.

Now, all of you come from various countries, mostly I think from Asian and African countries and some from outside too. I do not know how you will take advantage amongst yourselves of being here together. To some extent, I suppose you do inevitably, because there is one great danger for every country and that is for the people of that country to forget the rest of the world. They do not forget it. But what I mean is to have their minds limited by problems of their own country and their own people and not open to an understanding of the other peoples. In the modern world especially, it has become of the highest importance to have that understanding and it is good for both parties. If you come here from other countries, I hope that apart from your studies in colleges and universities you gain some understanding of India and the Indian people. But it is equally important and worthwhile from our point of view in India that they should meet young men and young women from other countries and get to know them and thereby broaden their outlook. Now, this particular danger to which I referred is more obvious in big countries. In a small country, inevitably, people meet, but in huge countries like India, like China, like the Soviet Union or like America—they are huge countries and are a world in themselves practically, so they are apt to be rather over-conscious of their country at the expense of other countries and I am not critical of them. In a small country evidently they have to meet others and rub shoulders with them.

Of course, now with the great improvement in communications people come and go much more than they ever have done in the world's history. That would be helpful to some extent. But these brief visits, as if by tourists, seldom give any particular understanding. People come to India, plenty of tourists

383. Speech at the International Students' Association, Raj Bhavan, Calcutta, 30 November 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

384. George L. Msibi.

385. Nehru had addressed them on 14 Dec. 1957. See SWJN/SS/40/pp. 274-275.



come, go about, take photographs, pictures, pictures from moving cameras and go to various tourists' places and they seldom have any worthwhile knowledge of India except rare people seeing some worthwhile things. The very few days they stay here are spent by looking at the famous sites and meeting many people. They never or seldom have any opportunity to get to know people, because in order to get to know people it is enormously helpful to know the language of the people. I do not think how one can get to know France at all unless you know French, or Germany, Italy or the Soviet Union or China—whatever countries you may take—or the Arabic language of the Middle Eastern countries. It makes enormous difference if you know the language, for tourists to understand the people of the country. But it is very difficult to know all the languages of the world.

Anyhow, the best time and the best opportunity to know each other is obviously this youth, when one's mind is receptive and the best place is the college or the university where people study, are studying together. Therefore, it is, if one seeks this kind of mutual understanding and comradeship. Obviously the best place is the university or the college where you pursue similar paths; you attend lectures, meet each other and discuss problems of each other and all that. It is well known that friendships formed during one's student days are often more enduring than at other times.

Now, I have mentioned one fact, the profit or the advantage which each party gains by coming here and thus you get advantage of personal studies; apart from the studies, you get a wider outlook. You may not like some things in India; you may dislike some things in India. That is inevitable. It does not matter provided you do not start with a closed mind and with, shall I say, a mind bent on slight things. Then, of course, minds do not grow. Apart from that, you gain a wider outlook by being here and meeting the Indian students who also gain wider outlook by meeting you—so it is a mutual thing.

Many of you will go back to your countries and probably have a share in the responsibilities of building up your countries more especially in Asia and Africa. In both these great continents there are powerful urges, powerful movements pulling those countries out of the ruts and grooves in which they had remained for some hundreds of years. There are again some countries which took different roads. But basically, the basic fact in Asia and Africa is that things are on the move and that things are on the move not merely in the governmental sense, but much more in the minds of the people. There is ferment in the minds of the people which leads to all kinds of things, sometimes good things, and sometimes bad things.

But, anyhow, there is a ferment and Asia and Africa are moving and try to find, I am using the word "find" themselves, just as every individual, if he is to

be an integrated individual, must to some extent find himself moving with other individuals. I do not say that everybody has been moving, but to some extent one has to find himself. So every individual has to find himself. If that individual is too self-absorbed in himself, then he becomes limited in outlook and ceases to grow. That is a kind of inbreeding of thought, just as there is too much inbreeding in social relations in a small group and that leads usually to bad results. So in the realm of thought too, if there is too much inbreeding, it leads to an absence of freshness.

On the other hand, if a country is too much wrapped in itself not thinking of the rest of the world, it gets this inbreeding of thought, a certain static condition, a certain stagnant condition which is reflected in its wider life. On the other hand, if a country is always looking to other countries and trying to copy them, forgetting its own roots, whether it is an individual or whether it is a group or a country, then you get just rather poor imitation of other countries. I can't become, however much I imitate, say, European. I can cease to be Indian, but I can't become a European.

So there are two extremes: those people who are so wrapped up in their own circle that they don't look up and they become narrow-minded and cease to grow, and the other class becomes such fervent admirers of everything outside that they try to copy them, they lose their roots in their own country. And no people really grow without roots in their own country. So one has to follow a middle course, having roots in one's own country and having all the doors and windows of our minds open to other countries so that ideas, thoughts, literature and every kind of cultural activity, scientific activity—we welcome it, we learn from it, we have to learn from others, provided we are not uprooted and become aliens to our own country, alien of course to other countries. Now, travel abroad broadens one's outlook, study abroad broadens one's outlook, even more.

Now, in the olden days—I mean by the olden days a generation or two ago, let us say, in the early years of this century and the 19th century—there were those powerful impressions of Europe on Asia and Africa, first of all politically—they were occupying large areas in Asia and Africa, secondly, culturally—they were impressive, and the result was that even when we resented their political domination we really tried to copy them; we were so impressed by Europe's advance, Europe's greatness, no doubt about it. It was really great culturally, scientifically, materially and industrially. It had gone ahead and we had remained stagnant. So there was a tendency to copy everything of Europe. Without really understanding the culture of Europe, we copied them externally, for it is difficult to copy her culturally and Europe had very high type of culture. That was the tendency.



Then with the growth of nationalism in each country, there is a tendency to reject that, reject the foreigner, not only politically but culturally. That too was an extreme phase and that phase is still present. Now, we have to take, as far as possible, a middle course. As I said, always have roots in one's own environment, in one's own cultural tradition. Never look with contempt upon one's own culture. That does not mean that everything in a country is good; of course not. Bad things often grow and all kinds of superstitions are there. But it is a bad thing to look down upon the environment in which you have grown. If you are ashamed of that, you are ashamed of yourself, because you are part of it; and if you are ashamed of yourself, you are frustrated, you are unhappy, you can't become yourself, you can't become somebody else. But at the same time, as I said, one must realise, one must not be too narrowly nationalistic. Nationalism is good within limits. But we must realise that the world is growing beyond the circle of nationalism and we, all of us, have to some extent to develop international habits of mind—I mean—in addition to national habits.

All this we have to do and, of course, in Asia and Africa we have great problems to face. In Asia there are many independent countries, politically independent, but with tremendous economic and social problems. In Africa independence is also coming and will no doubt come to many more countries and then they will have to face very difficult problems and I think with mutual understanding between countries of Asia and Africa they can also increase areas of understanding to include Europe, etc., too. But, nevertheless, circumstanced as we are, it is natural that the people of Asia and Africa should look to each other a little more and develop ways of cooperation. They will grow more.

For all these reasons it is important that these opportunities should come to you or should come to Indian students who go abroad to develop that wider outlook, if I may use an expression which I do not like. Nevertheless it is. Your coming here for us and for you is an investment in the future of greater cooperation and goodwill, because we cannot really go ahead in the world unless there is greater cooperation.

Well, I do not know if I have interested you in what I said, but looking at you and meeting you, these ideas came into my mind.

Thank you very much for coming here.

(iii) Other Matters

211. Economic and Social Revolution<sup>386</sup>

Vice Chancellor,<sup>387</sup> Principal,<sup>388</sup> अध्यापकगण और विद्यार्थियों, मैं शायद यहाँ पैंतीस मिनट वक्त से देर में पहुँचा। उसके लिए माफी, हालाँकि मैं नहीं समझता कि कसूर मेरा था वह। (हंसी) लेकिन कुछ न कुछ था ही। [...] मालूम नहीं आप यहाँ कब से इंतज़ार कर रहे हैं, और मुमकिन है आपमें से बहुत लोग कुछ भूखे और खाने के इंतज़ार में हों। बहरसूरत मुझे बड़ी भूख लग रही है। क्योंकि बहुत सुबह बड़ौदा से मैं चला और सेहत अच्छी है मेरी। (हंसी)

मुझे तो सच बात पूछिए यह मालूम भी नहीं था, यहाँ आने के कब्त, पूरीतौर से मुझे मालूम नहीं था कि यहाँ होल्कर कॉलेज में भी एक तकरीर है।<sup>389</sup> लेकिन आपने मुझे बुलाया, और चाहे वो एक, जैसे शंकर दयालजी<sup>390</sup> ने कहा, सिर्फ एक बीस लाख की एक इमारत खड़ी करने की समझें, काफी नहीं है। मालूम नहीं मुझे, वो रुपये से नापते हैं या किस चीज से। (हंसी) लेकिन दो बातें हैं, एक तो यह होल्कर कॉलेज इस सारे हिन्दुस्तान के हिस्से में बहुत दिनों से मशहूर है, प्रसिद्ध है, और उसने एक बड़ा काम किया है यहाँ के बहुत सारे कई नस्लों को, कई generations को सिखाने में, पढ़ाने में। दूसरे यह कि उसको और और colleges वगैरह को पहले से ज़्यादा बड़ा और ज़रूरी काम आईदा करना है, भविष्य में।

चुनाँचे यहाँ आने में मुझे खुशी हुई और ख़ैर, आप सब विद्यार्थियों से मिलकर और उनको देखकर और अपने को दिखाकर कुछ खुशी हुई, (हंसी) क्योंकि यह तो, जिसको अंग्रेज़ी में two-way traffic है, उसको कहते हैं वो, रास्ते दो तरफ। और जब तक कुछ काम करने का सिलसिला हम लोगों का जारी है, तो एक-दूसरे को पहचानना अच्छा है, कम से कम जान लेना, पहचानना, क्योंकि जो कुछ काम हिन्दुस्तान में उठे हैं और जो कि ज़मानों तक चलेंगे, वो कोई पर्दानशीनों के काम तो हैं नहीं। (हंसी) मेरा मतलब इस वक्त औरत के पर्दानशीन का नहीं था, मर्द पर्दानशीन का, (हंसी-तालियाँ) याने कि छिपकर दफ़्तर में काम कर लिया, कुछ कागज पर दस्तख़त कर दिये, तो उसको काम समझा, वो ज़माना अब नहीं रहा।

386. Speech at Holkar College, Indore, when laying the foundation stone of the arts and law faculties building, 3 November 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

387. K.P. Bhatnagar, Vice Chancellor, Agra University. The college was then affiliated to Agra University.

388. N. Padmanabhan Shastri.

389. The official name was Government Model Autonomous Holkar Science College. It was established in 1891 by Maharaja Shivaji Rao Holkar.

390. Shankar Dayal Sharma was Education Minister, Madhya Pradesh Government.



अब एक रोज़-ब-रोज़ काम का ढंग है, वो दो बातें हैं। एक तो मैदान में है, और दूसरे लाखों आदमियों के साथ काम करने का ढंग है। ढंग बदलता जाता है, ज़माना बदलता है हिन्दुस्तान का। तुम लोग यहाँ बैठे हो, तुम दूसरे ज़माने के लोग हो, मेरे ज़माने के नहीं, उसके बाद के ज़माने के हो। और इसलिए कभी-कभी मैं कुछ झिझकता भी हूँ ख़ास कुछ कहने के लिए। हालाँकि मैं समझता हूँ कि कुछ मेरा तजुर्बा या अभ्यास जो कुछ हुआ एक लम्बी जिंदगी में, शायद उससे तुम कुछ सीख सको। तो वो तो ठीक है, लेकिन उसी के साथ जो सवाल, जिस ढंग के सवाल तुम लोगों के सामने आयें, वे उस ढंग के नहीं थे जो मेरे सामने आये थे जब मैं तुम्हारी उम्र का था। ज़माना बदलता है, सवाल बदलते हैं, नये जवाब ढूँढ़ने होते हैं। और उसके ढूँढ़ने में पहली बात तो यह है कि सवाल समझें, ज़माने के सवाल क्या हैं?

यह अजीब बात है कि अक्सर लोग सवाल समझने की कोशिश नहीं करते हैं, जवाब लेकर हाजिर हो जाते हैं, आम बात है। आम बात है हरेक नसीहत देगा जवाब की, हरेक बतायेगा क्या करो, लेकिन इसमें कम लोग गौर करेंगे कि सवाल क्या हैं, जिनका हम जवाब ढूँढ़ रहे हैं? और मुल्क के सवाल, दुनिया के सवाल बदलते रहे हैं, क्योंकि दुनिया बदलती है, हर चीज बदलती है। तुम बदलते हो, बढ़ते हो, घटते हो, जो कुछ है। घटते तो नहीं हो बढ़ते ही जाते हो। (हंसी) लेकिन कोई एकसा नहीं रहता। देखने में तो एक से रहते हैं हम, जैसे कि मेरा ख़याल है हमारी पुरानी किताबों में मिसाल है नदियों की। एक नदी बहती है, नदी नदी रहती है, लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि उसका पानी हर वक्त बदलता रहता है। एक लौ जलती है तो दिखती है, लेकिन लौ हर वक्त बदलती रहती है। तो इस तरह से हम सब बदलते रहते हैं, और एक भी हैं, वैसे भी हैं, दोनों बातें हैं। ज़माना बदलता है। तो हर सूरत में हम आजकल के ज़माने में हैं, जबकि काफी हिन्दुस्तान बदला है, बदलेगा, तेजी से बदलेगा। क्यों बदलेगा? बहुत सारी बातें हैं, एक तो यह है कि बहुत दिनों से उसका कुछ बदलना रुक गया था, अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने वगैरह में, तो जब वो रुकावट हटी तो ज़्यादा तेजी से वह बढ़ी। बहुत दिनों से जो बातें शायद हम करते पिछले सौ बरस में उनको अब हमें दस बरस में करना है तेजी से। दूसरे यह कि यह ज़माना दुनिया में, ख़ाली हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं है, एक अजीब इन्कलाबी ज़माना आ गया है, उलट-पलट बदलना सब। तो हमें और भी चुस्त, चालाक होना है, तेजी से आगे बढ़ना है।

तो उस बढ़ने में रोज़ नये सवाल आते हैं, और अगर हम उनको नहीं समझें तो उनका हम सामना नहीं कर सकते, और उनको हल नहीं कर सकते। तो ऐसी हालत में मैं जो तुम्हें सलाह दूँ, वह क्या दूँ? तो ख़ैर मामूली बातें हैं, लेकिन मामूली बातें भी बड़ी ज़रूरी होती हैं। मामूली बातें हर ज़माने में चलती हैं, वो नहीं बदलती हैं, कुछ उसूल की, सिद्धांत की। मैं कहूँ तुमसे कि तुम अपने दिमाग़ को तेज करो, जाहिर है कोई भी ज़माना हो तेज दिमाग़ की ज़रूरत है। मैं कहूँ तुमसे तुम अपने शरीर को मजबूत करो, जाहिर है कोई भी ज़माना हो मजबूत शरीर और अच्छे दिमाग़ की आवश्यकता होती है। वह सब बातें तो मामूली हैं।

और मैं कहूँ कि आखिर मुल्क कैसे बढ़ते हैं? मुल्क बढ़ते हैं एक भेड़ की गिनती से नहीं, मुल्क बढ़ते हैं मुल्क की लियाकत, मुल्क के character से, मुल्क के चरित्र से, याने मुल्क के लोगों के। यानी मुल्क कोई एक व्यक्ति तो नहीं है। क्या इन बातों को लोग भूल जाते हैं? हिन्दुस्तान बढ़ेगा तो गुलशोर मचाने से नहीं बल्कि कितने हिन्दुस्तान में मर्द और औरत quality के हैं, दिमाग के हैं, अच्छे चरित्र के हैं, ताकत के हैं, हिम्मत के हैं। ये जो अच्छे गुण गिने जाते हैं, वह कितने हैं, उससे बढ़ेगा और चाहे आपके चालीस करोड़ से साठ करोड़ हो जाएँ, अगर ऐसी बात नहीं है तो हम पिछड़े रहेंगे। तो फिर सवाल हो जाता है कि हम कैसे-कैसे पुरुष-स्त्री quality के पैदा करें?

पहली बात तो यह है कि ज्यादा हम उनको तैयार करेंगे, अगर लोग कम पैदा हों, याने बोझा मुल्क पर ज्यादा न बढ़ाया जाए। लेकिन quality के लोग आमतौर से वो शिक्षा से बनाये जाते हैं और शिक्षा का एक बड़ा जुड़ जो है, जो अपने घर में, उनके असर हों, बड़ा हिस्सा है, माँ-बाप कैसे हैं, घर कैसा है, स्कूल कैसा है, कॉलेज कैसा है, यह बड़े सवाल आते हैं। वही लोगों को ढालते हैं और मौका देते हैं आगे बढ़ने का। हरेक एक सा तो नहीं होता लेकिन हरेक को मौका, हरेक को होना चाहिए। इनमें कुछ बहुत आगे बढ़ेंगे, बड़े-बड़े scientist होंगे, engineer होंगे, बड़े-बड़े जो कुछ काम करना है वो होंगे, और बाकी लोग इतने ऊँचे न जाएँ, फिर भी कुछ न कुछ अच्छा काम करना सीखेंगे। तो घूमघाम के सवाल आ जाता है कि हमारे देश में कैसी शिक्षा होती है और इस पर बड़ी बहस होती है और हल्के-हल्के बहस करके, कुछ न कुछ तस्वीर निकलती आती है, और निकलती आयेगी। तो उसके निस्बत मैं नहीं कहता।

लेकिन तुम लोगों को याद दिलाता हूँ कि तुम समझो कि तुम कैसे ज़माने के हो। एक बड़ा क्रांतिकारी ज़माना है, दुनिया बदल रही है, उसके साथ हिन्दुस्तान बदलता है। लेकिन अलावा दुनिया के, हिन्दुस्तान को अलग भी बदलना है। हर तरह की राजनीतिक आजादी हमें आ गयी, बड़े एक ज़माने के बाद। उसने दरवाज़े खोले, और हमें जो और क्रांति होती है उसकी कोशिश करनी है। तीन तरह की क्रांति होती है जब देश बढ़ता है, राजनीतिक क्रांति, आर्थिक क्रांति और सामाजिक क्रांति। राजनीतिक क्रांति हो गयी। आर्थिक और सामाजिक करनी है, और हो रही है। दोनों आवश्यक हैं, और दोनों बंधी हुई हैं एक-दूसरे से।

आर्थिक क्रांति किसी कदर तुम समझते होंगे कि हम अपने आर्थिक प्रश्नों का सवाल हल करें, गरीबी दूर करें, ऊँच-नीच हटायें, देश में ज्यादा धन-दौलत पैदा हो, हम देश के कारखाने-industrialise करें, सब बातें हैं, वो करना है, पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरह। लेकिन उससे बड़ी बात है सामाजिक। क्या हमारा समाज का संगठन हो? बहुत अच्छी बातें हमारे समाज में हैं, और बहुत बुरी बातें। बुरी इस माने में कि आजकल बुरी हैं। हो सकता है एक चीज हजार बरस हुए अच्छी हो, अब नहीं अच्छी। सौ बरस हुए अच्छी हो, अब नहीं अच्छी, मौजू नहीं। सौ बरस हुए, डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए तुम शायद इंदौर से कहीं जाते सफर करने तो बैलगाड़ी पर जाते, बम्बई जाते, बनारस जाते, काशी। अब शायद बैलगाड़ी पर तुम बनारस



न जाओ यहाँ से, क्योंकि बैलगाड़ी का ज़माना गुज़र गया। [...] इस काम के लिए, और कामों के लिए वह चलती हैं अब भी। तुम रेल पर जाओ, मुमकिन है हवाई जहाज पर जाओ। ज़माना बदलता है, नये ढंग होते हैं, अच्छी चीज़ें दूसरे ज़माने में निकम्मी हो जाती हैं। इसी तरह से जो समाज के जो कायदे रिवाज होते हैं, वो भी एक नये ज़माने में निकम्मे हो सकते हैं।

हमारे देश में काफी हम तारीफें करते हैं स्त्रियों की। बड़ी-बड़ी मशहूर, प्रसिद्ध, वीर, औरतें हुईं हमारे इतिहास में, लेकिन बात यह भी है कि हमारे कायदे, कानून, रिवाज जो बने अधिकतर, वो भी स्त्रियों को दबाने के बने। चाहे कानून उसका inheritance हो या विरासत हो, यह चीज बनी। हमने अभी इन दो-तीन बरस के अंदर कानून को बदला, देहली के लोकसभा में, Parliament में,<sup>391</sup> और कुछ लोगों ने उन पर बड़ा एतराज़ किया कि पुरानी विधि को तुम बदलते हो। लेकिन हमने हिम्मत करके बदले और मेरा ख़याल कि वो एक बहुत बड़ी बात हुई, हिन्दुस्तान की जो जनता का बड़ा हिस्सा बंधा हुआ था, उसको खोलने में। खासी उससे तो नहीं, और बातें भी होती हैं, सबमें बड़ी बात तो पढ़ाई-लिखाई है। लेकिन वो बड़ी बात है कानून की। और आपस में तो यही कि रिवाज वगैरह तो हैं वाकयात की मजबूरी से यह सब हो रहा है।

गरज़ कि ज़माना बदलता है, और सवाल यह है कि आप इस नये ज़माने में, बदलने में क्या करेंगे, क्या कर रहे हैं, और कितने तैयार हैं करने के लिए? यह ज़माना अंग्रेज़ी का शब्द एक है वह मैं कहूँ technocracy का आता जाता है क्योंकि हमारा industrial revolution आ रहा है, और इस ज़माने में जो आजकल के बड़े बाबू हैं जो छोटे हो जाएँगे, दूसरे लोग बड़े बाबू कहे जाएँगे। मेरा मतलब इससे किसी व्यक्ति से नहीं। मतलब, कि जो काम वह खास करते हैं, वो आगे बढ़ेंगे, वो technocrat हैं, क्योंकि ज़माने में, फर्ज़ कीजिए हमारा ज़माना machines का आ गया, बड़े machines का, तो बड़ी machines को जो चलाते हैं वो लोग बड़ा हिस्सा लेंगे, उनकी ज़्यादा जरूरत है।

एक ज़माना था कि हमारे देश में, हमारे यह स्वराज की लड़ाई के इतिहास में बड़ा भाग लिया। फर्ज़ कीजिए वकीलों ने और बैरिस्टरों ने बहुत बड़ा भाग लिया। उन्होंने अच्छा भाग लिया लेकिन ज़माना आता है। वकील, बैरिस्टर की हैसियत रहेगी, मैं नहीं कहता, लेकिन वकील, बैरिस्टर की बहसों से हिन्दुस्तान नहीं बढ़ने वाला। अब वो बढ़ता है दूसरे किस्म के काम से, engineers के काम से, scientist के काम से, वैज्ञानिक के काम से। तो नया ज़माना आया, नये किस्म के लोग।

मैं अभी देख रहा था जो कि मुझे पर्चा मिला है, होल्कर कॉलेज का, उसमें मैंने देखा जहाँ तक मुझे याद है 2,500 आपके students में एक हजार से ऊपर science के students हैं, 700 शायद commerce के हैं, 800 arts के हैं। गालेबन अगर कोई 20-25

391. For example, The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 and The Hindu Succession Act of 1956. See SWJN/SS/35/p. 173.

बरस हुए आप होल्कर कॉलेज की फ़ेहरिस्त देखिए कैसे थे, तो उसमें science के students कम होंगे बहुत, arts के बहुत ज़्यादा होंगे। इसी से आप देखें नक्शा बदल रहा है। हमें विज्ञान की जरूरत है। विज्ञान में सब आ जाता है। विज्ञान की औलाद जितनी है, तरह-तरह की industry. तरह-तरह engineering की बातें, सब बातें आती हैं। आजकल की दुनिया उसकी है, उसके माने नहीं, आज की नहीं, सच बात तो यह है कि जो विज्ञान पढ़ता है अगर उसने कुछ arts नहीं पढ़ा तो अधूरा होता है। और जो arts पढ़ता है उसे कुछ science नहीं मालूम है, तो निकम्मा है दोनों तरफ से, क्योंकि एक इंसान को हर तरफ से बढ़ना है। एक तरफ ज़्यादा झुकाव हो, जो ख़ास पढ़ता है, वो ठीक है, लेकिन अगर उसकी झलक नहीं है, दूसरे तरफ की, तो अधूरा रह गया।

तो ग़रज़ कि नयी दुनिया है। इस नयी दुनिया में आपको तैयार होना है। नई दुनिया आराम की दुनिया नहीं है, मेरा मतलब मेहनत की दुनिया है, काम की दुनिया, क्योंकि यह बहस होती है, तरह-तरह की आपमें भी होती है, समाजवाद, साम्यवाद, गांधीवाद, पूंजीवाद, वगैरह-वगैरह। सब ठीक है, बहस होनी चाहिए। कुछ अक्सर जो बहस होती है वो भी एक पुराने ज़माने में बहस, आजकल के ज़माने में उनको ज़रा बदलना चाहिए। लेकिन कुछ न कुछ है। लेकिन सब बहसों के पीछे आप याद रखिए परिश्रम और मेहनत है। अगर आप देखें, रूस ने अपने को कैसे बनाया? इंतहा दर्जे परिश्रम, मेहनत से, ज़बरदस्ती मेहनत करके और करवा के। आप अमेरिका में देखें, दूसरे ढंग का मुल्क है, वहाँ भी परिश्रम से वह बढ़े। जर्मनी लड़ाई के बाद बन गया बेहद परिश्रम से। यह बात याद रखने की है कि कोई नीति भी हम स्वीकार करें, उसके पीछे लियाक़त है, और परिश्रम है।

तो सवाल यह है, कि आप लोग इस क्रांतिकारी ज़माने में कितने असल क्रांति हैं—वो क्रांति नहीं, सिर फोड़ने की क्रांति—जो नई शक्तियाँ आने से देश में होती हैं, जैसे steam के आने से क्रांति हुई, जैसे बिजली के आने से क्रांति हुई, जैसे atomic energy के आने से क्रांति हो रही है, industrial age है। माना हम उसके दरवाज़े पर हैं बल्कि दरवाज़े के कुछ अंदर आ गये हैं। तो उसके लिए, इस क्रांतिकारी ज़माने के लिए, कितने आप तैयार हो रहे हैं? कॉलेज आपको मौका देता है, university। कितना आप उससे फ़ायदा उठा रहे हैं? क्योंकि जैसे मैंने एक और जगह कहा, कल बड़ौदा में, हो सकता है कि university वगैरह के इम्तहान होते हैं, कुछ सख़्ती और रटकर या चालबाजी से आप शायद पास हो जाएँ, लेकिन जो बाद में ज़िंदगी के इम्तहान हैं उसमें न रटने से पास होंगे, न चालबाजी से। उसमें जो असली वक़्त होगी दिमाग़ की, चरित्र की, वही पास करती है।<sup>392</sup> और कोई चीज़, धोखा, चलता ही नहीं ज़िंदगी के इम्तहान में। तो हरेक का ज़िंदगी का इम्तहान बाद में होता है और होगा।

392. Nehru made a similar point at a public meeting at Baroda, 2 Nov. 1958. See item 4, p. 39.



और आजकल की जिंदगी, आप देखें कि कितना unemployment है, रोज़गार की कमी, वगैरह। वो सच है। दूसरी तरह से आप देखें कितने नये मैदान, कितने नये तख़्त ख़ाली हैं, कुर्सियाँ ख़ाली हैं, बैठने के लिए, उनके लिए जिनकी training है, जो सीखे हुए हैं। बहुत काफी जगह हैं सीखे हुए लोगों के लिए और वो बढ़ती जाती हैं। दिक्कत यह है आजकल के रोज़गार वगैरह की, कि वो बदलता हुआ ज़माना है, खपे नहीं, पुराने सिलसिले उखड़ से गये, जमते जाते हैं, ख़ैर उनका भी इंतज़ाम होगा, जो कुछ। तो इस ज़माने में गरज़ कि चारों तरफ से रास्ते बढ़ने के खुले हैं, ख़ासकर उन लोगों में जिनमें लियाक़त है, जिनमें दम है, जिनमें character है। ऊँचे से ऊँची जगह खुली है। तो इसको आप सामने रखें। आप नौजवान हैं। अगर आपमें ambition है बढ़ने की, या सही किस्म का ambition है, तो अच्छी चीज़ है। लेकिन ambition सही किस्म का होता है बड़ी बातों के लिए, ambition फुटकर बातों के लिए नहीं। यह बात है।

हमारा ज़माना, मेरे ज़माने के लोगों का, मेरी नस्ल के, generation के, लोगों का ज़माना एक था। बहुत कुछ वो ख़त्म हुआ। कुछ सिलसिला थोड़ा सा जारी है। जो कुछ हमने किया इस ज़माने में, बुरा या भला, वो अब करीब-करीब भारत के इतिहास का हिस्सा हो गया है और बाद में लोग पढ़ेंगे उसे। जो कुछ राय कायम करें, पास से तो राय कायम नहीं होती उसकी। लेकिन जो भी कुछ हमने किया, कई बातें हमारे हक में हैं। एक तो यह कि ख़ैर, ऐसे ज़माने में हम रहे जबकि भारत में इतना फर्क हुआ, इतनी क्रांति हुई, और भारत गुलामी से निकलकर आज़ाद हुआ। बड़ी बात हुई यह, खुशनसीबी थी हमारी। दूसरे हम ऐसे ज़माने में रहे जबकि एक ग़ैर मामूली बड़ा आदमी हमारे देश का नेता था, गांधीजी, जो कि भारत के इतिहास के ऋषियों में, महापुरुषों में, शामिल हो गये। लेकिन हमने कुछ उनको देखा, छुआ, सुना, उनके नीचे काम किया, और कुछ हम छोटे आदमियों पर भी उनकी झलक पड़ी, उनका साया पड़ा, तो हमारा भी कुछ कद बढ़ गया।

तो ये बातें हुई। और पचास गलतियाँ हमसे हुई हों इस ज़माने में, मैं समझता हूँ, हम यह कह सकते हैं, एक गलती नहीं हुई—कभी हमने भारत की शान के ख़िलाफ कोई बात नहीं की। (तालियाँ) उसकी इज़्ज़त रखी और हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी की मशाल को ऊँचा रखा। अब हमारी बाहें कमज़ोर होती हैं। तुम्हारे हाथ और बाहों को उस मशाल को उठाना है। तैयार हो उसके लिए? तगड़े हैं तुम्हारे बाजू? बताओ। कहाँ, कहाँ? हाथ से, आवाज़ उठाके कहो। (हाँ, है)। क्या ख़ाली लड़कों के यहाँ बाजू में हैं, लड़कियों के नहीं हैं? यह क्या बात? कहो, मैं लड़कियों से पूछता हूँ, बताओ, मज़बूत हैं तुम्हारे हाथ? (लड़कियाँ - हाँ)। अच्छी बात है, तो मुबारक हो तुम्हें यह।

जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins]

Vice Chancellor,<sup>393</sup> Principal,<sup>394</sup> teachers and students,  
I think I am late by about thirty-five minutes. I want you to forgive me for that though I do not think the fault is entirely mine. But, to some extent, it was mine [...] I do not know how long you have been waiting and many of you must be hungry. I am very hungry myself because I left Baroda very early and my health is good.

In fact, I was not very sure before I arrived here that I am supposed to give a speech here at Holkar College.<sup>395</sup> But you have invited me even if it is, as Shankar Dayalji<sup>396</sup> said, for the inauguration of a building which will cost only twenty lakhs. I do not know if he measures me in terms of money. But there are two things. One, Holkar College has been famous in this part of India for a very long time and it has played a significant role in educating several generations. Secondly, this as well as other colleges are going to play an even bigger role in the future.

So I am happy to come here, to meet the students and to exhibit myself before them! Because it is, what is called in English, a two-way traffic. And as long as there are tasks before us, it is useful at least to know each other. The work that is waiting to be done in India today, and will go on for a long time, cannot be done by people in purdah. I am referring not to the purdah of women but to the men remaining behind the purdah. What I mean is that it is no longer enough to push files in an office or sign some papers, thinking that the work is done. Those days are gone.

Today, there are two things about the day-to-day work. One, it is to be done in the field and, secondly, it has to be done along with millions of people. The times have changed in India and our ways of working are also changing. Most of you seated here belong to a different generation as compared to mine and so I sometimes hesitate to say anything special, though I am sure that you may be able to learn something from my experiences of a long lifetime. But, at the same time, the problems that you may face are not of the same kind that I faced when I was your age. The times change and the problems change with them and new solutions have to be found. But the first thing is to try to understand what the problems of the age are.

393. See fn 387 in this section.

394. See fn 388 in this section.

395. See fn 389 in this section.

396. See fn 390 in this section.



It is extraordinary that people often do not try to understand the problems but they are ready with solutions. It is a very common thing that everyone offers solutions and tells others what they should do, but very few people would ponder what the problems are for which they are looking for solutions. The problems of the country and the problems of the world keep changing because the world changes and everything changes. You change, you grow, and you reduce, whatever it is. No, you do not reduce; you only keep growing! Nobody remains the same though to all outward appearances we continue to be the same. I think the example given in our ancient texts is of rivers. A river remains a river, though its waters are constantly changing. Or, a flame may continue to appear the same flame but it is changing all the time. So, all of us keep changing but at the same time we appear to be the same too. Both these things are there. The times keep changing. So, we belong without any doubt to the present times when India is changing and which she will continue to do. She will change very rapidly. Why would it change? There are many reasons for that. For one thing, she had been stagnant for a long time under the British and once that obstruction was removed, the country started changing rapidly. Now we have to accomplish within the next ten years what we might have done over the last one hundred years. Secondly, not only India but the whole world is passing through extraordinarily revolutionary times. There is great turmoil everywhere. So we have to move forward swiftly and intelligently.

Now, when we move forward, new problems arise constantly. And if we don't understand them, we cannot face them and cannot find a solution to them. So, in such a situation, what advice should I give you? Well, these are general things, but even general things can be of importance. There are certain general things, some matters of principle, which are valid for every generation and they do not change. Suppose, I tell you to train and sharpen your minds. It is obvious that in any era, strong minds are required; so also bodies. These are basic things. And how do countries progress? They do not progress because of sheer numbers but because of the ability and character of the people. If India progresses, it will be not because of the noises people make; her progress will depend on the number of men and women of quality and good character, of courage and strong minds and bodies. It is these qualities which count. Even if the forty crores in India today become sixty crores, we will remain backward if we lack these qualities. So the question is how to produce men and women of quality.

The first thing is that we shall prepare such men and women better if lesser number of people are born, which means that the burden on the country should not increase. But it is normally through education that people of quality are produced. And education depends in good measure on home environment,

the role of parents, the quality of schools and colleges. So these are the important factors—they mould the people and help them make progress in life. Everybody cannot be alike but the opportunity must be there for everyone. Some of them will go far and become great scientists and engineers, and the like. The others may not go that far but even they will get some useful training. So we come round to the question of the kind of education that is to be imparted. This is being debated upon and gradually a picture is emerging, and will continue to emerge. So I will not say very much about it.

But I want to remind you that you must understand the times that you are living in. These are revolutionary times and the world is changing rapidly and India is changing along with it. But India has to change in other ways too. We have got political freedom after a long time and now we have to bring about an economic and social revolution in the country. Both of these are essential and closely interlinked.

We should try to solve the economic problems of poverty and unemployment in the country and produce more wealth, industrialise the country, etc. You may feel that this should be given first priority. But the social revolution is equally important. What should be the social organisation in the country? There are good as well as bad things in our society. It is possible that some of them may have been relevant a thousand years ago but they are no longer so. A hundred years ago, if you wished to go to Banaras or Bombay from Indore you would have had to go by bullock-cart. But you will not think of doing this now because the days of bullock-carts are gone, at least for long-distance travels, though they are still used for other purposes. Now it is possible to go by train or aeroplane. The times change and things which are relevant in one age become irrelevant in another. This applies to social customs and traditions also.

Women have been given a very high place in our society and there have been great women, brave women, in our history. But, at the same time, our laws and traditions regarding women have by and large suppressed women. There has been tremendous opposition to the new laws relating to inheritance, etc., enacted by the Parliament in Delhi during the last two to three years,<sup>397</sup> but we went ahead courageously and I think they are a great achievement and will play a big role in emancipating a large section of the people of India. Other things will also be necessary, the most important being education. But these new laws will help a great deal. As a matter of fact, old customs and traditions are bound to change due to the pressure of circumstances because the times

397. See fn 391 in this section.



are changing.

The question is what role you are going to play to bring about the changes; what you are doing about it; and to what extent you are prepared to do it. This is the age of technocracy, and it is the time for our own industrial revolution now. Those who were considered high officials will now have to give place to people qualified in other areas. I do not mean anything personal; I mean that the technocrats will move forward now because we are in the age of machines, heavy industries, and so the people who are trained in these fields will play a bigger role in the future.

There was a time when barristers and lawyers played a significant role in our struggle for freedom and did a good job. But now a time has come when, though they may continue to exist, they will not contribute greatly to the progress of the nation by their arguments. India will progress because of the work of the engineers and scientists, for the new age demands new type of people.

I just read in the brochure on Holkar College that of the 2,500 students here, more than 1,000 have taken up science courses and there are perhaps 700 in commerce and 800 in arts. If you looked at the list of students of Holkar College twenty to twenty-five years ago, you would find that there were fewer science students and a much larger number of students in the arts courses then. You can judge from this how the pattern is changing. We need science and science encompasses everything. All our industries, various kinds of engineering, etc., are the offshoots of science. In fact, today's world belongs to science. But, at the same time, the students of science must know something of arts and vice versa, for without that their education will be incomplete, and human beings must grow in every direction. Specialisation is all very well but you must have some knowledge of other things too.

So this is a new age for which you must prepare yourselves. There can be no relaxation for the times require hard work and effort. Often there are great debates about capitalism, Gandhism, socialism and communism and what not. There should be debates but the arguments will have to be modified according to the changing times. Moreover, you must remember that these arguments have to be backed by hard work. The Soviet Union has advanced by tremendous hard work and even forced labour. Now, the United States, which follows another system, has also advanced because of hard labour. Germany has advanced after the Second World War by intense effort. So whatever ideology we may adopt, it has to be backed by intense effort and hard work.

What many of you consider revolutionary is not really revolutionary at all. Violence is not revolution. The discovery of steam-power and electricity and atomic energy is revolutionary. This is the industrial age. We in India are on the threshold of the industrial age; rather we have made an entry. The question is

how far you are prepared for the revolutionary times. You are being given tremendous opportunities in colleges and universities. How much advantage are you taking of them? As I said elsewhere yesterday in Baroda, you may be able to get through university examinations by learning things by rote, but you cannot get through the real examinations in life by such methods; for that you will need to be worthy of character and mind.<sup>398</sup> You cannot fool anyone in life. So everyone has to face the real tests in life later on.

Nowadays you see tremendous unemployment in the country. On the other hand, there are also many vacancies and new fields which are waiting for people with proper training. Skilled and trained people are in great demand and the demand is increasing day by day. The problem is that people's thinking about these matters has not changed with the changing times. Anyhow, it will change gradually. The thing is that the doors of progress are wide open especially for the people who have ability, courage and character. The highest positions are open to them. Please keep this in mind. You are young and if you have the ambition, the right kind of ambition to go ahead, not the kind of ambition which goes after petty things, it will be a good thing.

My generation is passing away and whatever we have done, for good or ill, during our lifetime have almost become a part of India's history. Those who read it later will be able to judge objectively, for distance lends objectivity. But our achievements are not negligible. For one thing India became free after centuries of bondage which in itself was a great revolution. It is our good luck that it happened in our lifetime. Secondly, we lived at a time when an extraordinary leader, Gandhiji, was among us. He has now joined the ranks of the saints and great men of India. But we were with him and worked under him and grew somewhat in stature under his shadow.

So that is how we grew. And I think we must have made mistakes too but we can safely say that the one mistake we have never made is to do anything which sullied India's honour. We have held aloft the banner of India's freedom. Now our strength is ebbing away and it is your turn to hold this banner aloft. Are you prepared for that? Are your arms strong enough? Tell me by raising your hands. I can see only boys putting up their hands. What about the girls? I am asking the girls now: Are your arms strong enough? (Girls – Yes). Very well. You are to be congratulated.

Jai Hind.

[Translation ends]

398. See fn 392 in this section.



## 212. To Shri Ranjan<sup>399</sup>

November 13, 1958

My dear Shri Ranjan,

Your letter of the 8th November.<sup>400</sup>

I am by no means certain of my ability to come to Allahabad on the 21st December but I shall endeavour to do so.

We are having as our guests Prime Ministers of Canada and Ghana. The former is getting a degree from the Delhi University.<sup>401</sup> Anyhow, his programme is fixed up, and I do not think he will be able to go to Allahabad. As for the Prime Minister of Ghana, I do not think it is necessary to give him any degree.

I have enquired about the Gulmarg Physics Laboratory. I understand the matter is under discussion by the University Grants Commission. As soon as they have come to some decision about it, we can consider about Dr Gill.<sup>402</sup> It might be possible for him to go to Allahabad University. But, what the position of the Gulmarg Physics Laboratory will be, I cannot say at present. I have referred your letter to Professor Thacker<sup>403</sup> and he will keep this matter in mind.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

399. File No. 17(87)/56-66-PMS.

400. Shri Ranjan asked Nehru's opinion on granting honorary degrees to John George Diefenbaker and Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Ministers respectively of Canada and Ghana.

401. Doctor of Law on 22 Dec. 1958.

402. Dr Piara Singh Gill was Professor of Experimental Physics at Aligarh Muslim University, 1949-63, and Director of Gulmarg Research Observatory, 1951-71. This high altitude research laboratory was established in 1954 by Vikram A. Sarabhai under the joint control of Aligarh Muslim University and the University of Jammu and Kashmir. Shri Ranjan wanted to shift it from Aligarh to Allahabad University so that Gill could get out of Aligarh, where he was unhappy.

403. M.S. Thacker was Director General, CSIR.

## 213. To K.L. Shrimali<sup>404</sup>

13th November, 1958

My dear Shrimali,

You know Sardar Prithvi Singh.<sup>405</sup> He was here at the time of the Inter-Youth Festival<sup>406</sup> and I saw him briefly also again. He is doing good work in the Punjab, but I have been wondering if we could not utilise his services in a more profitable way. I am told that he has given you some kind of a scheme. I have not myself seen it, but I understand that it deals with the training of teachers. I think there is great force in this approach to teachers rather than students. It is the teachers who influence the students. However, I do not know exactly how this scheme works out.

Another thing that has been worrying me is your National Discipline Scheme.<sup>407</sup> Bhonsle<sup>408</sup> is a good man and I like him. But I have been wondering if, apart from discipline, there is much content in the training given under the Scheme. Obviously, there should be a content. In this particular matter too Prithvi Singh could be very useful.

I am merely writing to you some ideas that I have had. These are not very precise, but I wanted you to think about them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

404. JN Collection.

405. A former revolutionary, now a Gandhian; a founder of the Ahimsak Vyayam Sangh (Non-Violent Exercise Association), set up in Bombay city in 1941 to propagate physical training, especially among the youth.

406. The fourth Inter-University Youth Festival, inaugurated by Rajendra Prasad in New Delhi on 1 Nov. 1958.

407. The National Discipline Scheme was introduced in July 1954 by the Ministry of Rehabilitation in the educational institutions of displaced persons' colonies in Delhi, Bombay, Punjab and West Bengal. It sought to impart the ideals of citizenship, team spirit, self-reliance and self-confidence.

408. J.K. Bhonsle was Deputy Minister, Ministry of Rehabilitation, 1952-57, and Director, National Discipline Scheme, since 1954.



## 214. Casteism is Unsuitable<sup>409</sup>

Whatever our approach to our various problems in India might be, it is necessary to base it on the growth of proper and widespread education. Essentially, that education must be directed to the young, from children upwards. But older people cannot be left out, and they must be tackled. That I suppose is the main purpose of what is called social education. I should like, therefore, to send my good wishes to the next conference of the Indian Adult Education Association.

While adults should be approached directly in this matter, in so far as this is possible, I am inclined to think that the easiest way to approach them is through their children who go to school. If the child's mind is awakened and his curiosity roused, he comes back to his parents and tells them all about it. This is particularly important in regard to such subjects as the eradication of casteism.

It is generally admitted that casteism is thoroughly unsuitable in the present context of our society. It is disappearing in its original form but is now putting on a political garb, which is even worse than its previous form. The importance of dealing with this matter is obvious, and I am glad that the Conference has chosen this theme for its next session.

## 215. To K.L. Shrimali<sup>410</sup>

November 14, 1958

My dear Shrimali,

Your letter of November 14th with its enclosures. You may send your draft letter to Professor Bose.<sup>411</sup> As there has been so much delay already in this matter, I suppose it is right for us to request him to continue as Vice Chancellor till the convocation and the Samsad meeting which is going to take place about the 22nd of December. I must say that I do not like any appearance of our adopting special methods to prevent someone we do not approve of, becoming

409. Message to the 15th All India Adult Education Conference, 14 November 1958. File No. 9/2/58-PMP. The two-day conference organised by the Indian Adult Education Association, was inaugurated by V.V. Giri, the Governor of Uttar Pradesh, on 13 December 1958 at Lucknow.

410. JN Collection.

411. Satyendra Nath Bose was Vice Chancellor, Visva-Bharati University, and nominated Member of the Rajya Sabha.

Vice Chancellor. No one should get that impression. But, in the present case, it seems desirable to request Professor Bose to continue till the 22nd of December.<sup>412</sup>

The note attached to your letter suggests, however, that Professor Bose's resignation should not be accepted till after the convocation and the Samsad meeting. This is obviously a dodge to prevent somebody being elected at that time, to enable a casual vacancy to occur later, which can be filled for a brief or specific period. It is further suggested that care should be taken to ensure that no meeting of the Court for this purpose is convened for as long a period during 1959 as possible. I do not think this would be a dignified approach to this problem. It is obviously a dodge. I think that Professor Bose's resignation should be accepted in time so that steps for election can be taken at the meeting of the Executive Committee and the Samsad to be held round about the convocation time on the 22nd or the 23rd December. That will be a straight forward course.

But, anyhow, you can send your letter to Professor Bose, as drafted.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 216. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>413</sup>

November 26, 1958

My dear Deshmukh,<sup>414</sup>

I went yesterday to the Roorkee University to attend their Convocation.<sup>415</sup> I was glad to find that the University had made very considerable progress during the last three or four years. The general impression I gathered was good and the students seemed a good lot.

I am writing to you, however, about a particular matter that came to my notice. Quite a number of students there come from poor families and find it very

412. On 7 Nov. Nehru wrote to S.N. Bose that K.L. Shrimali, the Education Minister, had informed him that, according to the rules, no election could take place before the acceptance of the resignation of the incumbent Vice Chancellor, and also that the recommendations of the University's Karma Samiti and Samsad were irregular according to the Law Department.

413. File No. 40(165)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

414. C.D. Deshmukh was Chairman, University Grants Commission.

415. For Nehru's convocation address at Roorkee University, see item 6.



difficult to pay the fees. I was told that the monthly expenditure of an average student is Rs 150/. A number of scholarships are given, usually Rs 50/- a month. This sum was fixed some time ago when the rupee was worth more than it is today. Anyhow the boy has to give his fees and boarding charges and meet other expenses and this means that he has to find at least Rs 100/- a month extra. Khosla,<sup>416</sup> the Vice Chancellor, told me that he knew of many cases when the boys' parents had to sell off the little land or jewellery they possessed in order to support their son at Roorkee.

All these boys there come after some kind of a fairly stiff test. That is, they come by merit and the general standard is fairly good. We should of course encourage bright students whose parents are relatively poor to go there and the more scholarships we give them, the better. I do not know if it is possible to increase the scholarship at present being given. At any rate fees should not be charged from these students who have scholarships. That will at least give them some relief of about Rs 25/- a month.

Khosla has started a fund to give money on loan to poor students. They are supposed to give it back after they get into service. At present Khosla charges them, I think, some kind of an interest at 4% on this loan, though perhaps the interest begins after they leave the University. This idea of a loan is a good one. Practically every student who goes through the University goes almost immediately into service and can earn some money and it is right that he should then help others. I suggested to Khosla that loan should be given wherever there is need for it and that perhaps he need not charge interest on it.

Apart from the normal scholarships and loan I think that Khosla or some Committee there should have discretion to help specially brilliant students if they stand in need of it even to the extent of paying all their expenses. All this of course should be on merit and on results of work.<sup>417</sup>

I am writing to you my impressions of Roorkee, though I do not know if the University Grants Commission has anything to do with this matter. The Uttar Pradesh Government is presumably responsible, and that I do not expect much change out of them in this respect. Perhaps the UGC could give some money for the fund out of which loans to students are given.

I see that Khosla has asked the UGC for some money to build an auditorium. I think that it is far more important to help students than to build an auditorium and I told Khosla so. They can easily do without an auditorium. In fact they

416. A.N. Khosla was the Vice Chancellor of the Roorkee University.

417. On the same day Nehru wrote to Khosla that he was sending two cheques, one for Rs 50 for life membership of the Old Boys Association and the other for Rs 1,500 to contribute to the loan fund for poor students of the University.

have built by Shramdan a fine open air theatre which they had covered up rather attractively with jute pieces. That is quite adequate for any purpose, though it may not be usable during the rains. Anyhow, an auditorium should not have priority. But the help to students seems to me much more important.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 217. Country Needs Trained Personnel<sup>418</sup>

Dr Roy,<sup>419</sup> members of the Institute and friends,

First of all, I am supposed to hand over this portrait.<sup>420</sup> There is no help for it, for I cannot carry it away. So I gladly hand it over to the Institute of which he was the founder and he is the present President. Whenever I come to Calcutta, I see some new phase of Dr Roy's manifold activities. Having known him for a pretty long time, I thought I had a fair idea of his activities, but I repeatedly find that I did not and today I learn for the first time that he was the originator and founder of this Institute and in spite of his other activities insists on continuing to be its President.

It is obvious that an Institute of this kind is necessary, desirable and in the modern set-up of things it can do very good work. I must confess that to begin with, when I saw the name of this Institute, and the Association of Social Welfare and Business Management, it seemed to me odd. All these associations, of course, are associated and they should be associated—that is a different matter. But I had not come across this type of marriage before, a new thing, and that obviously Business Management, as Dr Roy just said, must always keep in view social welfare. Equally obviously whatever activity you indulge in, it must be properly managed, including social welfare.

We want above all in India trained personnel, every type of training. A country, in the ultimate analysis, depends on the quality of persons it has, quality meaning of course—for the moment I am not referring to it—character, etc, though it is most important and naturally comes to my mind. But apart

418. Speech while laying the foundation stone of the new extension of the Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management, Calcutta, 30 November 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

419. Dr B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal.

420. Presented by students of the Institute.



from that, the skill, the training, whatever that may be, it may be the simplest job or it may be the most intricate, and therefore the type of training you give here is presumed to increase the quality of the individual who goes through it. He becomes a better man, a better worker and therefore adds to the real wealth of the nation which consists of skilled, able individuals.

One other thing that I would like to add is that in the Institute you take people who are actually working elsewhere; you take them during their spare time, morning or afternoon, and you do not want them for the whole time, for all the time, so he may not be able to do any other work. I think it is a good idea. In fact, quite apart from business management, I think that we should organise these additional courses for people, workers, who are actually in work. In any industry, whether it is the technical worker or the non-technical worker, whoever he may be, whatever grade he may occupy, he should be given a chance of improving himself and that is good for him and good for the industry and more particularly there should be a process of, shall I call it, selection on the basis of merit. If a young man or a young woman working anywhere is found to have merit and capacity for improvement, he or she should be given every chance by whatever means you may adopt: special schools, day schools or night schools, etc. Without basically interfering with the work of the individual, he or she is improving, so that in that way you could pick out a great deal of talent which does not get an opportunity to get on. I often wonder if, when our dream comes true that every individual of India, that is, let us say, to begin with, every child, boy and girl, of India gets a good schooling and is healthy and otherwise grows up well, and doors of opportunity open out to him or her, how many brilliant persons may be found to pass that door—too many geniuses who today have no opportunity. I suppose in your own acquaintance you may know some people who, given the opportunity, may make good, tremendously good.

One famous instance comes to my mind which has nothing to do with Business Management, but with opportunity given to a man who would have faded away without that opportunity and it was given in a tremendous way. I am thinking of the famous mathematician, Ramanujan<sup>421</sup> from Madras who was a petty clerk in the Port Trust there.<sup>422</sup> He came from a poor family, but he was always fiddling about with Mathematics. One day he picked up enough courage and went up to a Professor of Mathematics of the University of Madras and showed him his scribbling. The Professor was so much struck by them,

421. Srinivasa Ramanujan (1887-1920): known for his researches on theory of numbers and fractions.

422. At the Madras Port Trust, 1912-1914.

he told him to come again and again and ultimately he was so impressed that he got a scholarship for him in the University of Cambridge in England.<sup>423</sup> Thus the poor Brahmin boy went to England, unused though he was to the environments there. The man, in spite of his queer dress and queer habits, rather uncouth manners for want of proper training, created in Cambridge a bit of sensation in Mathematics and so far as I remember, in two years' time he became a member of the Royal Society,<sup>424</sup> a very exclusive society of high-class scientists. Unfortunately after another two or three years he died in England. I think he got T.B. due to poverty or whatever it was. But despite this very brief career—first of all it was a sheer chance that he got an opening through the Professor of Mathematics arranging a scholarship for him—he is still, I believe, supposed to be one of the greatest mathematicians of the 20th century. Although he died young, in his early thirties and just after four years of work in Cambridge, his scribblings are still examined by eminent mathematicians closely; they try to find out and continue to understand them.

I gave you this example of a simple poor clerk coming from a poor family who happened by luck to get a chance. I do not know how many clerks there may be in Calcutta or Bombay or elsewhere in India, clerks or other people who, given the opportunity, may make good in a very big way. I do not suggest that this Institute can touch this big problem, too big a problem [...] must come through widespread education and giving the opportunity, but no doubt it does touch the fringe of it and make the person a better worker and a better man.

Another thing comes to my mind. We hear of the Industrial Revolution which more or less started in England 150 years or so ago. I wonder if you know that most of the inventions that came in there which brought about the Industrial Revolution came from the rather humbly placed individuals, mechanics and the like, that type of persons with a mechanical bent of mind who had fiddled about with things, and with things discovered, made some improvements here and some improvements there, and which ultimately led to the Industrial Revolution—foremen and mechanics, that type of men, not some great people sitting in big offices. It shows that you must give this opportunity and tap the talent of everybody. One may not, of course, make good. But nevertheless out of ten, twenty, one hundred persons, one person makes good and that may make all the difference in the world. So I am glad to have visited this institute and I wish you all success.

423. In Mar. 1914.

424. Fellow of the Royal Society in 1918.



218. To B.V. Keskar<sup>425</sup>

5th December 1958

My dear Balkrishna,<sup>426</sup>

I do not know if you have met a man called Lokhandwala.<sup>427</sup> He comes from Surat. He is an able Arabic scholar and is a specialist in Islamic Law etc. He has been spoken of highly by various people and institutions that have experience of his work. He has been working quietly at home on some books etc. Some months ago, he came to me and said that he would very much like some worthwhile work as his resources were exhausted and he could not even do his writing work sitting at Surat. I referred him to Humayun Kabir. His obvious job would be Professor of Arabic or Islamic Law. Perhaps he might get something later at Aligarh University.

Meanwhile, I understand that he has been to AIR and enquired if he could be of help in AIR broadcasts as a Supervisor or something like that. I do not know what is happening to this request of his. I told him that he might see you. I should imagine that he would be a good Supervisor of your Arabic Section. Even if later he gets professorship or Readership at Aligarh, it would be desirable to associate him in an honorary capacity with this kind of supervisory work.

Perhaps it would be desirable to try him now, say for three or four months, and see how he functions. This trial of course should be paid for and he will be a whole-timer. This would give you some idea of the kind of work he can do and it would also carry him through a period of difficulty for him. I have seen him twice and he has rather impressed me.

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

425. JN Collection.

426. Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.

427. Shamoon T. Lokhandwala taught Islamic Law and History at Edinburgh University. Earlier Nehru wrote to Lokhandwala on this matter on 30 May 1958. See SWJN/SS/42/p. 204.

## 219. Importance of Teacher Training<sup>428</sup>

There is need for adequately training the teachers all over the country. The teacher is the soul of every school and it is of paramount importance that he must be a person of character and capacity and moreover should like his job.

The problem of student indiscipline is essentially due to the failure of the teacher to control his students in a friendly way. Proper training of teachers is important for this purpose. There must be constant training by way of refresher courses and conferences. We are passing through a period of vital changes, and, therefore, our approach should be such as would develop a feeling of vitality and hard work. This is what a teacher should do.

I emphasise the importance of basic education for ensuring healthy and balanced growth of the mind of the children. Children should have opportunities of growth not through learning by heart, but by really taking interest. By combining craft with intellectual training, basic education is striving to achieve this aim. It also seeks to combine practical activity and intellectual training against the background of the child's own normal environment and work.

The human aspect of education is necessary and in the ultimate analysis, it is the pupils and the teachers who counted and not costly buildings to house the schools. The limited resources at our disposal should be utilised to improve the lot of the teachers, rather than on costly buildings.

## 220. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>429</sup>

December 11, 1958

My dear Dhebar Bhai,

Thank you for your letter of December 10 about the mathematical prodigy, R. Govindarajan. The examples of his mathematical bent are certainly surprising. It appears that his father has been rather exploiting this by exhibitions. This is bad.

We should certainly help him to get proper education. It is not clear what his age is and what kind of education he has had so far. There should be no question of his going to foreign countries at this stage.

428. Speech to teachers at a two-week training course on basic education administration organised by the National Institute of Basic Education at New Delhi, 9 December 1958. PIB.

429. JN Collection.



One or two cases have come to me of prodigious memory feats, but somehow this particular development did not lead anywhere, except public performances. If I can have further particulars about his education, age, etc., we can arrange for his further proper education in Madras and see how he develops.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 221. To K.L. Shrimali<sup>430</sup>

December 15, 1958

My dear Shrimali,

I enclose a letter and some other papers from the Delhi School Teachers' Association.<sup>431</sup> They have been writing to me repeatedly for the last six months or more. I would have seen them, but I just have not got the time for it. I will see them later as soon as I can find the time.

From what they say, their case is not only a hard one, but they are being treated very badly by the Delhi Administration. Surely we ought to do something about it.<sup>432</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

430. JN Collection.

431. Ram Prakash Gupta, the General Secretary of the Delhi School Teachers' Association, had written to C.R. Srinivasan, Nehru's Private Secretary, on 16 May 1958 and 14 Dec. 1958 asking for a meeting to present their grievances about delayed salaries and general harassment.

432. Shrimali reassured Nehru on 8 Jan. 1959 that teachers' grievances were being dealt with. i) An Enquiry Committee under Sucheta Kripalani was examining their working conditions, ii) two thousand temporary teachers had been granted permanent tenure, iii) irregular salary payment was a problem in private aided schools over which the Government had limited control, iv) an appeals procedure was being established, and v) sundry demands had been satisfied. In general, he was alive to the situation and was taking suitable action.

**222. To N.K. Sidhanta<sup>433</sup>**

December 27, 1958

My dear Sidhanta,<sup>434</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 26th December, sending me some information about women graduates. I find this growth in women graduates and, in fact, in the number of women in our educational institutions of high significance from the social point of view.

I hope you are satisfied with the arrangements made at Santiniketan.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**223. English Teaching should be Effective<sup>435</sup>**

I should like to send my good wishes to the All India English Teachers' Conference to be held in Madras soon.

While it is obvious that we shall progressively move to an ever greater reliance on our own national languages and English cannot continue to have the place in our educational system which it has had in the past, it is equally obvious to me that the teaching of English is of paramount importance for a variety of reasons. If we are to teach English, as I think we must, it should be effective

433. JN Collection.

434. Nirmal Kumar Sidhanta (1894-1961); Lecturer, School of Oriental Studies, London University, 1922-23; Reader in English, Lucknow University, 1923-26, and Professor, 1926-51; Dean, Lucknow University, 1933-51; Secretary, Inter-University Board, India, 1937-42; and its Chairman, 1946-48; Member, Central Advisory Board of Education, since 1946; Member and Secretary, Indian Universities Commission, 1948-49; Member, UPSC, 1951-55; Vice Chancellor, Calcutta University, 1955-60; Chairman of the Committee appointed by UGC to look into the standards of higher education in Indian Universities, Sept. 1960-Dec. 1961; author of *The Heroic Age of India : A Comparative Study* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Company Limited, 1929); wrote numerous articles on literature, art and education.

435. Message to the All India English Teachers' Conference, 28 December 1958. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. The Conference was held at Madras University, 29-31 December 1958. About 450 delegates from various parts of India attended the conference which had been convened under the auspices of the Indian Association for English Studies.



and good teaching and an attempt should be made to attain a high standard. Unfortunately these standards appear to be falling. I hope they will be pulled up.

#### (e) Culture

#### 224. The Festivals of India<sup>436</sup>

It is perhaps not easy to cover fresh ground in a new book on India.<sup>437</sup> And yet I think that this book by Dr Amarendra Goswami brings out some aspects of Indian life to which little attention had been paid in the past. We have many publications dealing with Indian art and more especially temple sculpture which are so characteristic of India. We have historical surveys and, more recently, an ever-growing literature on our schemes of development and five year plans. The mind of India today is absorbed in this great adventure which is rapidly changing our economic and social life.

But, behind all this lies the heritage of the ages which have fashioned India and her people. This heritage is amazingly rich in its variety and the way in which it has affected vast numbers of people. In fact, it forms the basic texture of the life of our hundreds of millions. It has its advantages as well as its disadvantages, as everything that is old inevitably has. It has given a rich cultural content and fullness to their lives which has endured even in poverty and all the ills that accompany a low standard of living. It has also in some ways been a barrier to change and progress.

In choosing the festivals of India as the main theme of his book, Dr Goswami has brought out something of vital significance to our people. All our major festivals have naturally something to do with the seasons. They are occasions for popular rejoicing and fraternisation on a tremendous scale. They differ to some extent in various parts of India, but they derive sustenance from the same roots, our magnificent epics and mythology.

436. Foreword, 4 Nov. 1958, to Amarendra Goswami's book, *The People and Festivals of India*. JN Collection. The book could not be traced; it may not have been published.

437. On 4 Nov. 1958, Nehru informed Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, High Commissioner to the UK, that Amarendra Goswami had published many books on Indian art with Government support, that the photographs in his new book, *The People and Festivals of India*, were good but that Dr S. Radhakrishnan was polishing the manuscript, and that he himself had reluctantly agreed to write the foreword although he had not read the manuscript.

There is the festival of the coming of Spring—Vasant Panchami; the Holi, where people play about with coloured water and a sense of equality prevails; then there is the Dusserah when the old Ramayana story is acted and recited in innumerable villages and towns; and there is the Deepavali, the festival of lights. There are many others, for India is a land of festivals and, as a result, we have far too many holidays. I wonder how this abundance of holidays and frequent occasions for communal dance and song will survive the industrial age which is descending upon us. That age must necessarily come and we are all working for it, but it will be a pity if it leads to our people forgetting these great festivals which have brought them so much joy.

There has thus far been no indication of these festivals fading away. Indeed, ever since India became independent and a sense of freedom came to our people, there have been bigger celebrations. In particular, the folk songs and dances on which India has an astonishing variety, have flourished as never before. Many years ago I wrote a book called *The Discovery of India*. Rather inadequately, I described my quest in search of an understanding of India. The more I persevered in this search, the more I was amazed at the depth and astonishing variety of India and at the same time the basic unity which pervaded throughout this great land. Having spent nearly half a century in this search, I feel that I know very little about India and sometimes she eludes me altogether. But whether I understand her or not and even when I am irritated at some of her ways, she fills my mind and heart. There is always something new about her, as there is so much of the old.

I am not very competent to judge of what Dr Goswami has written and it may be that in some matters there is no general agreement with his views. His brief survey of the country and the people deals with a vast period of time and with many aspects of India's life. It is natural for opinions to vary about many of these matters. But I am sure that everyone will agree that the pictures he has given are excellent and delightful. They give us better glimpses at any rate of many of our people today than any amount of writing. Because of this, they may enable those who see these pictures to have a better understanding than cold print could give.

It is this friendly understanding of one country by another that is required more today than perhaps the learned arguments and controversies that fill our time.

And so I commend this book and trust that it will give to its readers some little insight into the ways of the millions who inhabit India.



**225. Passage on Shivaji<sup>438</sup>**

I have made a few corrections in the Hindi translation of the passage relating to Shivaji. This can be sent to Shri Martand Upadhyaya.<sup>439</sup>

I am afraid I cannot write a foreword to the Hindi edition of these extracts. I have neither the time nor will it be appropriate for a book of extracts like this.

Nor can I write anything more on the subjects mentioned. In fact it will not be proper for me to add to extracts. About Buddha I have said a good deal in *The Discovery of India*<sup>440</sup> and an extract can be taken from it. There is something also probably about Mahavir.<sup>441</sup>

There is something about Socrates, though not much, in the *Glimpses*.<sup>442</sup>

**226. To Willard S. Irle<sup>443</sup>**

7th November, 1958

Dear Mr Irle,<sup>444</sup>

Thank you for your letter of October 30th.

It would certainly be a good thing for children to learn one other language, apart from their mother tongue, and it is desirable to encourage this. The choice of that foreign language may not be easy. Indeed, it will give rise to much controversy and I doubt if even a choice by the United Nations will be acceptable to some countries.

438. Note to M.O. Mathai, 5 November 1958. JN Collection.

439. Connected with the Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, since 1938; author of several Hindi books for children; translated Nehru's *An Autobiography* (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1980) into Hindi as *Meri Kahani*.

440. See Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1981), pp. 83, 92, 94, 98, 111-117, 119-120, 127-134, 153, 156, 170-180, 203 and 204.

441. See p. 119 of *The Discovery of India*.

442. See Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History* (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1982), pp. 44, 45 and 60.

443. JN Collection.

444. (1894-1972); born in Philadelphia and attended the University of Pennsylvania Law School; Member, New York Stock Exchange, 1930-65; Director, Irvington House; President, Association for a World Language and its successor, the Council on International Communications; author of *My Street of Dreams* (New York: Exposition Press, 1969).

Then, another point to be borne in mind is that there are some countries which have more than one language officially recognised. Thus, Switzerland has three.<sup>445</sup> Even in Finland there are two languages officially recognised<sup>446</sup> and everyone has to learn them. In India we have in effect a dozen officially recognised languages and we would like each boy and girl to learn not only his mother tongue, but at least one of the other Indian languages. Also, at the secondary stage we have made English a compulsory language.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 227. Sale of Objectionable Publications<sup>447</sup>

Two or three days ago, *The Statesman* newspaper had a note saying that Delhi bookstalls were full of highly objectionable books and magazines which apparently we had forbidden.<sup>448</sup> We passed legislation about this matter some time ago and yet, all this pornographic literature and what is called horror comics apparently pour in from foreign countries, especially the United States. *The Statesman* was rather sarcastic about the way we observe our laws.

I do not see why it should be difficult to prevent the entry of this type of books and magazines. Even if some should creep in, surely they can be confiscated at the bookstalls where they are displayed.

445. German, French and Italian are the official languages of Switzerland.

446. Finnish and Swedish are the official languages of Finland.

447. Note to G.B. Pant, 14 November 1958. JN Collection.

448. On 11 Nov. 1958, *The Statesman* reported that in spite of the Ordinance of the previous June prohibiting certain types of literature, Delhi, especially Connaught Place, was flooded with them.



**228. Publication of Books Affected<sup>449</sup>**

My attention has been drawn to the fact that owing to limitation of paper available to us, the publication of books by the Book Trust and the Sahitya Akademi is being seriously affected. The allocation of paper apparently has been cut down. Generally this has affected the Book Trust etc., more than others.

It seems to me unfortunate that the first big venture that we started for the publication of cheap books in large editions should be held up because of this. I do not suggest that we should increase our import of paper from abroad, but I do think that we should economise paper in our various Government Departments and even by the I & B Ministry so that the Book Trust does not suffer. The whole purpose of the Book Trust is vitiated if we cannot supply them with paper for the good books that we need.

I suggest that you will kindly look into this matter. I have a feeling that there is a good deal of unnecessary use of paper in our Government Departments and even in some of our publications.

**229. Protection of Ancient Monuments<sup>450</sup>**

I can quite understand the desire to protect the Red Fort from any damage and every care should be taken to this end. But I take it that the Red Fort and other artistic ancient monuments are not meant to be kept in a sealed cover. Our own people as well as foreign tourists should be encouraged to see it. The argument advanced that injury might be caused to it might well apply to tourists and others though in a somewhat lesser degree. Perhaps the tourists may do odd bits of damage because nobody is looking on, while at a particular function care can well be taken to protect it.

I think that special functions are particularly appropriate for the Red Fort. Naturally these functions should be limited. I cannot understand why there should be any damage if proper care is taken except perhaps in some odd corner of the garden, but even that is avoidable.

449. Note to K.C. Reddy, the Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, 16 November 1958. File No. 2(285)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to B.V. Keskar.

450. Note to Kesho Ram, 21 November 1958. JN Collection.

I think therefore that special receptions should be held in the Red Fort and these should include not only Heads of States but usually Prime Ministers also. Prime Ministers are far more important than Heads of States.

As for the Diwan-i-Aam being used for this purpose, I do not mind but, even so, the Diwan-i-Khas will have to be visited by the guests and the party.

The lighting on the last occasion was much better than on previous occasions and I think, anyhow, apart from functions, permanent arrangements should be made for the interior lighting of the Diwan-i-Aam and Diwan-i-Khas, more or less on the lines of the last occasion.

I agree that there should be no cooking etc. Mushairas also can be held elsewhere.

### **230. Murals of Jallianwala Bagh<sup>451</sup>**

In regard to the Jallianwalabagh Scheme, there was a proposal to have some murals made on one of the inner walls. So far as I remember, no decision has been made about these murals yet and the matter is pending as to who should be asked to do them. Obviously, the matter will have to be entrusted to one artist.

2. Could you let me know what the position is? I am not at all in favour of so-called graphic scenes describing the massacre at Jallianwalabagh. The spirit of the thing should be brought out without any horror aspect.<sup>452</sup>

451. Note to Kesho Ram, 22 November 1958. JN Collection.

452. A trust was formed in 1920, and land purchased in 1923, to build a memorial at Jallianwala Bagh. Benjamin Polk, the American architect, and T. Mehandru of Delhi, prepared the design, and the memorial was finally inaugurated by Rajendra Prasad on 13 Apr. 1961.



231. To Humayun Kabir<sup>453</sup>

December 9, 1958

My dear Humayun,<sup>454</sup>

I enclose copy of a letter I have received. There is a reference in this to "a sadistic lady in the Ministry of Culture." I know nothing about this letter. But I saw Yamini Krishnamurti<sup>455</sup> dancing the other day and she struck me as rather good. I think it is desirable to enquire into this matter further as such charges as are made in this letter should not be left unattended to.<sup>456</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

453. File No. 3/1958, Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

454. Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

455. Mungara Yamini Krishnamurti (b.1940); Bharatnatyam and Kuchipudi dancer; graduated from Kalakshetra, Madras; much acclaimed within India and abroad; founded the Yamini School of Dance at Hauz Khas, New Delhi; awarded Padmashree, 1968, Padmabhushan, 2001; published widely on the subject; wrote *A Passion for Dance: My Autobiography* (New Delhi: Viking, 1995).

456. On 6 Dec. 1958, Meghna Karadgekar of Maharashtra News Service wrote to Nehru about Yamini Krishnamurti being harried by "a sadistic lady in the Ministry of Culture", namely, Kapila Vatsyayan, and by "a sadistic gentleman in the Education Ministry," namely, G.R. Gupta. Kapila Vatsyayan and G.R. Gupta also happened to be Honorary Secretary and Honorary Manager respectively of the Sangeet Bharati. Yamini was then teaching in the Sangeet Bharati. Karadgekar accused them of dismissing Yamini without notice or reasons being given and of demanding that she vacate the Sangeet Bharati flat. Yamini asked the Chief Commissioner, A.D. Pandit, who was also Chairman of Sangeet Bharati, for help, and this enraged Kapila Vatsyayan and G.R. Gupta who charged her with indiscipline for seeing the Chairman. Meghna Karadgekar requested Nehru's help, pointing out that Yamini had the support of the press and students. M.O. Mathai then forwarded the correspondence of Kapila Vatsyayan, G.R. Gupta, and A.D. Pandit, which questioned her quality as a teacher and her commitment to her work; most of all, they accused her of taking medical leave in order to present public dance performances for the World Bank at the Ashoka Hotel. These explanations convinced Nehru who wrote to Humayun Kabir on 20 Dec. 1958 that the action was justified.

## 232. Invitation to a Soviet Scientist<sup>457</sup>

I think it was not at all right for an Assistant Professor of the Allahabad University to invite people in Moscow to the Allahabad University Convocation. So far as I know, no outsiders are being invited to this Convocation, although it is rather a special session after seventy years of the University. The only persons who are being invited are those who are getting Degrees.

It was the desire of the Allahabad University to invite one eminent scientist from the Soviet Union to receive an Honorary Degree. The Vice Chancellor spoke to me about it and I referred him to Professor Thacker. I do not know what happened. Please enquire from Professor Thacker, who is leaving for London on the 12th. If a name has already been selected, obviously the invitation for him should be conveyed to Moscow immediately, as time is short.

It was not necessary for us to state in our telegram to Moscow that sanction was being sought for meeting the local expenses. Obviously if a person comes as our guest, his expenses are to be met. The Soviet Government treats large numbers of Indians who go there as their guests. Even if more than one person came, the local expenses would be met and some arrangement for this would be made. But it is not easy to make arrangements for anybody's stay in Allahabad especially when it is likely to be crowded.

I suggest therefore that:

- 1) You might finalise the invitation to the distinguished Soviet Scientist who is being invited for a Doctorate.
- 2) You might inform our Ambassador in Moscow about the invitation extended by the Assistant Professor of Allahabad University and say that it is too late to invite other people now and it may not be easy to make suitable arrangements for others. We should of course also inform Allahabad University about it.

457. Note to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 10 December 1958. JN Collection.



### 233. Indian Game Birds for USA<sup>458</sup>

I am agreeable to Dr Bump<sup>459</sup> introducing American birds in India or watching Indian birds.<sup>460</sup> But I would definitely not like him to go to any of the tribal areas of the North East.

I had said previously that we could not spare any of our officers to accompany him. But, as a matter of fact, it is important that a representative of ours who knows about birds should be with him. He need not be constantly with him but he should be attached to him and should keep in touch with what Dr Bump is doing. This is not for the purpose of watching him but knowing what is being done in the bird line.

You should therefore get in touch with the concerned Ministry or the CSIR and ask them to suggest the name of an officer or scientist who knows about birds.

Apart from people in Government employ, there are people in the Universities and then our biggest expert in India on birds, Shri Sálím Ali<sup>461</sup> of Bombay who has written a number of books on Indian birds. Shri Sálím Ali cannot be attached in this way to Dr Bump. Someone else will have to be attached. But Shri Sálím Ali might well be told of what is being done and given facilities, if he so chooses, to keep in touch with Dr Bump's activities.

458. Note to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 11 December 1958. JN Collection.

459. Gardiner Bump (1903-1986); wildlife conservationist; worked in the US Fish and Wildlife Service to study game birds suitable for introduction in USA; travelled extensively in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Argentina and Europe; after retirement in early 1970s served as Advisor and Historian, Five Rivers Environmental Education Centre; also active in the Ruffed Grouse Society; one of the authors of *The Ruffed Grouse: Life History, Propagation, Management* (New York: New York State Conservation Department, 1947); authored a number of wildlife articles in various journals.

460. The American Embassy had asked for permission for Bump and his staff to travel round India to collect game birds to be introduced into the USA. In Aug. Nehru had demurred, observing that "an elaborate mission working for a long period in various parts of India would not be suitable." On 24 Nov. 1958, the American Embassy repeated its request. S. Sen, Joint Secretary in the MEA, noted on 4 Dec. 1958 that it might be difficult to refuse such an official request, but that he could be permitted in specified areas and that the Himalayan region be closed to him.

461. Eminent ornithologist and author of *The Book of Indian Birds* (Bombay: Bombay Natural History Society, 1941) and *The Fall of a Sparrow* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985).

**234. To K.L. Shrimali<sup>462</sup>**

December 16, 1958

My dear Shrimali,

Sunderlal<sup>463</sup> came to see me today and spoke to me at some length about the dictionary he had been asked to prepare. He gave me a fairly long account of all that had happened and how he had agreed at one stage not to ask for more money. Subsequently committees and others were appointed to revise this and the work had grown much bigger and more money had been spent. It was now a three volume affair and it had been revised by a competent committee of editors. Two volumes were quite ready and the third was partly ready.

Some difficulties apparently have arisen and he had been told that he could get no further help from the Education Ministry. Further that he has been asked to send the manuscript prepared by the committee apparently for further revision by someone in the Education Ministry.

I do not quite understand all this. Even though Sunderlal had said to Maulana Sahib that no money would be required, the question now is whether this result of some labour is worthwhile or not. If it is worthwhile, then we should proceed with it.

Sunderlal also mentioned to me something about some Readers he had prepared at the request of Maulana Sahib. He said these were also ready now.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

P.S: Since writing to you the above, I read your letter of December 12th in which you have, inter alia, referred to the grants made to the Hindustani Cultural Society. You should, of course, ask them to send proper accounts. But, apart from this, I think that we should not waste the labour that has gone in the compilation of this dictionary.

462. File No. 40 (168)/59-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

463. Secretary, Hindustani Culture Society.



## 235. Using a Simple Language<sup>464</sup>

Mr Chairman, (I don't quite know who the Chairman is but still) and friends, In a brief space of time, I believe we have distributed over a hundred copper plates, suitably mounted on wood, as awards of fine work in printing, designing and various other matters connected with their work. I think it was an excellent idea to introduce these awards, because we want to encourage in every way good work, good printing, good designing, good everything and good binding. I see that so far as printing is concerned, some well-known presses in Calcutta have run away with most of the awards, the Eagle Press, the Saraswati Press and Gosain and Co.,<sup>465</sup> with *The Times of India* of Bombay running a close second. Well, I congratulate all of them and especially these four printers in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

Thinking of it here, I suppose, in connection with this, these awards of fine work, but fine work which is good in itself and to be encouraged, really makes us think, to some extent, of the contents of the whole history, the exciting adventure of printing. One of the major revolutionary changes in the world, I suppose, has been the advent of printing and books, thus opening out the avenues of knowledge and communication to vast numbers of people. I remember reading in some book, long ago, that one of the wisest men in the Middle Ages in Europe, Erasmus, had a library of, I think, fifty volumes, handwritten of course, and he was considered to be a very well-read man and he indeed was a very wise man. That shows the difference and now vast numbers of books are at your disposal in libraries or even privately. That, of course, brings also another problem, as to whether the person who reads large numbers of books today is the wiser for reading them. Very few, I take it, can compete with Erasmus for wisdom and learning, yet his whole library consisted of fifty books, while now even an average man may have hundreds or thousands of books.

That apart, it is well to remember what a revolutionary change printing brought about in the world. And here there is another rather depressing thought that while printing appeared in Europe, originally in some form introduced from China, the block printing, and while it developed in Europe, in India there was no printing for a long time, even though Europe was producing books.

464. Speech while distributing prizes for excellence in printing and designing of books and other publications, New Delhi, 19 December 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. The Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting instituted the awards.

465. In Madras and Calcutta respectively.

Even though some of the printed books of Europe came to India during the time of the Mughal emperors, they apparently attached no importance to them and made no attempt to get printing started here. It shows that in spite of a great deal of pomp and circumstances of the Mughal emperors there was something lacking, that spirit of going ahead. They were static, represented a static civilization, while Europe, though backward in those days, possibly in material comforts and even in physical well-being compared to India of those days, was nevertheless a dynamic society going ahead which made good afterwards by advancing in many fields. It has always struck me as very peculiar that here was something—printing—which any person ought to have jumped at or any government ought to have jumped at for its own sake apart from the cultural aspects of it, and yet it took such a mighty time to develop in India; in fact, it only developed after the coming of the British. And I believe some of the earliest printing presses were run by some missionaries in Bengal, maybe elsewhere too. There is something about that which indicates that a society has to have some vital urge in it to progress, otherwise opportunities come and it does not take hold of them; they pass by.

Well, I hope anyway that after a considerable interval in India our society—using the word in the larger sense of the community—has got that vital urge and a small part of that urge is represented by books, books representing the thoughts and so many other things connected with the expression of thought, which are so essential to a society. It is essential for the purposes of education, of course; it is essential for the purpose of government; it is essential for the spreading out of culture; it is essential for the purposes of research. What would the world be like without books? Just think of it. The world would then have to rely, more or less, on human memory, on tradition. They are important things—human memory and tradition – of course, and the world has lived for thousands of years on memory and tradition. And tradition moulds the life of a nation to a greater extent than people imagine, especially in the old times, and if you have a powerful tradition it does not really matter if the tradition is true or not true. It is true in the sense that it is believed in, that is part of the truth, believing in something whether factually it was correct or not is almost relatively a minor matter. If, as in India, the tradition of the Ramayana and of the Mahabharata powerfully moulds our people, it really is of little consequence whether the stories are true or not. The fact is that hundreds and hundreds of generations have been moulded by it, hundreds of millions of people. And so it becomes a fact in that sense. But I was saying that without books, one has to rely on human memory and on tradition. They have their value but obviously it is a limited value. Then comes the book; it is helpful, very much so because it brings us the experience of our forebears. But again if the book is not printed,



that is, limited, the books do not circulate, only the elite have it. It is only when printing comes that there is a sudden expansion of the opportunities of gaining knowledge and, therefore, of making progress of various kinds.

What is knowledge today? Science has made tremendous progress. What is science? Not just some brilliant effort by a brilliant man, but the accumulation of knowledge by tens of thousands of scientists working away, pegging away, making one little progress here, one there and suddenly it accumulates and it appears to be a mountain. So books play an enormous, a vital, part in modern life. The only difficulty today, I suppose, is how to distinguish between, well, the good books and the books that are not, that might not be called good. There is the danger of the good books getting quite overwhelmed by the bad books, being lost. Well, one has to face that I suppose. Another, of course, not a danger but a problem in future will be where to keep all these books that go on appearing. I was told, I think in the United States someone told me that if every bit of paper that was printed was accumulated, there wouldn't be any room left in the United States for the human beings after a few years, although it is a big country, the United States. As it is, libraries grow and grow and grow even after a selective process. Well, for that matter, I think the Government of India does a good job in consuming vast quantities of paper. I am not quite sure that it is such a good job altogether; I think we could save much in paper. Considering that we want to save, it is worthwhile for the Government of India trying to have less circulars and less other circulating papers. But that is a private matter between me and the Government of India; I merely mentioned it to you.

Now, books, of course, are essentially the contents of the book, obviously, not so much the outward appearance of the book. But the outward appearance of the book is important as everything good and beautiful is important. It is important merely because beauty is important in itself. Secondly, it is important because it encourages good taste and that requires encouragement badly in India. I am not sure that our tastes, generally speaking, are quite as good as they might be. They have rather been vulgarised by various occurrences for which we are not at fault but the circumstance and other things, but I do believe that a change is coming over the scene and taste is also improving. In that work, books and the production of books can play a very important part. But I hope, of course, that the beauty of the printing and the binding, of the design, will cover a good book, not a bad book, and not a trivial book.

Now, we want books to be good, but we also want books to reach many people, not to belong to a select coterie, and that indeed is the object, presumably, of the writer of the book as also of the publisher. They both want a large circulation and yet, oddly enough, most of the writers and most of the publishers in India, I speak subject to correction, think in rather limited terms. The writer,

he probably uses language which many people do not understand at all, that is, it is too difficult, too abstruse, with the result that his circulation is limited; he does not get that wide appeal. He is writing consciously or unconsciously for a select crowd.

Now, sitting here and looking at this programme which was presented before me, I read this remarkable sentence describing today's proceedings: मुद्रण और आकल्पन की उत्कृष्टता पर राज-पुरस्कार [Translation: State Awards for Excellence in Printing and Designing]. I should be glad to know how many of you sitting here understand this. I should be glad to know: if somebody went to have a Gallup poll in Chandni Chowk in Delhi and wanted to know how many understood it, how many will understand this phrase? Now, this is a typical example not only of the mysteries of the working of the Government of India but also of generally the writing trade in India. I do not speak for all but there is that tendency, that is, writing a language, either in books or newspapers, which relatively few people understand. The attempt is not so much to get across but to show off. There is a lot of difference between getting across to an audience and showing off. There is far too much tendency to show off, that we are clever people, the writer I mean, with the result that he is only appreciated, if at all, by other people who consider themselves clever and not many others who perhaps are not so clever. The result is that circulations are limited. If circulations are limited, all kinds of things follow which restrict the reading of books, the printing of books, the publishing of books, because all this follows a large circulation, a large reading public, whether it is newspapers or books.

Take newspapers. A huge country like India has remarkably few newspaper readers. It is astonishingly few; you may at the most count up some few—a handful of circulations going up to maybe a little more than a hundred thousand. And then there are certain drops too, smaller numbers. In most countries, I would say, more or less advanced countries, circulations not only are much larger, but there are far more newspapers with good circulations and the total reading public of newspapers is vaster by tremendous extent. Why is that so? It is not because there are not people who do not know how to read. In spite of a fairly large percentage of illiteracy and a relatively small but growing percentage of literacy the actual number of people who are literate in India are tremendous in numbers. Remember that. If, let us say, 20 per cent are literates, well, it is a vast number, far greater than the entire populations of most countries in the world. Yet we don't reach them and I am waiting for some bright person to reach them. How will we reach them? We will reach them not by thinking of some literary coterie but by putting himself in their position and see what they can read with ease and comfort and understand that. Then you will see



circulations growing, both of newspapers and books. So, I suggest this for the consideration of, well, the writers essentially, but the others too, the publishing trade, because books in order to go far have to be cheap. Books can only be cheap if they have large circulations. Books will only have large circulations if they are written in a style which can be read and understood by large numbers of people. It follows, step by step, or else limitations come in and the reading public does not grow much.

All this may not have much to do with the giving of awards for good printing and publishing and designing and binding and all that, which you have been doing today. But this is, this excellence in doing this and improving continuously is, I think, of very considerable importance, and I am very happy to see that this progress is being made in India, and it is being encouraged, and I would like to congratulate certainly those who have got these awards, but also the Ministry for having this bright idea of giving these awards. Because, they will make people think—other printers and designers and book-binders. It will raise their standards. It will raise the public taste, and ultimately it will create, I hope, a taste for possession of a beautifully printed book in order to read it and to keep it. So again I congratulate those who have won these awards.

### 236. The Real Memorial to Gurudeva<sup>466</sup>

Vice Chancellor,<sup>467</sup> teachers and students and friends,  
We have begun this ceremony, today, as it was right, with some beautiful words of Gurudeva which were sung. Then we followed it up by an invocation from the Vedas—an invocation which was thought of long, long ago by our ancient forebears, and yet this invocation which is vital with the strength of truth today. So it was well that we started with this invocation reminding us of what we should be, of our duties and obligations, of our conduct to our brothers and sisters and neighbours and all others, reminding us above all of fearlessness, abhaya. For, perhaps the fundamental thing about an individual or a community is this spirit of fearlessness. If you have that, you are less likely to err and in the same way, perhaps, the worst thing for an individual or a community or a

466. Speech when laying the foundation stone of Bichitra Rabindra Sadan at Santiniketan, 23 December 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. The Sadan was to house a gallery and have a lecture hall.

467. S.N. Bose.

nation is to be obsessed with fear. Fear is not a good companion at any time and out of fear come out so many other evil things like hatred and violence. So it is well to remember these words in the beautiful Sanskrit language uttered long, long ago by those whose unworthy successors we are. And yet we may feel a little pride that we are the sharers in all this and even though we may not always be able to act up to these prayers and benedictions, still somewhere within us there is that spark which listens to this and which reacts accordingly.

Here we had on this spot Gurudeva, and we presume to set up a memorial for him, for the centenary of his birth, as if this building of brick and mortar and cement can be a memorial to that vital and eternal spirit which lived here for a while and left us and this land. There may be many memorials for him all over India, just as we are putting up this building here today. But the real memorial will not be in stone and mortar, but in the spirit which we imbibe from him. It will be insofar as we accept, understand and live his teachings and his messages. It is a memorial which will live in the hearts and minds of millions today and hereafter in India and also outside India. Our Gurudeva was not confined even to this great land of India, from which he derived inspiration. He was a world spirit addressing the world, tortured by world's ills and violence, and still we hear him sing the message of peace and benediction. So I do not consider this memorial in that sense, but only a humble offering on this occasion to the immortal spirit which lived in this country and which will live as a reminder to us of his message. Let us offer it in all humility, but also with a firm determination to be worthy of it.

The Upacharya has referred to an appeal for funds that was made—and the rather poor response to it.<sup>468</sup> Rest assured this work will not suffer for money; this work will go on and be completed. Money is the least of the important things of the world, although much is made of it and it is useful occasionally. It is the men and women who count, the human beings that create money and create everything that is worthwhile in life—not gold, silver and money—and if this place, Santiniketan embodies something of that spirit of Gurudeva, money will not lack, money will come from all quarters and add to the beauty of this place by putting up beautiful and graceful buildings in commemoration of some aspects of Gurudeva's life and activity.

468. S.N. Bose regretted that the memorial committee was able to collect a fund of only Rs one lakh against the target of Rs 20 lakhs.



This particular building has been designed by our friend Shri Surendra Nath Kar<sup>469</sup> and you can see the designs here and you will see not only is it an attractive and graceful design, but there was another thing to be remembered and that was it should fit in with its surroundings. It should stand by itself, and fit in with the surroundings and enshrine the paintings, the pictures of Gurudeva and be a meeting place for those who come there, assemble there, try to imbibe something of that great spirit of his.

So on this occasion let us think of his message and of him who gave it; let us think of it in all humility, but with determination to act up to it. Let us make this place Santiniketan and the University that came out of it—Visva-Bharati, an embodiment of those ideals—something new, something different, something worthwhile. If we do so, we will have erected the real memorial to Gurudeva.

469. (1891-1970); painter, graphic artist, and mural designer; Associate Art Director with Nandalal Bose for Tagore dramas and Santiniketan festivals; Tagore brought him to Santiniketan school in 1917 to teach drawing and painting; travelled extensively with the poet in India and abroad; Director, Vinaya Bhavan, Santiniketan, 1948-51; Principal, Kala Bhavan, Visva-Bharati, 1951-55; experimented with architectural design and planning; his notable architectural creations include Sarabhai Mansion in Ahmedabad, DVC township in Bokaro, the modified façade of All India Radio and Eden Gardens in Calcutta; *The Marble Prison*, *The Window*, *A Mountain Boy* are some of his famous paintings; *Dog*, *Village Scene*, *Shepherd Boy* are some of his famous lithographs; awarded Desikottama by Visva-Bharati, 1971.

(f) Science and Technology

237. To J.B.S Haldane<sup>470</sup>

November 12, 1958

Dear Professor Haldane,<sup>471</sup>

I have your letter of November 8.<sup>472</sup> No apology was needed for writing it and I hope you will not hesitate to do so in future even though that involves criticism of the way our Government apparatus works.

You say that Professor Dobzhansky<sup>473</sup> should be invited to come to India for the Science Congress in 1960, that is, over a year from now. Certainly, he should be invited. Invitations are chiefly arranged by Mahalanobis.<sup>474</sup> As for facilities for him to do work here, if I can be of any help, please let me know.

470. JN Collection.

471. John Burdon Sanderson Haldane was Professor of Genetics at the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta.

472. Haldane recommended inviting Professor T. Dobzhansky of Columbia University, New York, to the Indian Science Congress in Jan. 1960 and that he be provided facilities for scientific work in India. Haldane regretted that red tape obstructed much creative work and collaboration with foreign scientists. He gave examples of problems: 1) when they visited, they were sucked into official and ceremonial events at the expense of useful time with Indian colleagues; 2) Indian biologists are isolated from international research, but eager foreigners find it difficult to visit owing to time lost in official procedures; 3) he himself wants to take two of his younger colleagues to Singapore for a congress in Dec., but procuring passports for them would mean his abandoning academic work for a month; 4) scientific journals could be published in India, but the Registrar of Newspapers maintains as tight a control as the British government did!

473. Theodosius Grygorovych Dobzhansky (1900-1975); geneticist and evolutionary biologist; born in Ukraine and attended the University of Kiev, 1917-24; moved to Leningrad to study under Yuri Filipchenko; emigrated to the United States on a scholarship from the Rockefeller Foundation, 1927; worked with Thomas Hun Morgan at Columbia University; followed Morgan to California Institute of Technology and worked there, 1930-40; worked in Columbia University, 1940-62; worked in the Rockefeller Institute, 1962-71; retired in 1971 and worked as an emeritus Professor in the University of California; elected President of the Behaviour Genetics Association in 1972 and created Dobzhansky Award for lifetime achievement in behaviour genetics; awarded the National Medal of Science, the Franklin Medal and a Medal from the National Academy of Sciences; author of *Genetics and the Origin of Species* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937) and *Genetics of the Evolutionary Process* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

474. P.C. Mahalanobis was Statistical Adviser to the Union Cabinet and founder-director, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta. He was also Member of the Planning Commission.



I agree with you that tours of visiting scientists should be so organised as to suit them and be of interest to them. There may be some little difficulty in organising a large number of separate tours. But it is always open to an individual scientist to draw up his own tour and carry it out.

I am sure we would welcome eminent geologists and palaeontologists as well as of course biologists. I am sending your letter to Professor Thacker of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. If any such person comes here, we shall endeavour to give facilities and equipment he requires.

I am sorry for the delay in your getting passports for Singapore. You are quite right in pointing out that this matter is directly under me. As Prime Minister, it might be said that I am in charge of the whole Government of India. But quite a large number intervene between me and the work to be done. I am looking into this matter immediately and I hope you will have no difficulty in getting a passport for yourself and your wife and any other junior scientist who may go with you. It would have made it easier if I knew their names.

I am sorry to confess to you that I had not heard previously of a Registrar of Newspapers in Delhi. So far as I know, there is no control at all on publication in India. But I fear that the bureaucratic apparatus is slow moving. I shall enquire about the scientific journal to which you refer. It would be easier to do so, if you could send me the name and other particulars.

It is perfectly true that rich men or others who have a certain pull manage to get things done for them in regard to passports or other matters. I wish it was not so. Recently restrictions were put on the issue of passports chiefly because foreign exchange was involved.<sup>475</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

475. Nehru wrote the same day to M.S. Thacker, Director General, CSIR, to invite Professor Dobzhansky to the Congress and to give him all facilities for scientific work in India; further, to let visiting scientists travel individually in India.

## 238. Setting up of Atomic Power Stations<sup>476</sup>

M. Valiulla:<sup>477</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of atomic power stations which are likely to be set up in India; and
- (b) when and where they are to be set up?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b). The Atomic Energy Commission recommended that one million kilowatts of nuclear power be installed by the end of the Third Five Year Plan period and that this could be done by setting up two atomic power stations, each station consisting of two units of a quarter million kilowatts each. It is estimated that each of these units would take about four years to build. Government have decided that a minimum of 250,000 kilowatts of nuclear power be included in the power programme of the Third Plan. Exploratory talks with manufacturers of atomic power stations in other countries are in progress. As regards location, the matter is still under consideration.

M. Valiulla: May I know, Sir, whether India wants to develop atomic energy primarily with its own resources or with foreign resources also?

Jawaharlal Nehru: If by 'resources' the honourable Member means 'mineral resources' ...

M. Valiulla: To avoid foreign exchange business.

Jawaharlal Nehru: If we develop atomic energy we shall develop it largely with our resources, and we shall, if necessary, supplement them with other resources. If it is important enough to develop it, it will be developed.

N.M. Lingam:<sup>478</sup> May I know if the Prime Minister can give us an idea with regard to the estimated cost of the power stations and how will they compare with thermal power or hydroelectric power?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The present estimates are that even now the cost of atomic power will be comparable provided it is away from the coalfields, that is to say,

476. Reply to questions in the Rajya Sabha, 27 November 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIII, cols 348-349.

477. Mohamed Valiulla was Congress MP from Mysore State.

478. N.M. Lingam was Congress MP from Madras State.



near a coalfield coal is cheaper and there is no transport charge involved. Therefore a thermal plant would be somewhat cheaper just like near hydroelectric works water is available, but any distance from there works in favour of the atomic plant. And there is another aspect of it also. The cost of production of atomic plants is becoming cheaper now. Partly this is the answer to a previous question too. Apart from our need for atomic power, because we may not get, in the long run, enough coal power or water power, it is essential to have atomic power in the future. It is hoped that there are inexhaustible supplies and we may produce it even from such things as sea water, one of the elements but our main supply will come from thorium. We cannot build a plant straightway from thorium. We have to remember that the first plant will be a little expensive but as soon as we shift over, in the second or third stage, to thorium we will have a very large supply and also it will be cheaper.

#### 239. To C.V. Raman<sup>479</sup>

November 27, 1958

My dear Dr Raman,<sup>480</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 24th November. It is always a pleasure to hear from you. I hope you are keeping well.

You can rest assured that the Institute which you have built up with so much love and care, will be adequately looked after.<sup>481</sup> As for your suggestion of having a permanent research professorship, I shall enquire into this matter. I do not quite know how our Government rules apply in such cases.<sup>482</sup>

I am inclined to think that the Gandhi Memorial Fund will not be able to help in the way you have suggested. I rather doubt if the Fund has got five lakhs of rupees free. Practically, the entire amount available to it has been earmarked. But the real difficulty is that under the constitution of the Fund, probably such

479. File No. 17(221)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to M.S. Thacker.

480. Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1930 in Physics.

481. In 1948 C.V. Raman started the Research Institute at Bangalore and became its founder-director.

482. On 27 Nov. and again on 30 Dec. 1958 Nehru wrote to M.S. Thacker suggesting that steps be taken for a permanent post of a Professor at the Raman Institute, as this was not only right but would also relieve Raman of the anxiety about the future of the Institute.

an endowment would not be feasible. However, I shall discuss this matter with Shri Diwakar.<sup>483</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 240. Appeal to Scientists<sup>484</sup>

Mr Governor,<sup>485</sup> Chief Minister,<sup>486</sup> Dr Bose<sup>487</sup> and friends,

You have done me a great honour in giving me this opportunity today of associating myself with this celebration of the centenary of a very great Indian and I feel I am privileged to be present here on this occasion.

I remember when I was rather a small boy, maybe thirteen or fourteen years old, I heard people, grown-ups, discussing in our house a book that had appeared, *Response to the Living and the Non-Living*.<sup>488</sup> I think that was the title of Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose's book and they discussed learnedly and were rather excited about what that book contained. So I thought I ought to try to find out what it contained. The book was in the library, so I got hold of it and tried to read it. I don't remember whether I understood much of what I read but I was impressed. Who understands the great men of the world? But we are impressed by them. That at least is something. So, that was my first introduction, if I may say so, to the name and work of Acharya Bose.

After that his name came before us in various ways and I was naturally proud of this great man of science who was our countryman. When I went to Cambridge and studied in a rather mediocre way some of the subjects which Acharya Jagadish Chandra had studied there previously, some of the scientific subjects, and there too sometimes one heard not only of his work, but also of controversies with some English scientists who apparently did not like his work or did not approve of it for whatever the reason might be. But I don't

483. R.R. Diwakar was Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

484. Speech at inauguration of the birth centenary celebrations of Jagadish Chandra Bose at the Bose Institute, Calcutta, 30 November 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

485. The Governor was Padmaja Naidu; but Nehru addressed her Mr Governor!

486. B.C. Roy.

487. D.M. Bose, nephew of Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose, was the Director of the Bose Institute, Calcutta.

488. The correct title is *Response in the Living and Non-living* (London: Longman's Green & Co., 1902).



remember having met him then. Afterwards, when I came back to India, I had the privilege of meeting him on a number of occasions. But one personal note, if I may give, is that the present Director of the Institute, Dr Bose, and I were more or less contemporaries at Cambridge and, if I may say so, Dr Bose grew in my eyes greatly there in Cambridge when I heard that he is the nephew of the great Jagadish Chandra Bose.

Well, it is not much good my speaking in laudatory terms of Jagadish Chandra Bose. He was a great man and we in India are apt to, what shall I say, eulogise so much everybody that eulogy of the great becomes nothing at all because we eulogise second-rate and third-rate also and little distinction remains. It is an odd thing, I speak subject to correction, that in India there are very few good biographies in any language; again, I say, I speak subject to correction because biographies in India mean fulsome praise or sometimes denunciation. There is not a friendly approach, friendly, critical approach, objective [approach]. We are so overwhelmed by a personality that we praise him so much that we can get no picture of the human being, but some demigod who had come on earth, and that not about the very great but about the second-rate, as I said, perhaps because we are generous, because we think that saying something that may perhaps be considered as lessening the greatness of the man, would be improper, that is, matter-of-fact. Apart from lessening the greatness of a man, greatness comes out when we realise that he is a human being and not some semi-divine person having some sort of human characteristics. So, when one uses the superlatives in the case of the second-rate, what then are we left with, what words and phrases, when describing a really great man? That is my difficulty, because Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose was undoubtedly one of the really great men of India.

Great he was of, course, but the particular line in which he showed his greatness was, if I may say so, rather typical in one way of the modern age and another of India. It was a kind of marriage of ancient Indian tradition of philosophy with modern scientific knowledge. It is his reaction to life and knowledge that impresses one. We have had and we will have great scientists and science becomes more and more important in the world today, covering our lives, and science has become a greater revolutionary force than any other in the world. That is true. Now, science, having become such a revolutionary force and having practically changed the whole conception of the physical universe, has arrived at a stage when it offers us a choice of tremendous progress and tremendous disaster and, in fact, probably that is the great problem of the age, not only for the scientists but for every sensitive person, how to choose rightly in this age of crisis.

Now, it is not enough, when this happens, that such choices are given to

us to imagine piously that we are on the good side or the right side and criticise others who do not happen to agree with us. This, rather, I say, attitude—I can't remember the proper word for it—produces a sense of complacency in one's rightness and then it does not help us to face the problem either intellectually or from the physical plane. In India we have been, with all our virtues, far too passive—not pacifist but we are passive—and we imagine that by the enunciation of some truth or some mantra we have done our duty to our country, to the world, to humanity. Now, mantras are words of power and those who first recited them were men of power out of whose mighty brains they came. But, in course of time words of power ceased their power and degenerate brains merely mumbled words without the strength to understand or act up to them and there is always that danger of people mumbling big things without understanding, without realising that there is strength and life in those words. If we lack that strength and life, we do not put the content in them; they become empty words, however great they might be.

So we are always faced with a grave danger and it may perhaps be almost an inevitable accompaniment of high philosophy. The Indian people have been distinguished for philosophy, for metaphysics, apart from other things and rightly so. But there is always a danger that we adopt the philosopher's jargon without the philosopher's mind—a dangerous thing; and we are apt in India far too much to adopt the jargon, the mantra, and preach great things and imagine that we have done our duty to the world. That is to say, philosophy and metaphysics, great and good as they are, require some kind of backing of life and energy in our minds to sustain them with action.

Science, which developed in the Western world, got that capacity for search for truth in a somewhat different way. Just as philosophy and metaphysics was a search for truth, science searched for truth in a somewhat different way and brought heavy rewards in its train. It had not only to search for truth there, but [also] life and, energy; not mere mumbling or something that has been done before, but experiment, experimentation and progress by succession of failures and successes. So science was a good thing and it showed tremendous results and, as everybody knows, it changed the whole concept and manner of living of the world. After all, much that we are and everything, all improvements, if I may say so, in Europe and America, are due to science and application of science.

Then came, in the earlier years of the century, a sudden blow to science. It would perhaps be wrong to imagine that in science cataclysmic things occurred. It came step by step. The last step may appear to be very great. Nevertheless, one may say that the whole concept of the physical world was changed by the series of discoveries made by great scientists from Einstein onwards and today we are in a fluid state of mind, because there was the old concept of science when I



studied science in laboratories in Cambridge. We had a fixed notion of what the physical world was. All that fixity had gone, disappeared, and ultimately we landed ourselves in atomic and hydrogen bombs, that vast energy which forces people and scientists more than ever to imagine, to try to grasp, where they are going, where their scientific discoveries are leading them to.

On the one hand, science, if it is to live, must advance. We cannot put a barrier to science or to inquiry or the search for truth in that way by trying to prevent that. That cannot happen and that should not happen even though science may lead us to the gates of hell. It cannot happen, we cannot stop human beings. That is a good thing. On the other hand, we have arrived at the gates of hell and [the] scientist has to think, "Am I right in doing work which drives the world in this terrible direction?" In the twenties, not so much in the thirties or forties, when this brilliant band of scientists was working on these various theories which ultimately led to atomic energy, when the atom was split and all that, this problem came before us repeatedly; it frightened them. What, whither we are going to. The atom bomb did not come, but they saw it; it came to their minds it was bound to come. They knew; the public did not know. And in Germany, in Italy, in England, in France, in America, in Japan, in various degrees the scientists were working and the scientists were frightened of the politician how they would use the power that would accompany this. They were more frightened, of course, of the soldiers how they would use it.

However, the scientific discoveries led ultimately to what we have today. Not only the hydrogen bomb and all its progeny, but these things are controlled by the politicians, not by the scientists, but by the politicians, and, even more so by the military apparatus of the state. What the scientists were afraid of happened and the scientists were tied up hand and foot to the chariot of the state. "Make more bombs"; but they did not know how to escape.

I have given you this brief account, which no doubt you know, of the problem of the age to indicate that the solution of the problem can only be made, I think, on the lines of the thinking of Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose. That is, he thought, I do not suppose that he thought of the atom bomb, but the divorce between science and philosophy. He bridged that in his thinking, in his action, and that bridge between philosophy and science, modern science, was also linked in his attempt to bridge Indian thought with what I'd call modern thought. I do not say that all aspects of Indian thought or Indian customs are capable of thus being bridged, because all kinds of thought waves grow up and the dust of ages then settles down on something that is very shining and brilliant and dulls it. So it happened with Indian thought and many of our customs are not only out of date, but rather almost unbearable to any sensitive mind. Yet, in spite of all that, the fact remains that the basis of Indian thought is something

magnificent and something which makes you feel, because it is difficult to prove these things, the essential variety of truth.

Now, if this is so, how to bring that thought in line with modern science? Mind you, that Indian thought, not all the accumulated knowledge, I believe, is essentially scientific. Whether it was some of the darshan, the philosophies of Vedanta, or whether it was the philosophy that developed under Buddhism, they were essentially scientific. It is we, the weak decadent descendants of the old Indians that lost that science and only mumble words. So, therefore, it is not difficult to realise, whether you go to the Upanishads or whether you go to Buddhist philosophy, it is a scientific approach and never unscientific. Buddha never asked anyone to accept a single word, if I may say so, without understanding it, without experimenting it and feeling it. "Don't take my words, don't accept what I say, go and experiment," said Buddha. The whole basis of Vedanta is experiment, a mental scientific approach.

Of course, modern science experiments in a different field. What is true of modern science is true in other spheres of human existence, human feelings. It is true. Whether the other sphere—some sphere of life—is cut off by impenetrable barrier from the sphere in which science has dealt with, I don't know. It is a different type; I don't know. I am using words which I do not completely understand. It may be something in the fourth dimension. You get out of the three dimensions and enter the fourth dimension, you see all kinds of things and all the three dimensions are alike. Whatever that may be, the point I am pressing is the approach of the old Indian Vedanta or Buddhist philosophy was experimental and scientific into the realms of the spirit.

Now, therefore, that is the essential quality of modern science—experiment, search for truth by experiment, by trial and error, without taking anything for granted, however big the man who said it. So, if that is so, there is a common bridge between the two. At least a bridge can be constructed between the two. Now, as I just said, Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose was himself, in his life and works, a bridge between the two. That is the thing which strikes me most, apart from his high attainments in science and his experiments in various forms, first of all in electrical radiation and then in the responses of the living and non-living substances and trying to break down the barrier between the living and the non-living. All that he has himself written and said had a certain spiritual quality in science, had obviously a spiritual quality.

I found in an entirely different context, if I may say a certain spiritual quality in the work of Einstein. Poor Einstein! He said in his later days, he wished he had not been a scientist but had been a carpenter. He was so frightened at the results of his own work which had led to the atom bomb, he said: "I wish I had not been in any way responsible for this and if I had been a carpenter,



I would have lived a peaceful life and the rest of the world would have been a little peaceful too." That is itself his statement; it shows the sensitiveness, the spiritual quality of Einstein which he had in abundant measure and which really every scientist ought to possess in some measure, otherwise he is not a true scientist. So that now when we have come up against this great question of the age which may be represented by the atom bomb or atomic energy and how it is to be used for the purposes of destruction or construction, or you really in a sense have come at the end of the [...] and that approach, and you have to find some other avenue leading you away from that blank wall where science has landed itself or, if you like, where politicians exploiting science have landed themselves.

We read about the conferences going on in various parts of the world where high and mighty persons meet to discuss questions of disarmament, stoppage of atomic tests and the like, knowing full well that if they do not succeed, they will go towards disaster, world disaster, and possibly irretrievable disaster. Nobody wants war; how can they, except a mad man? And yet, actuated by certain compulsions, by fear and by the progeny—the outcome of fear which is hatred towards each other, you just cannot bring themselves round to deal with this problem in a logical way because fear comes in the way. Now, I hope and I have great respect for these people, because they are fine people wishing peace and I am not criticising them, but what I am venturing to suggest is that their approach will have to be on somewhat different lines apart, of course, from the practical lines they are pursuing. Something else has to come in in order to disentangle this knot and that something else, well, can only be described as a spiritual approach. I may use the word in a big way and not in a narrow way. I am not a [inaudible: possibly "mumbler"] of mantras, I tell you clearly; and I dislike anything thrown on me to paralyse my mind by the jumble of words, however great the words might be.

But I do believe that the world has, mentally speaking, arrived at a turning point [...] and it has to add something to its thinking in its approach to problems in order to get out of this big tangle or else to perish. It may be that the scientific, spiritual approach—again using the words in the broadest term and not in any narrow term and laying stress on the scientific part of that approach—this approach, scientific and yet spiritual, which has been the characteristic of the highest Indian thought—not your thought and mine, I repeat, the highest Indian thought in past ages—might help. And it is that I see [in] Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose. Whether he did it deliberately and consciously, I do not know. But nevertheless he did that. He brought, tried to bring about, a marriage of the two: the efficient scientist with scientific methods completely, but also at the same time joined on to a man with spiritual outlook and feeling, but that spiritual outlook, curbed, determined by scientific method of approach. This is essential:

the moment you leave out one, if you have science only, you stop at the atom bomb and something more horrible. If you have the other, you will be the mumbler of words which you do not understand. I speak with respect and I do not [...] anybody or criticise in any way. But I am talking about the general mass of the people who imagine that by certain ceremonial practices they perform their duties in life. Well, in India, perhaps, however unworthy we may be, we are the inheritors of the ancient thought which, may I again say, is not limited to India; others in other countries also have it. Nevertheless, I am talking about Indian thought, because we are the inheritors of that and because today we are struggling in the realm of science and making progress too and we are bound to make progress that we may succeed to some extent in bringing about that marriage between the two which would have happy results for both.

I have ventured, almost unconsciously, if I may say so, to give expression to some ideas that I have and, whether you believe it or not, I may tell you that a little before I got up to speak, I had no particular idea of speaking on a particular aspect. But as soon as that particular window of my mind was opened, certain thoughts came out which I have ventured to place before you.

So Acharya Jagadish Bose was not only a great scientist, not only a great man, not only a pioneer in science in India, but a pioneer in a much bigger way, in trying to bring about marriage between two mighty urges, the [scientific] forces and something which, I believe, has become essential in the world today.

Thank you.

## 241. The Post of a Scientific Officer<sup>489</sup>

I agree with SG that we should have prominent scientists stationed in London, Moscow and Washington. It is obvious that if we post anyone in any of these three places, he should be a top-ranking man in science. Second-rate men will be no good at all. I rather doubt if we have got such men to spare at present. I would not, therefore, create any post of this kind unless we have a particular person in view who could be sent there. Otherwise we get tied up with the post and have to send a person whether he is good or not.

2. For the present we should, therefore, think of one post and even that should not be created for the sake of the post but only if we have already a suitable man in view. That one post will have to be in London. My second preference would be for Moscow and the third for Washington. I give higher

489. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, 2 December 1958. JN Collection.



preference to Moscow rather than to Washington because in many ways we are in touch with developments in the United States, while it is not so easy to remain in contact with Soviet developments which are remarkable.

3. As a matter of fact, I should like a Scientific Officer from India in Japan also. But that will have to wait.

4. Therefore I suggest that only one post should be thought of now, that is, for London. Without actually creating a post we should generally get the sanction of Finance etc. for such a post as soon as we can fill it adequately.

5. I do not quite understand the jurisdiction of such a post. Science has no boundaries. For the sake of convenience we might say that he should keep in touch with France and Germany and the in-between countries, Belgium and Netherlands, as SG suggests. But that has no particular meaning. If something has to be done, let us say, in Vienna, he should get in touch with it.

Nowadays there are a large number of scientific international conferences held in Europe and America chiefly and many of our scientists have to attend them. That is perhaps a better way to keep in touch with scientific developments in the world than merely stationing a person in a particular place.

## 242. International Cooperation for Atomic Energy<sup>490</sup>

I think that we should invite Professor Emelyanov<sup>491</sup> to India, as suggested.<sup>492</sup> It will be desirable also for Dr Bhabha to go to Soviet Union next summer.

490. Note to Homi J. Bhabha, the Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, 8 December 1958. File No. 17(328)/58-63-PMS. A copy of this note was sent to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary.

491. Vasily Simonovich Emelyanov (b. 1901); Soviet physicist; Member, Communist Party of Soviet Union, since 1919; graduated from Mining Institute, Moscow, 1928; Director, Standards Committee, 1940-46; metallurgist in tank factory in Urals during Second World War; designed gun turret for T-34 tank; Member, UN Scientific Consultation Committee, 1955-65; one of the Chiefs with International Atomic Energy Council of UN in Vienna, 1957-65; Director, Administration for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, 1958-60; Chairman, State Committee for Atomic Energy, 1960-62; Member, Soviet Academy of Sciences; awarded State Prize of USSR in 1942 and 1951 and four Orders of Lenin.

492. On 7 Dec. Bhabha suggested 1) that Prof. Emelyanov be invited to India in Jan. 1959 to frame an agreement with the USSR for the exchange of scientific information and cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy; 2) that India make an agreement with the USA involving exchange of information in research and power production; 3) that both the agreements be signed at the same time; and 4) that action be initiated immediately.

I agree that agreements with the USSR<sup>493</sup> and USA on cooperation in atomic energy matters should be signed.

### 243. Averting Dangers from Radiation<sup>494</sup>

D.C. Sharma:<sup>495</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether any steps have been taken by Government to avert dangers from radiation in the country?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The exposure of mankind to ionising radiation arises mainly from natural sources from medical and industrial procedures, and from environmental contamination due to nuclear explosions. The last of these constitutes a growing increment to world-wide radiation levels and involves hazards which are beyond the control of the exposed persons. As is well known, India, in common with several other countries, is striving to bring about a cessation of explosions of nuclear weapons by countries which possess them.

As regards the artificial sources of radiation to which man is exposed in industry, medicine, and research, their use is controllable and exposures can be reduced by perfecting protection and safety techniques. The Atomic Energy Commission conducts a countrywide film badge service for radiation workers whereby it is possible to assess and control the dosage received by individual workers. In addition radiological protection surveys are conducted in laboratories and institutions using radiation sources. Various types of electronic instruments needed for ensuring radiation safety are being made in the Trombay Establishment and supplied to the institutions where radiation sources are employed.

493. On 7 Mar. 1960, it was announced that India and the Soviet Union had agreed to collaborate in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, including the design and construction of nuclear power stations and that an Indian delegation led by Homi J. Bhabha would visit the Soviet Union in May or June, 1960.

494. Reply to a question in the Lok Sabha, 11 December 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, cols 4408-4409.

495. Congress MP from Gurdaspur, Punjab.



## 244. To D.P. Karmarkar<sup>496</sup>

December 20, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,<sup>497</sup>

I understand that some difficulties have again arisen in regard to the All India Medical Institute, though I am not quite clear what these are. What I have heard is that Assistant Professors and Registrars belonging to the All India Medical Institute are not allowed to go to Safdarjung Hospital to attend to the cases in those beds which have been made over to the Institute. This seems rather odd. Could you please let me know what the position is?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 245. Grant to an Institute<sup>498</sup>

I am sending you a letter with attached papers which I received from the Pasteur Institute of Southern India.<sup>499</sup> I visited this Institute some months ago and was much impressed by the good work they have done. I think they deserve all the help. The help they require is really not very great. It amounts to Rs ten lakhs as non-recurring grant to be spread out during the next five years and a recurring grant of Rs two lakhs. It is difficult for me to judge priorities without fuller knowledge, but I should imagine that this Institute should have a high priority.

496. File No. 40(134)/59-64-PMS.

497. Union Minister of State for Health.

498. Note to D.P. Karmarkar, Union Minister of State for Health, 30 December 1958. JN Collection.

499. Established on 6 Apr. 1907 at Coonoor in Tamil Nadu, it was one of the leading Institutes for the production of anti-rabies vaccine. It was also engaged in research in influenza, anti-venom serum, tropical eosinophilia and serological reactions. On 10 Feb. 1977, the Institute became the Pasteur Institute of India as an autonomous body under the Central Ministry of Health and Family Welfare.

## IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

### (a) The World

#### 246. Cold War<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Speaker, I beg to move:

“That the present International Situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto, be taken into consideration.”

We had a debate on the international situation and foreign affairs in August last, i.e., nearly four months ago.<sup>2</sup> These four months have seen considerable and significant developments. From the time we discussed this last, we have before us one important change that has occurred in West Asia, that is, in Iraq, where a revolution had taken place and the monarchy has been displaced by a republic.<sup>3</sup> Fairly intimately connected with it was the situation in Lebanon and that situation became worse and there was the landing of foreign troops both in Lebanon<sup>4</sup> and in Jordan.<sup>5</sup> Fortunately, the situation was controlled and ultimately the foreign troops were taken away.

In this connection, I should like to refer to the work of the United Nations Commission in Lebanon,<sup>6</sup> because I do think that that Commission performed a remarkably fine piece of work there and it was largely due to that Commission that tragic developments were avoided. May I also mention in this connection the name of the Indian member of that Commission, Shri Rajeshwar Dayal to whom I should like to pay my tribute, knowing as I do the good work he did in this Commission in Lebanon? As the House knows, he had been appointed our High Commissioner for Pakistan.<sup>7</sup>

Some honourable Members put me a question a little while ago—and some newspapers also rather seem to think—that most of our Missions are lying vacant whenever a crisis occurs.<sup>8</sup> It is rather a remarkable criticism, and this was particularly directed against Shri Rajeshwar Dayal going to Lebanon. No Mission is, however, in that sense, vacant. It is true sometimes that the Head of the

1. 8 December 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, cols 3682-3693.

2. On 19 Aug. 1958. See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 427-437.

3. See item 3, fn 42.

4. See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 54, 432, 454, 461, 501-511.

5. See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 54, 432, 454, 461, 476, 504.

6. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 633, 802 and SWJN/SS/43/pp. 432, 589.

7. From Nov. 1958.

8. See item 331.



Mission is not there, deliberately not there, it is not accidental; that is to say, there are sometimes gaps. Each change, if I may say so, changing people, sending one Head of the Mission to another place involves a chain of changes and it is very difficult to have the chain fit immediately in every place, and there are gaps. In every Foreign Office there are gaps. It does not much matter, because there are good people to run it for a short time of one or two months. It is not normally considered at all undesirable. But apart from this, a number of places have been mentioned; particularly mention was made of Pakistan. Now, as a matter of fact, we sent a special man to function as High Commissioner. When Shri Rajeshwar Dayal could not go, a High Commissioner was functioning, Shri Maitra,<sup>9</sup> and he functioned till Shri Rajeshwar Dayal came back.

Then mention was made to Lebanon (Beirut), Budapest; I forget at the moment, the third place. There we do not have a full Mission, that is to say, when I say a full Mission, a residing Ambassador. In Budapest we have a Mission; we have a competent man. But the Ambassador is the same as the Ambassador in Moscow.<sup>10</sup> So, he normally lives in Moscow and pays visits to Budapest and one or two other places which are associated. That is the normal practice to have one Ambassador dealing with two or three countries and having subordinate offices in other countries. That was so in Beirut also. We do not have a special Ambassador in Lebanon. Then it was connected with Cairo. But there was a competent officer in charge of the subordinate offices at Beirut. And may I say that that officer also did distinguished work during all these troubles in Lebanon?

Then there was the case of Baghdad where, it is true, there was no Ambassador present. In the normal course the Ambassador had come away here and the next Ambassador had to go from Copenhagen or Stockholm, I think. He was not present there. But there was nothing extraordinary about it and this kind of thing is likely to happen and we cannot guard against it and no harm has been caused to anybody because we are competently represented there.

At the present moment, if one looks at the various problems afflicting the world, whichever way one looks at them, one comes against the cold war, the basic thing which creates these problems, for which there appears to be no prospect of an immediate solution. There are two conferences going on in Geneva now. One is the Conference on the suspension of nuclear tests<sup>11</sup> and the other is the Conference to consider measures relating to prevention of surprise attacks.<sup>12</sup>

9. S.N. Maitra.

10. K.P.S. Menon.

11. See item 2, fn 26.

12. See item 2, fn 27.

Both Conferences have got rather bogged up, and there is a stalemate. But only yesterday I think some slightly hopeful news came from the first Conference, that is, the Conference on the suspension of nuclear tests, hopeful in the sense that they had provisionally and temporarily agreed on the first article of the long list. At least they have got moving. That does not take us very far, but anyhow they had got out of the state of being held up without any agreement. But the difficulties are many, and the House knows the nature of the difficulties.

Broadly speaking, so far as the question of nuclear tests is concerned, the Soviet attitude is that the question of suspension of nuclear tests should be separated from the other disarmament proposals and the discontinuance of tests should be immediate and permanent, while the attitude of the Western Powers is that all those questions should be taken together. Well, so far as we are concerned, the House knows how anxious and eager, not only anxious and eager but how deeply, we feel about the continuance of nuclear tests. We feel that it is in the nature of a crime against humanity to continue any tests which endanger not only the present generation but the future generations to come. For our part, nuclear tests should be suspended quite apart from anything else. The argument is strong enough for that. We say "abandon"—but certainly "suspend" if you can abandon them later. At the same time, we realise that there is some ground for saying that when people are very afraid of each other the whole question should be considered together, or at any rate nothing should be done which might, in this present cold-war context, create a position of greater difficulty for one side than that of the other. So, it is not merely a question of taking item 1 first and item 2 second. The difficulties are deeper. Anyhow, they are moving slightly.

In so far as the other question is concerned, about surprise attacks, I fear the future is not at all promising. Here also the approach of the Western nations is that the experts should confine themselves to the scientific study and analysis of the technical problems involved in reducing the risks of any possible surprise attacks.

The Soviet side, on the other hand, contends that the problem of surprise attacks is a problem of unleashing a new war and so specific disarmament problems and political issues should be included in the agenda for discussion, which also, according to the Soviets, should include the question of foreign military bases. So, immediately you come up against political problems, there is a deadlock.

I mentioned these two conferences which are proceeding at the present moment in a rather leisurely fashion without bringing much results and at the same time without daring to break up because breaking up would create a feeling akin to despair in the world. All I can say is that I hope gradually they will find some way to go on and even to come to some minor agreements rather than have no agreement at all.



This question of the cold war covers every question in the world today—whether it is in the Near East, whether it is in the Middle East, whether it is in the Far East or whether it is these military pacts—both groups. Everything is part of the cold war and it becomes difficult even to consider the questions in the United Nations which can be separated from this approach of cold war. I suppose it is inherent in the situation today in the world. We have endeavoured with some success to keep out of it. When we talk about the policy of non-alignment, it obviously means non-alignment in this cold war conflict.

A rather curious result of this cold war is that well-known words with very definite meanings are distorted and begin to mean something else or are used in another context. What I mean to say is that if a country is allied to a group in a military alliance then that country is supposed to be a standard bearer of light and freedom, whatever it may do or whatever institutions it may have. If a country is in the other side, then it is described by the opposite side as sunk in reaction or other bad things. We see the use of the words 'democracy' and 'free world' and we also hear the word 'peace' being bandied about. Everybody wants peace and sometimes people want peace with the atom bomb combined. Sometimes peace is talked about in terms which appear to be almost more violent than the terms of war and threats. The word "democracy" is used in some curious way in connection with even countries which have martial law. It is for that country, of course, to determine what kind of Government or control it should have. It is none of our function. It may be—how am I to say?—that martial law is for some country the best way of governing that country. It is not for us to determine. But what I am venturing to point out is not what happens in that country but the reactions of what happens in that country in other countries. That is what I find interesting, i.e., the reactions of trying to explain martial law as some kind of extension of the democratic principle. This intrigues me. It shows to what length our thinking can be distorted because of our wishes and because ultimately of the cold war technique.

It is just another instance, if I may mention it. Human rights are talked about a great deal. The day after tomorrow happens to be the Tenth Anniversary of the Human Rights Declaration and perhaps, Sir, you would be good enough to mention that fact day after tomorrow in this House because it is an important fact to be mentioned and to be remembered by us and by the world. The Human Rights Declaration was passed at this time 10 years ago with nobody dissenting in the UN so far as I remember.<sup>13</sup> It is true that the practical application of it and all that has been discussed ever since, but all the principles were accepted unanimously.

13. The Human Rights Declaration was passed on 10 Dec. 1948.

Now by no stretch of imagination can the policy pursued by the South African Government, i.e., the policy of apartheid, be reconciled with any human rights. It is in direct conflict with not only the Charter of the United Nations but the Declaration of Human Rights. Yet, we see certainly some criticism of that occasionally in other countries, but when the matter comes up before the United Nations countries who stand up for democracy, freedom, anti-racialism and the rest support for some technical reason it may be, the attitude of the South African Union Government in regard to apartheid, or at any rate they refuse to criticise or condemn it.

Now, all this produces a certain confusion in the public mind. The only yard-stick left is not that of principle but of who is with us in the cold war. That is the only yard-stick left and that country, whether it is in this group of nations or in that group, whatever may happen—whether it may happen in South Africa or in some country having martial law or in some country like Hungary where other things happened—that has to be protected and they have to be accepted because they are our parties in the cold war. They are on our side. We cannot criticise our own colleagues. But that does produce, as I said, confusion in the public mind and because of this we see the growth—take this anti-racialism—of anti-racial sentiments in other countries. Even in England, which has been on the whole free from them, some months back there were some very unfortunate rioting not against the Indians as such but against West Africans<sup>14</sup> because gradually the principles on which the United Nations or various countries are supposed to stand get so much mixed up with other matters that they are not clear and people tend to act in a wrong direction.

You know, of course, of the developments in Pakistan. In this connection may I deal with a notice under rule 197 which asks me to make a statement in regard to something said by General Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan in Karachi on the 4th December in which he has blamed India for border incidents?<sup>15</sup> I do not know what I am expected to say about it. To criticise General Ayub because he blamed India for border incidents? Naturally, one would expect the President of Pakistan to stand up to what he thinks is advantageous to his country or the report that he has received. It is our belief—and our honest belief—that these border incidents are generally caused by aggressive tendencies on the border on the Pakistan side. But I have said to this House before and I say it again that firstly these incidents are greatly exaggerated. One should not consider them as

14. Race riots occurred in Nottingham 23-30 Aug. and Notting Hill 30 Aug.-7 Sept.

15. Ayub Khan in Quetta accused India of frequent border incidents and warned, "There are certain limits to such incidents and we will see that they do not go beyond these limits."



a sort of Governments coming into conflict there. They are exaggerated. They are distressing sometimes apart from one or two which are really bad, some cattle lifting, this, that and the other, during the harvest season, people trying to go to their fields on the other side and their being driven out; that type of thing. Certainly I am not prepared to say—I want to be as precise as possible—that always the fault lies on the other side. We have been in error sometimes. When I say we, some local people there have been in error. But whatever the facts are, I have no doubt about one thing that the reports that are sent to each Government by the local authorities are generally one-sided reports, because they only see one side of the question. And if General Ayub Khan sees any reports, the reports are entirely one-sided to Pakistan. So, there is no point in our objecting to General Ayub Khan saying something. That is a one-sided version being affected by it.

The main thing is much more difficult; the main problem of India and Pakistan. These are petty things, petty eruptions here and there. The main problem remains and in a sense has become a little more difficult because of new conditions in Pakistan.<sup>16</sup> Not essentially difficult, but simply, as I said before, because Martial Law itself removes various checks in governmental action and when the checks are removed, it may depend on the mood of the moment. That is the difficulty. The second difficulty is that Pakistan, whether it was before the Martial Law or after Martial Law, continues to get considerable military supplies and military aid from outside.

It is patent that the military aid is, in the opinion of leading authorities in Pakistan, needed only against India. As I said, I do not expect war with Pakistan. But, the fact is that one cannot become complacent about it. One has to take measures and one has to carry fresh burdens because there is military aid.

I have often given thought to the matter of these pacts—the Baghdad Pact and the South East Asia Pact, and tried to understand as far as I can the reason for these pacts. That is to say, I may not agree with it, nevertheless, one tries to understand the reason, even if one does not agree with it. I have completely failed to understand that reason. In the whole of this period, the last few years when these Pacts came into existence, one can see definitely step after step how these Pacts have not brought security to any country, but have made the position more difficult and brought insecurity and in West Asia, of course, considerable upsets like in Iraq and elsewhere. So far as I can see, these Pacts have no reality left, but they have to be kept up more for the sake of prestige than anything else.

16. See item 1, fn 8.

Looking around on the African side, the House knows that a new country has declared its freedom, that is, Guinea.<sup>17</sup> Ghana and Guinea have recently come to some kind of a broad agreement to join together.<sup>18</sup> It is not yet quite clear in what form they will join. Whether it is some kind of a federation or other kind of a Union, that is being discussed. This raises rather an interesting problem for the Commonwealth because Ghana is a member of the Commonwealth; and Guinea is not. How Guinea can be accommodated, whether an outside country can be in union with a country inside the Commonwealth; these are the problems which are raised. It does not affect us very much. I am merely mentioning it. What we are really interested in is this movement in Africa towards greater freedom, greater unity. Obviously it is desirable for larger federations to grow up in Africa of free countries than for each separate small country to function independently. From that point of view, we welcome this.

At the present moment, today, I think there is a conference being held at Accra, what is called an All-African Peoples Conference.<sup>19</sup> I refer to it because some questions have been put to me or I have been asked to make a statement. This conference is not a governmental conference at all. It is a non-governmental conference, though some Governments may be interested in it. I have been asked: are we represented? No. Partly because we have not been invited and partly because we do not fall in the scope of it as a Government. Also it is a purely African conference. There is no one outside the African area going to this conference except, I believe, one or two African Associations in London.<sup>20</sup> There are two African Associations and they send observers. Officially or otherwise, we have nothing to do with this conference.

Recently a very big question has arisen which affects Europe and which affects the world, i.e., the issue of Berlin.<sup>21</sup> I am not going to say anything

17. On 1 Oct. 1957 after rejecting General Charles de Gaulle's new constitution.

18. On 23 Nov. 1958, Ghana and Guinea announced their agreement to "constitute their two States as the nucleus of a Union of West African States."

19. See item 2, fn 20.

20. The Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa commonly known as the African Association was founded in London on 9 June 1788. It was a British club dedicated to the exploration of West Africa.

21. On 27 Nov. 1958, Khrushchev proposed that occupation forces withdraw from Berlin which would become a free city; in the event of no agreement by 27 May 1959, Soviet forces would withdraw and leave the East German Government in charge. On 14 Dec. the Western Powers rejected the proposal and Soviet right to such unilateral action, reiterating their right to station their troops in Berlin and free access to it until a general agreement on Berlin was reached.



about it—I am merely mentioning this fact—because it does not concern us directly. It only concerns us in so far as it is one of the most difficult problems in the world which has always in it the seeds of a major conflict. After a quiet period for many years, this has again become a very urgent and vital problem.

The House knows that our President is at present on his way to Indonesia.<sup>22</sup> He has spent the last two days in Malaya.<sup>23</sup> Now, in response to an invitation from the President of Indonesia he has gone there. Some months back he went to Japan.<sup>24</sup> I am sure the House would welcome these visits, because, apart from the individual aspect of it they do bring these countries nearer to each other. His visit was very successful in Japan and Malaya. I am sure his visit to Indonesia will bring greater understanding between India and Indonesia and I am sure the House would send good wishes to him during this journey.

I have ventured rather deliberately not to go into any details, but to deal with these problems broadly and bring them to the notice of the House. We function in regard to these external matters only, if I may say so, if we must. That is to say, we do not wish to get entangled in them. Where they are our own matters, of course, there is no question, we have to function. Otherwise, in these big problems, we have to function to some extent in the United Nations when they come up or elsewhere. It is our good fortune to be looked upon with friendship by many countries and with respect by some. We are asked to undertake duties outside India as in Lebanon and as in Indo-China which is still continuing. It is not our desire to get entangled in foreign affairs. Foreign affairs and international relations descend upon us as they descend upon every country—whether we like them or not—and we have to shoulder the burden as every independent country has to do.

In regard to our own particular problems, naturally our particular problems relate to our neighbour country Pakistan; they relate to Goa; they relate in a different way somewhat to people of Indian descent in Ceylon; they relate to people of Indian descent—not Indian nationals, mind you—in South Africa. These are specific problems, continuing ones, which we try to solve, and sometimes go a little step forward. For the rest, the major world problems are there. Some of them again we are intensely interested in, because of our past and present thinking, such as the freedom of colonial countries—Algeria, other places too—because we are apt to forget that a large part of the world is still under colonial domination, and what is more, that there is a tendency towards rigidity now. When India became independent, eleven years ago more or less, that was followed by a number

22. Rajendra Prasad visited Indonesia from 8 to 19 Dec. 1958.

23. Rajendra Prasad broke his journey at Kuala Lumpur on 6 Dec. and left for Djakarta on 8 Dec. 1958.

24. Rajendra Prasad visited Japan from 27 Sept. to 5 Oct. 1958.

of countries becoming independent round about India and elsewhere. Later, one or two others like Sudan<sup>25</sup> and Ghana<sup>26</sup> and Morocco<sup>27</sup> and Tunisia<sup>28</sup> came in. The process is going on, and now Guinea. Nevertheless, there does appear to be some rigidity about this approach now which is unfortunate because it can only mean greater conflict. No one surely in the world can imagine that countries which are under colonial rule will accept that and be content with it. They will fight against it, the struggle will continue; and the only possible and desirable remedy is to grant them freedom, and then seek their cooperation.

So, in this world of conflict, we try to do our modest little, which may not be very much, but at any rate, we try to avoid creating more enmity, more conflict, by following a policy of goodwill and friendship with all countries.

I move.

Raja Mahendra Pratap:<sup>29</sup> May I request him to say a word about world federation, world government—a word?

Jawaharlal Nehru: May I say the honourable Member is often referring to world government, but I cannot imagine any time where people's opinions psychologically are farther away from world government than today? Of course, in theory we all agree. In theory, of course, that is the only thing one can work for ultimately, but one must have the environment in people's thinking. The honourable Member is always talking about it, as if by repeated questions here he can establish world government.

## 247. World Peace<sup>30</sup>

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on the 8th December, 1958, namely:-

“That the present International Situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto, be taken into consideration”  
along with the substitute motions that had been moved.

25. Sudan gained independence from British/Egyptian rule on 1 Jan. 1956.

26. Ghana became independent on 6 Mar. 1957.

27. On 2 Mar. 1956, Morocco gained full independence.

28. On 20 Mar. 1956, Tunisia achieved independence from France.

29. Independent MP from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh.

30. 9 December 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, cols 3958-3987.



Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the debate yesterday on this motion dealt chiefly with Indo-Pakistan relations, and more particularly, with border disputes. There were many other matters also referred to undoubtedly. I should like, therefore, to say something again about these border disputes and about that agreement which is sometimes referred to as the Nehru-Noon agreement.<sup>31</sup> But before I do so, I shall deal with some of the broader questions again.

The honourable Member, Shri Jaipal Singh,<sup>32</sup> used language which created a good deal of confusion in my mind, and perhaps in other people's minds too. He began by saying that he was in general agreement with our policy, our foreign policy, but he did not agree with the policy of non-alignment. It was rather an odd thing to say, after saying that he agreed with our policy, that he did not agree. Then he said that yet he agreed with the Nehru policy. About this, I am not quite clear in my mind, if he was speaking seriously or was just—what is called in French—*jeu d'esprit*.

I do not know myself the various distinctions and differences between our general policy, the policy of non-alignment and what might mistakenly be called the Nehru Policy. I thought they were much the same,—all these three.

Anyhow, I would submit, in order to clear up any misapprehension that, first of all, when we say our policy is one of non-alignment, obviously, it means non-alignment with military blocs. You cannot have a negative policy. The policy is a positive one, a definite one, and I hope, a dynamic one, but in so far as the military blocs today and the cold war are concerned, we do not align ourselves with either bloc. That is all. That itself is not a policy. It is only a part of the policy. And that is clear enough and we have to lay stress on that because, unfortunately, in the world today, countries talk and act so much in terms of this cold war and in terms of military blocs and of fear of one or the other, that one has to lay stress on the fact that we are not parties to the cold war and we are not members of or attached to any military bloc.

Having said that, of course, the policy can only be a policy of acting according to our best judgement, and furthering the principal objectives and ideals that we have. Every country's foreign policy, first of all, is concerned with its own security, with its own progress, and one has tried to protect that. Now, security can be protected in many ways. The normal idea is that security is protected by armies. That is only partly true; it is true, no doubt, but security is protected by policies; if you have friendship, you, to some extent, gain security; if you have hostility,

31. See item 4, fn 65.

32. Jharkhand Party MP from Ranchi, Bihar.

you are slightly or somewhat endangered. Therefore, a deliberate policy of friendship with other countries goes further in gaining security than almost anything else. It may not succeed, of course; that is a different matter.

Apart from this, from the larger point of view of the world also, we have laboured to the best of our ability for world peace. We realise that our influence in such matters can only be limited. Naturally, because we are not in possession of, nor have we the capacity to possess, weapons like the modern atomic nuclear weapons. But still our influence has not been negligible not because, as I said, we ourselves are influential—in such matters, we do not make such a claim—but because we do believe that what we have said in regard to peace has found an echo in people's minds and hearts in all countries, because, in fact, it was the right thing. And in spite of governmental policies and cold war and the like, people have appreciated what we have said and reacted to it favourably.

As to what our influence has been on governments, I hope we have been able to impress them with the urgent necessity of this matter. Anyhow, I cannot say definitely about it, but I can say with some assurance that our influence on peoples generally all over the world in regard to this particular matter of peace has been very considerable, and any honourable Member who happens to go to any part of the world, in Asia, Europe, America, Africa or elsewhere will always find India's name associated with peace. That brings a great responsibility upon us. It is a privilege to be associated with peace, but it brings, as I said, a great responsibility, that we should not only try to live up to it and function so that we may advance the cause of world peace but in our domestic sphere also we should work on lines which are compatible with peace. We cannot obviously have one voice for the world outside and another voice and another action internally which conflicts with that.

Therefore, our foreign policy has this positive aspect of peace. It is obviously the positive aspect of an increase, of an enlargement of freedom in the world, of colonialism being replaced by free and independent countries, of a larger degree of cooperation and all that. So I hope that Shri Jaipal Singh on further reflection will see that there is no conflict between the various appellations and various descriptions of our policy that he gave. But anyhow, it is completely incorrect, if I may say so, to call our policy 'Nehru' policy. It is incorrect because all that I have done is to give voice to that policy. I have not originated it. It is a policy inherent in the circumstances in India, inherent in the past thinking of India, inherent in the whole mental outlook of India, inherent in the conditioning of the Indian mind during our struggle for freedom and inherent in the circumstances of the case today. I come in by the mere accidental fact that during these few years I have represented that policy as Foreign Minister to foreign countries and in this country, and I have spoken about it many times. Personally I am quite convinced



that whoever might have been in charge of the foreign affairs of India, and whatever posts might have been in charge of the foreign affairs of India, they could not have deviated very much from this policy. Some emphasis might have been greater here or there because, as I said, it represents every circumstance that goes towards making the thought of India on these subjects.

I say this because some people in foreign countries imagine that this policy has suddenly grown out of nothing and it is merely a policy, as Shri Jaipal Singh himself described it – I hope not very accurately—of sitting on the fence. I do not know what fence he had in mind. There is no question of sitting on the fence or trying to woo this person or that person or this country or that country. Or, if you like, we are always wooing every country. We want to be friends with them. We avoid, as far as possible, running down countries, even though we might differ from them, although we do not hide our sentiments, because we have felt that there is far too much running down of countries one by the other and creating bitterness so that people's minds are closed. You do not open a person's mind, normally, by running him down. He reacts violently in thinking or action.

So we avoid doing that. There are many things happening in this world which we dislike very much. We do not talk about them except sometimes as a moderate expression of opinion. If they affect us intimately, of course, we have to talk about them. But generally we avoid talking about things which do not affect us intimately or which do not affect basic causes like world peace etc. So that I have no doubt that this House, barring perhaps Shri Jaipal Singh, has no doubts about this matter.

But this talking of sitting on the fence does involve an attitude of mind which, I think, is not correct. It is said there are only two ways of action in this world today. One must come down this way or that. Now, I repudiate that attitude of mind. If there are only two ways—if you accept that—then you certainly have to join the cold war, and, if not a military bloc, at least a mental military bloc—if not an actual armed bloc. I do not understand that attitude at all. I just do not see—I speak with all respect to the great countries—why the possession of great armed might or great financial power should necessarily lead to right decisions or a right mental outlook. I do not see how that follows at all. They may be right, they may not be. But the fact that I have got the atom with me does not make me any the more intelligent, wiser or more peaceful than I otherwise might be. It is a simple fact, but it needs reiteration.

The greater a country in armed might, the wiser it must necessarily be in action—I do not think it follows. I said that with all respect to the great countries. I am not criticising anybody, but I am not prepared even as an individual, much less as the Foreign Minister of this country, to give up my right of independent judgement to anybody else in other countries. That is the essence of our policy.

It may be, as Shri S.A. Dange<sup>33</sup> said, 'Oh, you are friends with all, but sometimes you are more friendly with some people than with others'. That reminds me, of course, of that famous saying that 'all men are equal, but some are more equal than others'. It is true; it may be that occasionally because of some of our activities or some of our expressions, people, who themselves feel strongly about these matters this side or the other, feel that we are inclining too much on this side or that side. The fact of the matter is that we follow our own course of action as we judge right and incline on every side, whenever an opportunity offers itself, to be friendly with them. But it is true that in various matters—let us take economic matters and some other matters, to which I shall refer—we have past contacts which we certainly carry on. In the past, our economic life, rightly or wrongly, in trade, commerce etc., has gone in a certain direction. We have not tried to uproot it. We have tried to develop other directions too, but we have not tried to uproot the old directions, old contacts, old trade ways; we have tried to develop them as well as new ones, and that may give an impression that we have emphasised one and not the other. But, that is the point which Shri Dange laid stress on. He objected to our Chiefs of Staff going to England for certain conferences of military officers there and he thought that that meant some kind of lining up with the military apparatus of some countries of the Commonwealth. He also objected to our Navy joining in manoeuvres with some Commonwealth Navies, or chiefly the British Navy.

I do not think he is justified in objecting to that even, if I may say so, from his own point of view. I think it must be due to some misapprehension of what is done and what happens. We send our Chiefs of Staff to London occasionally to participate in what is called a joint exercise. We send them because it is a very good opportunity for gaining wider knowledge of modern methods in so far as one can get them there. I do not say that there are no other places where you can get that. But, it is not taking part in manoeuvres; it is not thinking of defence policy vis-à-vis other countries.

For instance, whenever there is a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and I attend it, there is, usually, side by side with it a conference about defence matters. We do not attend it. I forget now whether there is any other Commonwealth country which has not attended. I think Ceylon does not attend it. Certainly, it has not attended it. We have not attended because we have nothing to do with the defence approach or the peace and war approach of the United Kingdom or the Commonwealth countries.

But, it is quite another matter for us or for our representatives to see an exercise. An exercise means really discussing modern methods of war, usually

33. CPI MP from Bombay Central.



in a room, how old methods have been affected and so on. We have not got too many of those opportunities to do that by ourselves in this country. Where an opportunity offers itself as it sometimes happens in a limited way, we have to take advantage of that—even in other countries apart from Commonwealth countries. But, in the main, here is an opportunity; we come into touch and we take advantage of it.

Then for the Naval manoeuvres. A Navy or an Army must have some kind of practice. You cannot keep a Navy or anybody in trim without active practice, of mock battles, mock wars. Manoeuvres are mock battles. Our Navy is not big enough to be divided up into two forces fighting a mock battle one with the other; it is not big enough for that purpose. Maybe the British Navy, maybe the American Navy or the Soviet Navy can do that internally; we cannot. So, we take advantage of these naval manoeuvres and participate in these mock battles, try to reproduce very, very imperfectly, of course, the conditions of warfare and our people learn from them. It is of the highest importance that our sailors, or for the matter of that our soldiers, should have practical experience in so far as it can be given; and we take advantage of that, whenever an opportunity comes our way.

Then the question—a question almost always mentioned in the past—of our Commonwealth relationship—on this occasion was hardly mentioned. If I remember correctly, it was rather a Member from the Congress side that mentioned it and not from the opposite side.<sup>34</sup> That is, the desirability of our continuing as a member of the Commonwealth. I have tried to explain our viewpoint many times. I will just say a few words about it.

The House knows that our membership of the Commonwealth has not led us to forsaking any policy of ours being proceeded with. It has, in fact, rather helped us occasionally to put that policy more strongly and more impressively, if I may say so, on others, whether they are members of the Commonwealth or other people. It has helped us, therefore, in trying to put across our policy more, perhaps, than otherwise it might have been the case. Of course, this does not take us very far, I admit, to other factors. The argument that is advanced is that because South Africa, for instance, is functioning in a particular way, a racial way, apartheid etc., and South Africa is a Member of the British Commonwealth—I am sorry for the use of the word 'British'; it is an old word and it came in connection with

34. P.K. Deo, Ganatantra Parishad MP from Kalahandi, Orissa, pointed out during the discussion on 8 Dec. that there was no understanding between India and Pakistan although they were members of the Commonwealth; he questioned the benefit of India's membership of the Commonwealth. See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, col 3773.

South Africa—therefore, it is somewhat below our dignity or not in keeping with what we should do to remain in the same group of nations to which South Africa belongs.

I can very well understand that sentiment and that feeling against the racial policy of the South African Union. It is I believe among the many questions that trouble the world today. It is, I think, more basically wrong and dangerous for the future than for anything else. You can talk a great deal of other conflicts, ideological conflicts, communism, anti-communism and so many other things. It surprises me that those countries particularly those who stand for the democratic tradition, those who voted for the United Nations Charter and for the Human Rights convention—may I remind this House that tomorrow happens to be the tenth anniversary of the passing of the Human Rights Convention—it surprises me that these great countries express themselves so moderately or do not express themselves at all about this racial policy of the South African Union. It is not a question of policy only. I say it is the greatest immorality, international immorality for a nation to carry on in that way. We have no desire or reason to interfere with what a country does. The South African Government can do what it likes in its internal policy. But, I say even apart from the fact that in South Africa people of Indian descent are concerned and these people went under certain guarantees and that therefore we have a special concern, even apart from that, even if we do not have that special concern, nevertheless, we would have held these strong views about the racial policy of the South African Government.

As I said, it has been a matter of some distress to me that from others who stand for the democratic tradition, who stand for the dignity of the individual, who have condemned this South African policy, not a voice can be heard elsewhere. Some do. The House will remember that the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Diefenbaker, when he was here spoke strongly and effectively against this racial policy.<sup>35</sup> But some other countries do not do so.

It is this to which I referred in another context yesterday. It was the context of Pakistan. And, I wish to make it clear again that I am not criticising the internal affairs of Pakistan or martial law. It is up to any people to have the kind of government they choose and it is not our concern unless that government threatens us or unless that government functions, as I say the South African Government functions, against the canons of recognised international morality. That is a different matter, and we have to do it. But what, naturally, has been a matter of some concern to me is how the democratic outlook, the democratic tradition is gradually disappearing or is being gradually converted into something, shall I

35. John George Diefenbaker visited India from 18 to 23 Nov. 1958.



say, a matter of some verbiage or words, and not of a dynamic view of life and action. It is from this point of view that I have watched carefully the reactions of other countries to what had happened in Pakistan. When I found a constant apology in these other countries for what had happened in Pakistan and almost an attempt to show it as something not far removed from democracy, it really amazed me. There can be no greater, well, attempt to delude one self, and it showed me how far this type of mentality which the cold war is developing has gone.

We are not interested really in any principle which we hold dear; we are interested only in knowing whether this country is with us in a cold war or not, or is in a hot war. That is the chief test.

Take the case of Goa. Take the case of Portugal. What government Portugal has is none of my business or none of the business of this House even. But everybody knows that Portugal has, what is termed, a very authoritarian government—some kind of a dictatorship. Let them have a dictatorship. But Portugal again becomes the strong pillar of peace and democratic principles from another point of view. It does not fit in my mind; it does not flick in my mind—this kind of thing. It shows that we have all, whether in the Communist countries, whether in the non-Communist countries, become so apt to use words in meanings which are not the dictionary meanings; we simply distort them in some way to fit in with our approach to a particular problem. Here is Portugal—quite apart from the question of Goa; Goa we know well enough and what they do there. There is not the remotest question of any civil liberty or freedom in Goa. Nobody—well, I won't say 'nobody'; I am talking about not 'nobodies', but important bodies, important people and important countries—they say little about Goa or Portugal, and what they have said in the past has been rather an encouragement to Portugal in Goa. We saw recently, some months ago, an election in Goa—I am sorry there are no elections in Goa; it was in Portugal.<sup>36</sup> It was one of the most odd elections that one has read about. We have seen criticisms of other elections in other countries, but the Portuguese election, apart from some newspaper scribes, was calmly passed over.

36. On 9 June 1958, newspapers had announced the election of the new President of Portugal. Rear Admiral Americo Tomaz defeated the opposition leader Lt. Gen. Humberto Delgado in the presidential election. During the election campaign, serious rioting broke out in Lisbon, Oporto and Braga in spite of Government's ban on political demonstrations. Leaders of Opposition were arrested on charges of fomenting riots and press coverage of the electioneering propaganda was kept to the minimum.

So the point is not what policy, what programme, what the objectives and ideals of a nation are; but, in this present cold war conflict, where does the nation stand, is it with us or not with us.

Again, a simple fact is forgotten, that it does not necessarily follow that a government of the day in these matters, major matters, has popular will behind it. Whether it is war or peace people count. Today even people, who are not free, even in colonial countries, count. In war they will count still more. And, deals are made with governments forgetting that the deal may be worth nothing at all unless the people of that country approve of that deal or, at any rate, do not resent it. So, all these confusing situations arise.

One of the major examples of this kind of thing is what happened in Iraq, one of the chief founder nations of the Baghdad Pact. In fact, the very name of the Pact was taken from the capital city of Iraq. Suddenly the country changed, because all that was superficial, because all the deals were with a group at the top which did not represent the country, the people, and the people threw out the group at the top; and, there you are, the Baghdad Pact high and dry, one day thrown out from the mansion it had built for itself. Where it is I do not know, except in speeches and writings.

So we live in this odd world where, to use another phrase, there is so much double-thinking, so much use of language in a double way, that if one is confused it is not surprising. I do not pretend to possess any peculiar wisdom or intelligence, but I do try to avoid to be wholly confused by this situation. I cannot lay down what the future will show. So far as we in India are concerned, I should very much like not to stray too much from the right path and to serve the cause of peace in India and outside, not only from the larger viewpoint of the world but from the narrowest, opportunist viewpoint of my own country.

We try to do that, and in doing that take the question of our neighbour country, Pakistan. I have tried to be fair. As this House knows, I have acknowledged often enough what I thought was wrong on our part. I have said only yesterday that in regard to these border troubles sometimes we are in the wrong, sometimes we emphasise things which should not be emphasised. I have said all that in my attempt to be fair—I do not know if I can be fair because nobody can be perfectly fair in matters which affect us so intimately; but I have tried to be fair—and it has been a matter of grief to me that in spite of all these efforts not too much change is visible on the other side. I did not make those efforts waiting for a change; whether a change comes or not I think we should function in the right way. That is not only the right way, but it is a way of strength not of weakness—whether it is Pakistan, whether it is South Africa, whether it is some other place.

Honourable Members sometimes ask me, why don't you act with strength.



The honourable Member, Dr. Subbarayan, said that in South Africa and Ceylon we must do this and we must do that.<sup>37</sup> Where do these 'musts' come in, I should like to know, in international politics? I do not understand it. Where does 'must' come in regard to South Africa. Am I to declare war against South Africa? Obviously not. I can only take the matter up in the United Nations or I can express my opinion that is all. So, why all these fine gestures of defiance which you cannot give effect to? It has no meaning, and ultimately it becomes a sign of weakness if we talk in that way.

Ceylon—of course, Ceylon is in a completely different category. It is a friendly nation. It is our neighbour, and it is very closely aligned to us in cultural and other matters. We want to be friends, and I am quite certain the people of Ceylon want to be friends with India. Yet, we have inherited this problem of a considerable number of people of Indian descent in Ceylon apart from the Indian nationals. There it is, one of those problems which with all the goodwill in the world is not easily solved. Essentially, it should not be treated as an Indian problem or a Ceylon problem, but as a human problem affecting a large number of human beings. I am not arguing that point. But I say, what is the good of telling me "Go and solve it immediately"? How am I to solve it immediately? I cannot. Am I to threaten Ceylon and make the lot of those people and everybody much worse? It might satisfy some kind of ambition on our part to display the strong hand, the fist. We do not normally, when we are in the right mood, display the fist to anybody. So, one has to see this matter in that context. One has to see the Pakistan matter in this context. One has to see the border troubles in this context.

It is true; I think Acharya Kripalani<sup>38</sup> said yesterday that these border troubles will continue. That is to say, so long as there is friction between India and Pakistan, it is likely to be reflected on the borders. To some extent, it may become a little less, but it will be reflected, because it is the basic atmosphere, the basic relationship between Indian and Pakistan that is wrong. That is taken advantage of not only sometimes by good people, but certainly by bad people on both sides. On the Pakistan side specially and sometimes maybe on our side too, the bad people are protected; they are not stopped from doing it, because there a feeling of nationalist pride comes in: we must protect our men. The same thing happens somewhere in the middle of Rajasthan. It is only some evil-doers misbehaving.

37. P. Subbarayan, Congress MP from Tiruchengode, Madras State, during the discussion on 8 Dec. demanded action to secure the rights of Indians or persons of Indian origin in South Africa and Ceylon. See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, cols 3760-3762.

38. PSP MP from Sitamarhi, Bihar.

Coming to these border matters, Shri Jaipal Singh talked about Chittagong hill tracts.<sup>39</sup> I must confess that when I first went through Justice Radcliffe's award,<sup>40</sup> in which he awarded the Chittagong hill tracts to Pakistan, I was considerably surprised, because according to any approach of principle, I saw no reason for that. But there it was; it was a clear decision and not a question of interpretation. I could not interpret it in any other way. What were we to do? We had accepted soon after partition Radcliffe as arbitrator, in a sense, arbitrator. However much it went against my thinking, against our interests, against India's interests, I could not break it; we could not break our word. We had to accept it, although we thought it very unreasonable and devoid of any approach of principle. There it was and that has been the position till then.

The matter has been raised from time to time, notably by Shri Jaipal Singh. I can very well understand his feeling in that matter. I share that feeling. But what am I to do? I cannot denounce the Radcliffe award, which definitely, deliberately, in a clearly defined manner, gave that to Pakistan. We can negotiate with Pakistan if a proper atmosphere is present and consider it. But the House can well realise what the answer would be, if we suggested negotiation about the Chittagong hill tracts, which have been given to them precisely and definitely by the Radcliffe award. It would lead us nowhere, when there are difficulties about much simpler matters with Pakistan.

We could hardly raise this matter previously in the United Nations. I do not see how we can raise it in the United Nations. The obvious answer is there: The Radcliffe award and all that. So, there it is. I do not know what I can do about it, however much Shri Jaipal Singh or I may feel about it.

There is a calling attention notice from Shri Premji Assar.<sup>41</sup> In that notice, he has said that a spokesman of the West Bengal Government had said that it would be physically impossible to prevent the exchange of enclaves by the target date. There is some misapprehension about this matter. So far as the Cooch-Behar enclaves—enclaves in the old Cooch-Behar State—are concerned, there is no target date at all. There can be none, because their exchange can only take place after legislation has been passed by this Parliament. There was some doubt as to the method we should pursue. It was clear that this required at least legislation by Parliament. Some people said that it might even require an amendment of the Constitution. But all the legal luminaries we consulted have agreed that this does

39. During the discussion on 8 Dec. Jaipal Singh questioned the transfer of the Chittagong hill tracts, with a 99.9 per cent Buddhist population, to Pakistan. See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, col. 3764.

40. The Award was announced on 17 Aug. 1947. See SWJN/SS/4/p. 4.

41. Premjibhai R. Assar was Bharatiya Jana Sangh MP from Ratnagiri North, Bombay State.



not require an amendment of the Constitution, but it does require legislation by Parliament. Naturally, we will come before this House sometime or other with proposals to pass that legislation and the House will consider it. So, there is no question or target date there.

The target date was fixed for the other exchanges, not the enclaves. That target was fixed some months ahead so as to allow for demarcation and settlement to avoid any confusion afterwards. That demarcation was started and then it was interrupted. According to us, it was the fault of the Pakistani people. However, it was interrupted. Now, lately it has started again. The West Bengal Government approached the East Pakistan Government and they agreed to start it again. The West Bengal Government has suggested to them now that in order to expedite this matter of demarcation, more than one survey party should function and there should be several survey parties. To that, we have had no answer, so far as I know. But one party is functioning now.

A great deal was said yesterday from both sides of the House about the Berubari Union. May I give the facts? One honourable Member enquired when the question arose about the Berubari Union becoming a matter of dispute.<sup>42</sup> In the Radcliffe award, the boundary for the Berubari Union was not very clearly described. There was a map too. But the matter at that time was not referred to Justice Bagge, which came soon after.<sup>43</sup> Bagge finished his work in 1950, but in considering the second Bagge award, then fresh problems arose and there were two interpretations.

It was in 1952 that this question of the Berubari Union became a matter of dispute and discussion between India and Pakistan, that is, about six or seven years ago. It is true that so far as possession is concerned, it had been in our possession since Independence. The House may remember that although possession was ours, Pakistan claimed a large part of the area round about Sylhet-Karimganj as an interpretation of the Radcliffe award. It is amazing how many difficulties this Radcliffe award has caused us in interpretation. They claimed huge areas and Justice Bagge had to deal with this matter together with an Indian judge<sup>44</sup> and a Pakistani judge.<sup>45</sup> The decision of Justice Bagge plus the Indian judge in regard to a large piece of territory in Karimganj was in our favour. That part was disposed of. But, nevertheless, after the Bagge Award again difficulties arose in interpretation of what Bagge had said and what Radcliffe had said. The

42. Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri, Revolutionary Socialist Party MP from Berhampore, West Bengal, asked this question.

43. The Award was announced on 4 Feb. 1950. See SWJN/SS/14 pt II/p. 448.

44. N. Chandrasekhar Aiyar, retired Judge of the Madras High Court.

45. Justice Shahabuddin of the Dacca High Court.

difficulties arose chiefly because first of all they laid down a rule that we shall accept, broadly speaking, the boundaries of districts or taluks or administrative areas. Now the administrative areas inside a country does [sic] not matter. But when the boundaries become international frontiers, it makes a difference. Sometimes it is said as the other side of the river. Then they attach maps to the description, and the map does not tally with the description. Sometimes they name a river and there was doubt as to which river was meant.

Anyhow, my point is that after the Bagge Award several other matters arose on interpretation and we have been holding to certain interpretations of our own and Pakistan to some others. It was after the Bagge Award, after at least 1952 that Pakistan raised this question about Berubari Union. We contested their claim and in our opinion, we said, the whole Union had been awarded to India. The dispute has gone on. I am merely referring to it. It is not a new dispute. This was finally considered at the Prime Ministers' meetings.<sup>46</sup> I may as well say that the Prime Ministers did not consider it, because I am not an expert on revenue boundaries, but we considered it at the official level, with Secretaries and revenue authorities advising us. And the whole agreement that was arrived at between the Prime Ministers of Indian and Pakistan, which was really arrived at the official level by various parties advised by Secretaries and revenue officials, was accepted by us after closely examining it. One of the parts of that agreement was that this Berubari Union, which both claimed as an entirety, should be broadly divided into two parts, northern and the southern, the northern remaining with India and the southern going to Pakistan. I cannot obviously enter into the merits of the case. Large maps and charts and revenue records of what this meant and what that meant becomes highly complicated. I am merely venturing to place before the House the procedure that was adopted. So, we accepted the advice chiefly of the revenue authorities and others of West Bengal that this might be done.

Now I should like to point out that in these various matters of interpretation and dispute, well, there were some matters in which one could say with confidence that our case was strong. In some matters one felt that our case was not very strong. Naturally when we have a dozen such matters some points are strong and some weak and we had to take all these matters into consideration in coming to a "give and take" agreement.

A great deal was said even by Shri Jaipal Singh and other Members that we show weakness in dealing with these matters, our case goes by default and we accept everything that Pakistan says. Well, that is not correct. Even in the present case, it might interest the House to know that as a result of the so-called "Nehru-Noon Agreement"—I want to give the figures; I have got them here—as a result

46. In Sept. 1958.



of the agreement in regard to the exchange of territories the total area which comes to India is 42.4 sq. miles; the total area that goes to Pakistan is 4.8 sq. miles. And when I say coming to India, a part of it is in India now, but that is taken out of the area of dispute and agreed to that this is India. The total area in dispute in this area was 47.2 sq. miles as I said of these 42.4 sq. miles definitely comes to India. So, it is not a question of handing over territory to Pakistan and accepting what they say. The total area of Berubari Union is 8.75 sq. miles, and the agreement was that about half of it should go to them and about half of it should come to India.

Reference was made to Hili. As a matter of fact, the whole area, a large area of 34.86 miles comes to India, and Pakistan admitted that it should go to India, although they have been claiming it.

N.G. Ranga:<sup>47</sup> What about the population? How many are there?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You mean Berubari Union? The total population of Berubari Union is 10,000 to 12,000. I think half of it remains there. Roughly half of it goes there. But I do not know the density of population in each part. About 5,000 to 6,000 may be affected by this.

Raghunath Singh:<sup>48</sup> May I know how much area India will have to part with?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give the exact figures. But, as I said just now, this includes some parts which are at present in the possession of India. Now, if you go into the details about this, it is a highly complicated matter in which for months and months our experts have been struggling with revenue records, maps and all that, and finally in regard to these particular matters they felt that it would be advantageous, not only from the national point of view but from the point of view of the people of those areas, who were subjected to this constant indecision and conflict, to recommend this settlement of these particular disputes, and we accepted that, rightly.

It is a fact that whatever you may decide, it causes some inconvenience, some upset to some people. We wanted to see that it is as little as possible.

One thing more about Tokergram. Tokergram has been all the time since Independence in India's possession. The dispute about Tokergram as such only arose this year, that is, Pakistan raised this question. In another sense, Tokergram is part of a larger area about which there was some dispute, a continuing one.

47. Congress MP from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.

48. Congress MP from Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh.

But by itself there is no dispute about this and it was undoubtedly, according to our thinking, our territory. I say this because some statement made on our behalf in answer to a question, I think in the other House, has slightly led to some misapprehensions. In fact, our Deputy Minister made a statement in the other House, clearing that misapprehension, today.<sup>49</sup>

Some Honourable Members suggested that a Joint Judicial Board be constituted to deal with these problems and that the chairman of that Board should be neither an Indian nor a Pakistani, but some outsider and I believe he suggested someone from another Commonwealth country.<sup>50</sup> That kind of proposal, I say, is a completely wrong one and we are not at all prepared to consider it. We are prepared to consider a Tribunal to take up such matters; some matters can be referred to it, because after all finally there is no way of settling these matters except either by agreement or by an arbitrator or by a tribunal.

We suggested this in regard to some other matter to Mr Feroze Khan Noon, but he rejected that. He did not accept that. I think some honourable Member actually read out yesterday from what he said on that occasion when he went back to Karachi.<sup>51</sup> I do not see any other way of settling them. It is our misfortune that two tribunals, the Radcliffe and the Bagge, still left matters vague.

49. Lakshmi Menon, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, said: "Sir, in the answers given by me on the 27 November 1958 to supplementaries to starred Question No. 91 by Dr A.N. Bose and Shri T.S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, I gave some information about the position of Tukurgram which is not correct. The correct position is that village Tukurgram is a part of the Cachar District of Assam and is indisputably Indian territory. It had not been the subject of any dispute between India and Pakistan till August 1958 when Pakistani forces occupied it forcibly. The discussions at the meeting of the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan held in September 1958 related to the question of timing of Pakistan's withdrawal from Tukurgram".

50. Manavendra Shah, Congress MP from Tehri Garhwal, Uttar Pradesh, made this suggestion.

51. Hem Barua, PSP MP from Gauhati, Assam, read out the statement made by Feroze Khan Noon at Karachi in Sept. 1958. It said: "I conveyed it to the Prime Minister of India that the remaining unresolved disputes could be referred for final settlement to a tribunal only if India agreed to implement in toto the award given by the Bagge Tribunal. The Indian Prime Minister did not find it possible to agree to this and suggested that the Indian point of view in regard to the findings given by the Bagge Tribunal should also be specifically referred to the tribunal which may be set up to decide unresolved disputes. I endeavoured to convince the Prime Minister of India that there was no justification for referring the decision given by a final adjudicating authority to any other tribunal. The sanctity and finality of an award given by an impartial tribunal must be accepted and honoured. If any compromise were made in this matter, no one would have any confidence in any tribunal which may be set up in the future to go into other disputes."



Hem Barua: Nothing was vague about Tukergram. They did not leave anything vague about Tukergram.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Tukergram is not mentioned at all. The question of vagueness is not there. Normally it is in India.

An honourable Member—I think it was probably Shri Dange, or maybe someone else—said that it was not safe for our pattern of armaments to be linked up with one particular power.<sup>52</sup> Broadly speaking, I agree with that statement. We should not be tied up to any big power. To some extent it becomes a little difficult for us to spread ourselves out all over the world and the real answer to this question is to produce things oneself in one's own country, except any special thing which we may buy here or there; broadly speaking to increase our defence production capacity. We are trying to do that to the best of our ability. It is not an easy matter and we cannot, however much we might produce things ourselves, build up that enormous equipment for research and advance which the great powers have. We do not intend doing it; we do not want it. We are not aiming at any kind of competition in this matter. But we want to be self-sufficient in this respect in regard to our normal defence equipment.

Finally, Sir, I should like to say something in regard to some remarks which Acharya Kripalani made. First of all he said that our Military Department must be above a suspicion in regard to contracts, etc. I entirely agree with him, of course. And not only the Military Department, but all Departments should endeavour to do that. I cannot say honestly that every department of Government here or in fact anywhere else, is hundred per cent, perfect. There is trouble; there is misappropriation and all that sometimes. But I do believe that the kind of opinion that is sometimes held apparently about so-called corruption, etc., in Government departments is much exaggerated.

As I said, we are functioning today as Government over a sphere which is probably a hundred times bigger than in pre-independence days. It is a tremendous domain and new territories are being included—I mean to say the public sector and all that. Everything is tremendous. If I may use a word each department of Government, each Ministry, is an empire in extent! Now this very extent raises

52. During the discussion on 8 Dec. S.A. Dange said: "Now, I know that multiplicity of pattern in armaments is certainly not very desirable from the point of technical efficiency. At the same time, to link up all our total arms with one particular Power, that Power which also has not very much liked our independence, is also a wrong policy.... Hence, a certain amount of multiplicity and a certain amount of non-alignment in purchases also should be introduced." See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, cols 3711-3712.

difficult problems and we are constantly struggling and endeavouring to make our apparatus of Government more efficient, more economical and to have people of integrity. I think that marked progress is being made in this direction.

Remember today how many eyes are on Government departments. Every Member of this House or the other House—if not every Member, a large number of them—are vigilant guardians. They are vigilant to see and if anything happens down they come upon them: quite rightly, they should. There are so many people looking at them. In previous days nobody looked upon them. If a mistake happened, it just happened. Our newspapers also are eager to pick up anything that might savour of some scandal. So that there are enough eyes and ears at work and the smallest thing that happens is brought out either by question or in newspaper, or otherwise. One must remember also all this background and see the enormous range of governmental activity. If you pick out something and if something happens, you must see it in relation to it. And do not—if I may say so with respect—because of one case or two or ten cases think that 10,000 other cases are wrong. We must have some perspective in view.

My honourable friend Acharya Kripalani mentioned defence. And defence, remember, is in such a matter the most difficult department of all, difficult, that is to say, so long as it deals with foreign firms. If we produce our goods ourselves then it will be on the same level as others. Nothing is more difficult than purchasing armaments from the big firms abroad and elsewhere. There is no real competition in that matter. Deals are not done normally in public. They can more or less fix their own prices and we try to argue with them and accept them or not. So defence is always a dangerous thing and in every country it is in deals connected with defence that wrong things happen. I entirely accept that in defence we have to be very careful.

Unfortunately, the first year after Independence, 1948 was a very critical year for us. Soon after Independence the Kashmir trouble started and nobody knew in 1948 at what time the Kashmir trouble might not extend to an all-out war with Pakistan. Those who held responsibility then found it rather a heavy burden to carry, i.e., about our security, about a possible major war as to what might happen. A little later came the Hyderabad problem.<sup>53</sup> It was a small affair as it happened. But we saw it in terms of all this, i.e., what was happening in Kashmir, what was happening in Pakistan—and just soon after Partition when we had very few arms, very few vehicles and all that in proper condition. We were anxious to buy and certain contracts were made.

The first contracts were made—the very first—by the new department at India House. Till then every contract was made through the India Office, i.e.,

53. See SWJN/SS/7/pp. 251-275.



through the British agency. The early contracts were made when no proper establishment was built up and all that and here we had a violent hurry because of this acute dangerous situation which might result in sudden war with Pakistan and we would not have this or that. Certain contracts were made then which led ultimately, as the House knows, to enormous trouble and still pursue us, i.e., what is called the jeep scandal<sup>54</sup> and all that. So, see the context of it.

We have gone into this matter very, very thoroughly and we are convinced—I cannot say honestly that some people in England or some people elsewhere did not make money out of it; some people did because we have lost the money and obviously it has gone somewhere, but I am simply speaking after all the long enquiries that have been made—that people in India House were by these circumstances and not by anything else hustled in agreeing to certain terms, etc., which normally they would not have agreed to or to deal with certain firms which they might not have dealt with. Considering everything we thought that it was our misfortune that we have got caught in that way and not that any person is deliberately at fault. That was our firm opinion and of those who examined it.

Now, remember again the enormous scale on which Defence purchase things from abroad. It is a very big scale and I beg you to consider that dealing in this big way how few instances have arisen which have been challenged in this House. Maybe, of course, some misappropriation was not caught. That is quite possible. It does not necessarily follow that because it was not challenged it was all right. But still what I am venturing to point out is that by and large if you look at this picture it has been a picture of straight dealing and care taking. Sometimes a mistake has been made. Even now we are enquiring into some matters which really go back to—I think the story goes back probably about four or five years—1954. We are enquiring into it. We have taken action to occasionally dismiss some high-ranking people and all that. So, we are trying to do what we can. But, again I would beg this House to consider one aspect of this. We have to be vigilant, we have to be careful and we have to take action—and firm action—whenever necessary. But it is a wrong thing—and a dangerous thing—to create an atmosphere.

Mahavir Tyagi:<sup>55</sup> I must submit that firm action is lacking.

Braj Raj Singh:<sup>56</sup> It will always lack.

54. See SWJN/SS/30/pp. 312-320.

55. Mahavir Tyagi was Congress MP from Dehra Dun, Uttar Pradesh.

56. Socialist Party MP from Firozabad, Uttar Pradesh.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Honourable Member, Shri Tyagi, knows about these matters and his advice is always valuable. He may be right. He may be right that firm action is lacking but what I am venturing to say is that wherever necessary or when it is proved we come down with a heavy hand. But one thing is dangerous as it is wrong and that is, first of all, to condemn large numbers of people—fine Services—because somebody had erred. The person who has erred—cut off his head, if you will. Certainly, but do not colour the whole Service with that. It is a bad thing. It is bad anywhere whether it is civil or anybody. It is worse when the military and those people are concerned.

Secondly, do not do anything which discourages the bright people—the scientists, the technicians and others. Thus far they had no chance or very little chance of doing anything special—they had to work in routines, in grooves. The best of them becomes affected by this and become dull. That unfortunately is sometimes the result of too much bureaucracy. People are promoted by virtue of years of service and not that they have got greater intelligence in their heads. They go on being promoted one after the other and at a certain stage they are asked to quit, whether they are good or bad. I think it is quite illogical and insensible. This may be all right for your lower grade clerks but for intelligent men, when you spend a large sum of money and when you get them trained, to be asked to quit when it is the best time of service, it is quite absurd. Of course, in the educational field it is fantastic. In other countries I have seen the professors reaching the hundred years' standard and nobody kicks them out—they are 95 or 92 years of age—because they all are respected, whatever be their age. It is not a civil service kind of thing—the rotation of coming and going.

So, with this bureaucratic approach the brilliant person is treated like a mediocre, on the same level. That may not matter so much in the normal governmental administration. It does matter, of course, but not so much. But it matters ever so much where you have to deal with scientific and other discoveries and progress. The scientist cannot function in that atmosphere. It is possible, if all the time he is pulled up and told not to do this and not to do that, just a madness for a man of acute intelligence who is trying to do a bit of high intellectual work. We have got some very fine men in our Defence installations—good scientists and good technicians—and they have been doing particularly fine work in the course of last year or two, and you have seen some examples. Why? Because they are enthusiastic now. They have been given free play—do something. I do not want this House to create an impression on them, "We do not approve of your doing them".

Now, Acharya Kripalani mentioned Kashmir and said it is not safe to rely completely on one person and he referred to certain previous incidents. We should rely on the people.



Mahavir Tyagi: That is what they are doing in India too.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think, for once I completely disagree with Shri Tyagi. So long as there are many Shri Tyagis in this country that cannot happen and fortunately there are many such persons.

But about what Acharya Kripalani said—and he said it in all earnestness—I should like to remind him that one has to see these things not in a vacuum but in particular situations. Here is Kashmir. It has gone through such an ordeal for many years, which today has armies on the cease-fire line on either side and which in the last year or two, as the House knows, has had to face a secret and deliberate campaign of sabotage. Schools—and I speak with some knowledge—being started to teach people how to commit sabotage and people sent across just to commit that sabotage—on the other side of the border it started not in our territory—sent deliberately. This is a difficult situation to face. It is not a normal situation. And difficult situations have to be faced sometimes in abnormal ways. Nevertheless, in spite of all this elections have been held in Kashmir twice.<sup>57</sup> You may say—and you may perhaps be right—that the elections are not of that high standard as we would like them to be or as they have been held in the rest of India. Nevertheless, whatever to be the standard, it does give a great opportunity to the people. It has given them that opportunity. There are those difficulties. We cannot have it in ideal conditions anywhere. In these conditions, the situation throws up men to deal with those conditions. And the present Prime Minister of Kashmir, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, is a person who undoubtedly has shown quite remarkable qualities of organisation and leadership. He has done something. I am quite free to confess here that sometimes he has acted in ways which I have not liked at all — just as all of us may act in some ways—and I have ventured to draw his attention to these too. But the fact is that here is this great problem and this great responsibility which he is shouldering, and carrying this burden.

Now, Acharya Kripalani referred also to the case of Mridula Sarabhai.<sup>58</sup> I

57. Elections to the Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly were held on 15 Oct. in 1951 and on 24 Feb. and 15 Mar. in 1957.

58. When Mridula Sarabhai, one of Sheikh Abdullah's supporters, was detained on 8 Aug. 1958, Kripalani during the discussion in the Lok Sabha on 8 December protested, "Has Miss Mridula done something treasonable? I am sure she is not engaged in treasonable activities. She would not betray the country. Let her be tried. Let there be a fair trial; otherwise, I am afraid, there will always be the impression in the minds of the people that she was engaged in treasonable activities against the Government. So, I would appeal to the Prime Minister and to the Home Minister who is absent now that she must be tried or released. Her detention does us no good." See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, cols 3723-3724.

do not think it would be proper for me, since he has referred to her case, to pass it by and say nothing. That would be unfair to the House. Well, all of us or nearly all of us have known her well. I think I have known her for a trifle over forty years, since she was a child, a girl. And there are few persons in India, men or women, whose courage I have admired so much as hers. She is a brave, courageous young woman. But there are also few persons whose judgement I have disputed and thought wrong, often enough. I mean that wrong judgement is alike to courage. It often produces very wrong results; because she has the courage to go wrong, and repeatedly wrong, and to be cowed down by anybody into any other course of action. Speaking for myself, I can assure Acharya Kripalani or anybody else, and for myself I have never doubted her own motives, her bona fides. But I have been amazed to see how she can persist in wrong doing and harmful doing to her country. Almost every member of this House has received no doubt vast bundles of papers from her frequently. It is amazing, that type of propaganda being carried on—and I had that examined repeatedly—much of it baseless, without foundation. I do not say that she deliberately tells a lie. But she believes every liar that comes to her and puts it across to the people with her own imprint and gives publicity to that. We talked her, tried to reason with her and tried to explain to her, but it had no effect.

So it is not a question of Mridula Sarabhai being guilty of high treason. I do not say that at all. But under an unfortunate set of circumstances her courage and her capacity is being utilised and exploited for wrong and dangerous purposes. She got far greater publicity in Pakistan than in India. That is no argument, I know; but I merely say that her whole activity — not that she meant it — became so anti-national, so harmful to India that it became rather difficult to leave it where it was. In fact for months and months, in fact for a longer period, we did allow matters to remain where they were. I do not think we would have acted in this way with any other person in India for so long, whoever he might have been. But because of our high regard for her and because of her known courage we did that, and if I may quote some lines that come to my head:

And to be wrath with those we love  
Doth work like madness in the brain

Now, one thing else. He referred to the case of Mr. Balraj Puri, his treatment.<sup>59</sup> I enquired into this matter. I cannot say what the exact facts were except to say that the lengthy reports that have come to me after enquiry did not wholly support

59. Referring to the case of Balraj Puri, a journalist, columnist and social activist primarily in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, J.B. Kripalani said: "But I find another young friend of mine, Shri Balraj Puri manhandled for having responded to the greetings of one of the prisoners in the conspiracy case."



Mr. Balraj Puri's own account in the sense that—and it is quite possible occasionally that varying reports may come and people are excited—here was a crowded court room and this trial in Jammu when Mr. Balraj Puri entered it and rather threw his weight about.

N.G. Goray: Mr. Balraj Puri is the last man who can throw his weight.

Nath Pai: Sir, you have seen the man. He is not a man who can throw his weight. All that he did was that he raised his hands.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not in the physical sense. I am not complaining; I mean to say that even the Magistrate noticed this pushing about and he commented upon it, and he was asked, I think, by a police officer to go out. I am not for a moment judging this incident. All that I say is that here is a crowded room where a person comes in, and he said something, and I am sorry that he suffered any inconvenience. But the conditions were peculiar. In a crowded room this kind of thing happens.

Nath Pai: I may be excused for interrupting the Prime Minister, because Mr. Balraj Puri won't be having a chance of defending himself and the Prime Minister's version will go before the country. There is a medical certificate that he has produced of the beatings he has received in the police lock-up, which he has brought to the notice of no less a person than the Prime Minister himself. Mr. Balraj Puri will not be having an opportunity of saving his honour. He was ill-treated and maltreated and beaten up for the offence that he raised his hand in the court when Sheikh Abdullah was being tried in the court.

Jawaharlal Nehru: As I said, it is difficult for me; I have spent some time over this enquiry and I have no doubt that some things that Mr. Balraj Puri says are correct; but I do get the impression that some other things that he has not said are also correct, and there are exaggerations on all sides.

That is all, Sir. I am thankful to the House for the patient hearing it has given me.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: On a point of order, Sir. There is some confusion in my mind on your speech. How do you think that non-alignment and Commonwealth can go together? That is one thing. And how do you explain that non-violence and the preparation for war can go together? It means that non-violence cannot protect us, army is needed.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Jawaharlal Nehru: As regards the amendments to this motion, I am prepared to accept one of them. Shri Jaganatha Rao's.<sup>60</sup> I do not particularly mind if there is no amendment. There is no necessity for an amendment. But, naturally, in sheer self-defence I have to accept that amendment.

## (b) Relations with Foreign Countries

### (i) Pakistan

#### 248. To M. Azim Husain<sup>61</sup>

November 6, 1958

My dear Azim,<sup>62</sup>

Thank you for your letter which you have not dated.<sup>63</sup> This is about Manzur Qadir.<sup>64</sup> I am glad that you have written to me from your personal knowledge

60. R. Jaganatha Rau, Congress MP from Koraput, Orissa, said: "Judging our foreign policy either in respect of our relations with Pakistan or Goa or about the problem of world disarmament, I submit that the policy followed by the Government is the correct policy and to that purpose I have moved an amendment that the House should approve such a policy. I commend my amendment to the House"
61. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, and Vishnu Sahay, the Cabinet Secretary, together with the letter.
62. Mohammad Azim Husain was Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan in London, 1957-60.
63. Azim Husain wrote that Manzur Qadir had been appointed Foreign Minister in Ayub Khan's new Cabinet and, as he was completely unknown in the political life of Pakistan, Nehru might be interested to know something about him. Manzur had been a practicing lawyer in Lahore since 1936 and he had never taken any interest in politics. He was a confirmed rationalist, hated religious fanaticism, and was critical of the manner in which religion had been exploited in the creation of Pakistan. Azim Husain professed ignorance about Manzur's reasons for accepting this job, but he was sure that Manzur would be free of Muslim fanaticism and undue fear of India, which had been practically the primary motivation of Pakistani politicians.
64. (1913-1974); educated at Government College, Lahore, and Clare College, Cambridge; called to the Bar from Lincoln's Inn, 1935; started practice as an advocate at Lahore High Court in 1936; later became Senior Advocate of the Federal Court and Supreme Court of Pakistan; represented Pakistan at the International Law Association, Yugoslavia, 1956, and USA, 1958; Foreign Minister of Pakistan; Chief Justice of West Pakistan High Court, 1962; resigned on 8 Oct. 1963.



about him. As a matter of fact, such other reports as I have received about him confirmed the view you have expressed in your letter.

The situation in Pakistan is a very odd one and we can hardly consider it a stable one. The second coup d'état took place in a very ungracious way and I understand left people there rather gasping.<sup>65</sup> Iskander Mirza discussed with people about what he was going to do as President in the future that very afternoon. A little latter he was compelled to retire and few hours later he was sent off to Quetta. Even ordinary courtesies were not provided.

I hope you and your wife are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 249. To N.V. Gadgil<sup>66</sup>

November 15, 1958

My dear Gadgil,<sup>67</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 14th November. We are quite wide awake to the situation and have discussed it with our Defence people on several occasions.

We have also discussed the question of American aid to Pakistan with the American Ambassador.<sup>68</sup> He has said that the U.S. Government are absolutely opposed to any adventure by the Pakistan Government, and if, even so, Pakistan people indulge in adventures, all aid will be withdrawn, and Pakistan is bound to sink. There is no doubt that if American aid is withdrawn, and the vast numbers of American officers serving as Advisers or in other capacities in Pakistan Armed Forces are also withdrawn, it will hardly be possible for Pakistan's army etc., to function.

I am merely passing on this information to you for what it is worth. Anyhow, we can take no chances.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

65. On 27 Oct. 1958, Ayub Khan dismissed President Iskander Mirza and made himself President.

66. JN Collection.

67. The Governor of Punjab.

68. Ellsworth Bunker.

## 250. In the Lok Sabha<sup>69</sup>

R.K. Khadilkar:<sup>70</sup> On what grounds recognition was given to the new Pakistan Government after the two shifts in the Government, unless the Government has a firm assurance from the present Government that all the commitments and previous agreements will be honoured in the day to day administration.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question before us of recognition or non-recognition. We merely continue our dealings with those who are in charge of the destiny of Pakistan today. I have given much thought to it and I do not pretend to be able to give a clear juristic interpretation of what has happened in Pakistan. We have adopted the simple practical way of dealing with those who are in authority and so far as I know, every other Government has done likewise.

I quite understand the anxiety and the concern of the Members of this House in connection with what has happened in Pakistan in recent weeks. I do not know, however, how that lends itself to an adjournment motion. It is my intention to make a statement before the House in the course of the next three or four days on a suitable day about these events, though I might also warn or submit to the House that what I have to say may not be anything novel. They know most of the facts. Nevertheless, I shall endeavour to make a statement before the House. If the House wishes, to discuss the broad question—not these particular things—either as a general debate on foreign affairs or otherwise, we shall be willing. But, the question can hardly be considered this way as an adjournment motion.

So far as the case of Shri Iyer the accountant is concerned, it may be an individual case.<sup>71</sup> But, individual cases, sometimes, are significant and important. We do consider this of significance and importance. I should not like to say much about it because we have been trying to make enquiries about it and we have addressed the Pakistan Government on the subject. *Prima facie*, it is a very objectionable thing that has happened.

69. 17 November 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXII, cols 75-80. Earlier M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar had referred to certain adjournment motions moved by Hem Barua, S.A. Dange, Raja Mahendra Pratap and others regarding recent developments in Pakistan and their impact on Indo-Pakistan relations.

70. R.K. Khadilkar was Mazdoor Kisan Party MP from Ahmadnagar, Bombay State.

71. On 15 Nov. 1958, K.C. Iyer, Accountant in the office of the Assistant Indian High Commission at Rajshahi, and his wife were physically ill-treated by East Pakistan Rifles men posted at the Pakistani check-post at Darsana. India's Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca, Purnendu Kumar Banerjee, had lodged a strong protest with the East Pakistan Government.



Hem Barua: There are other cases like that. The bags of two other employees of the Indian High Commission were ransacked on the Dacca Railway platform.

Jawaharlal Nehru: If I may say so, there have been a number of cases, a variety of cases in the last two, three or four weeks, each one of them by itself not of very great importance, but nevertheless, taken together showing a certain trend which is a matter of concern. So, I suggest, if you will be pleased to agree, that I might make a statement in regard to all the developments in Pakistan concerning us and after I have made the statement, it is for you and the House to decide how we should deal with it.

Hem Barua: Just on a point of information, may I know whether in the meanwhile, we have tried to impress on the new regime in Pakistan about the sanctity of the Nehru-Noon Agreement and other Agreements that we have made with Pakistan in this connection?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The present Government of Pakistan has clearly stated, not to us, but generally, that they stand by all the agreements previously made. They have accepted that. We do not consider it necessary to ask them specifically whether they stand by this or not. First of all, we presume that the Government stands by its agreements. Secondly, they have made this general statement.

N.G. Goray: I want to submit that a statement from the Prime Minister will not be enough because, some of us have been on the spot and we want bring to the notice of the House the fears that are entertained by the people in the area and the acts of aggression that have taken place. Therefore, I submit that an opportunity should be given to the Members to submit their points of view and that can be followed by a statement from the Prime Minister.

Braj Raj Singh: May I submit, Sir, that a discussion is necessary?

Mr. Speaker: I have heard in general.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: Will you allow me two minutes, Sir? I have something very important to say.

Mr. Speaker: I have allowed a number of honourable Members. The only question at this stage is, if I should allow the adjournment motions. Having regard to the importance of this subject and the natural concern at the events

evinced by the Members of the House and outside also, in view of the statement of the Prime Minister, he will make a statement in two or three days. Thereafter it is open to any honourable Member to say, let the matter be discussed, if he is not satisfied with a mere statement. The honourable Prime Minister has also said that either this matter may be taken up in the debate or Foreign affairs, which certainly will be taken up this session or a separate occasion or opportunity may be raised here. It will be taken advantage of for this purpose. We will consider this matter as soon as that statement is made.

Jawaharlal Nehru: One word. From the wording of some of the motions of adjournment, it would appear that a somewhat exaggerated view is taken of what is supposed to be happening there, for instance, hectic movement of armies.<sup>72</sup> I am not aware of hectic or even slow movement of armed forces there. We should take a balanced view. Again, there were headlines, I think, in today's papers or yesterday's papers, about some active aggression in Sylhet...

Hem Barua: Madanpur.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The honourable Member is right. So far as I know, there was undoubtedly aggression of about 10 or 20 yards or whatever it was. Some people came and sat there. They were told they would be pushed out and the same evening they walked away; they went back. So, these are petty things if you take each one by itself; it may be the folly of local persons or one of great importance. But, a succession of the petty things taken together does become a bigger thing and that is what concerns us. As I said to you, I am not against this matter or any matter being discussed. But, I thought that I might put in a statement of the facts only before the house and after that, you may consider how to deal with it.

72. N.G. Goray, PSP MP from Poona, Bombay State, and R.K. Khadilkar moved the adjournment motion regarding this.



## 251. Cooch-Behar Enclaves<sup>73</sup>

You should, of course, consult the Law Ministry about the major criticisms, that is, as to whether the change in regard to the Cooch-Behar enclaves can be effected by legislation or amendment of the Constitution.<sup>74</sup> The Law Ministry has previously advised us that parliamentary legislation is adequate. I think they are right, but let them consider this matter again in view of what the West Bengal Government has said. It may be desirable also to consult the Attorney-General.<sup>75</sup> If he is not here, then the Solicitor-General<sup>76</sup> might be consulted about this matter.

2. The other points raised by the West Bengal Government are relatively minor, and the Law Ministry can advise.

3. I think you might point out to the West Bengal Government that it is desirable to avoid Press publicity of a matter under confidential correspondence, and we regret that some newspapers in Calcutta gave publicity to the substance of the West Bengal Government's memorandum even before we had received it.

## 252. Statement on Recent Events in Pakistan<sup>77</sup>

I am considering the draft statement you have prepared about recent happenings in Pakistan. I may revise it somewhat.

So far as the other statement is concerned, which gives a list of border incidents; it does not produce any sense of satisfaction in me. After mentioning each incident, it is stated in the Remarks Column that protests have been lodged. Sometimes the protest is a strong one. Reading all this one feels that all we can do is to lodge protests. Perhaps this is so. But the way it is stated is a depressing fact. It would be far better not to have a Remarks Column at all. Just state the nature of the incident and the date and place. At the end of the statement it

73. Note to Vishnu Sahay, 17 November 1958. JN Collection.

74. According to the Nehru-Noon Agreement of 11 Sept. 1958, "the enclaves of the former Cooch-Behar State in East Pakistan and the Pakistani enclaves in West Bengal would be exchanged without compensation. Under the agreement, Pakistan will receive about 28 square miles of territory, with a population of about 11,000, in return for about 17 square miles, with a population of about 9,000 which will go to India." See *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, Volume No. XI, 1957-58, p. 16417. See also SWJN/SS/44/ p. 551.

75. M.C. Setalvad.

76. C.K. Daphtary.

77. Note to Vishnu Sahay, 18 November 1958. JN Collection.

should be stated that in all these cases protests have been lodged and the matter is being followed up. This form of statement may at least, I think, be a little less depressing.

In the list I find that 35 Indian nationals have been kidnapped, of whom one was released on payment of ransom. Of these 35, 25 were kidnapped in West Bengal. There is a note at the end of the West Bengal list saying that out of the persons kidnapped since 11th September from West Bengal, 18 have returned. As far as I can make out, 25 were kidnapped in West Bengal. Thus presumably 7 still remain there. It is not quite clear if the figure 18 includes the Jalpaiguri case (No. 15), where the person was released on payment of ransom.

As, according to this list, altogether 35 persons were kidnapped from various zones in the East and five were kidnapped in the Western zone, the presumption is that 22 are still in the custody of Pakistan. All this is very vague and we should be more precise. Have we no better figures? All kinds of questions are going to be asked about the kidnapped persons. What answer am I to give? Also it is not good enough to give a total figure of 18 kidnapped from West Bengal being released. In each individual case it should be stated whether they have been released or not.

Apart from these kidnapped cases there is the Tripura case (No. 11) where two persons were killed. That is even more serious.

You mentioned to me the case about Pakistanis coming some little distance into the Indian territory and digging trenches. I think it was in Tripura. These people retired later. I do not find any mention of this particular case here.

I think a new list of these cases has to be prepared more or less on the lines suggested above. If possible further particulars should be given.

## 253. In the Lok Sabha<sup>78</sup>

P.K. Deo: Under Rule 197, I beg to call the attention of the Prime Minister to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon:-

“The recent developments in Pakistan, their effect on India and the incidents and raids by Pakistanis across the Indian border.”

Lakshmi Menon: A large number of short notice and ordinary questions

78. 20 November 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXII, cols 729-734. The statement was read out by Lakshmi Menon.



have been tabled by honourable Members in regard to recent developments in Pakistan. There have also been notices under Rule 197 asking for a statement to be made in regard to these changes. Most of the facts have been fully reported in the public press and are known to Members. Nevertheless, in view of the desire of Members of the House, this statement is being made, recapitulating some of these facts.

These recent developments in Pakistan are of great significance and have naturally attracted widespread attention. To us in India they are of particular concern because Pakistan is a neighbour country and unhappily the relations between Pakistan and India have left much to be desired. Also some statements made in Pakistan recently have not been friendly towards India and in some indeed the language has been menacing.

On October 7, 1958, President Mirza abrogated the Constitution of 1956, dissolved all political parties and proclaimed Martial Law throughout the country. General Ayub Khan was appointed Chief Martial Law Administrator.

In his Proclamation, President Mirza stated that "a vast majority of people no longer have any confidence in the present system of government and are getting more and more disillusioned and disappointed and are becoming dangerously resentful of the manner in which they are exploited." He laid emphasis on what he called taking the country "to sanity by a peaceful revolution". President Mirza also stated his intention to devise a more suitable Constitution, and to submit it at the appropriate time to a referendum of the people.

This action of President Mirza thus put an end to any kind of free or representative government in Pakistan. It is true that parliamentary institutions in Pakistan had been deprived of much content because of the failure to hold elections ever since Independence came eleven years ago. Nevertheless, there was the form of such institutions. The Proclamation of Martial Law ended this. For the first time, dictatorial rule was established in a member-country of the Commonwealth. The very basis of the Commonwealth has been democratic institutions and the parliamentary form of Government. Both these were suddenly ended by the coup d'état of President Iskander Mirza.

Martial Law courts were established and the civil courts were debarred from questioning the action of the Martial Law authorities. In fact, not only was the Constitution of Pakistan abrogated, but all its laws, judiciary and political and economic structure could only function within the limitations imposed by the Martial Law authorities. The old sanctions ceased to exist. The new sanction was the will of the President or the Martial Law Administrator.

On the 27th of October, President Iskander Mirza announced a Cabinet to assist him in governing the country and appointed General Ayub Khan as Prime Minister. General Ayub Khan was sworn in as such in the course of the day. That very evening, however, President Mirza was induced, under pressure, to resign, and General Ayub Khan assumed supreme power and became President as well as the Chief Martial Law Administrator. The reason given by General Ayub Khan for this was that it was necessary to remove an appearance of dual control, and further that President Mirza had been too closely associated with politicians who had misbehaved so much in the past. President Ayub Khan announced that he was setting up a Presidential form of Government, with Ministers nominated by him as his Advisers. A Presidential form of government presupposes the election of the President by the people.

October 27th thus saw a number of strange developments, culminating in the dramatic removal of President Mirza. A Prime Minister and his cabinet are sworn in the forenoon, and that Prime Minister removes without ceremony the President who appointed him that day, and assumes complete power without any check. General Iskander Mirza was sent in the early hours of the morning to Quetta. A few days later, he was allowed to leave Pakistan for England. Pakistan ceased to be, even in name or form, a free country in the democratic sense, and any criticism by an individual or the Press of the regime was an offence under Martial Law.

Whatever reasons or justification there might be for these repeated and far-reaching changes, the fact emerges that a dictatorial regime with military control, which is normally not approved of by those who believe in free institutions and democracy, was established in Pakistan. From the larger point of view of the world, and more particularly of Asian countries, this was step which caused much concern. In India, that concern was necessarily all the greater. It has always been the viewpoint of the Government and people of India that it is for the people of Pakistan to choose their own form of Government, and it has never been our desire to intervene or interfere in any way in the internal affairs of Pakistan. The people of India and Pakistan have a common heritage and innumerable associations. We have always desired the welfare of the people of Pakistan and their economic progress, even as we labour for the advancement of the people of India. We could not, however, help regretting a development in Pakistan which, from all normal standards, was a setback both politically and economically.

A matter of even greater concern to India was the possible attitude of the new authority in Pakistan towards India. Unfortunately, the relations of India and Pakistan, ever since partition, have not been friendly, and the attitude



of successive governments in Pakistan has been to encourage feeling against India. Even threats of war have been uttered. This attitude has been further encouraged by military help received from other countries. Nevertheless, attempts continued to be made to reach a solution of the problems which estranged these two countries. It will be remembered that less than a month before the first coup d'état in Pakistan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan visited Delhi and held discussions with the Prime Minister of India. As a result of these discussions, agreements were arrived at in regard to some border problems.<sup>79</sup> These agreements related to minor matters. But even a small step in the right direction was helpful.

On the assumption of power by President Iskander Mirza and, later, by General Ayub Khan, the question arose whether this slight improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations would continue and be improved upon, or a reverse process would set in, leading perhaps to greater tension. After the first change, some vaguely conciliatory statements were made on behalf of Pakistan.<sup>80</sup> We welcomed them. When General Ayub Khan declared himself as President, one of his earliest utterances was of a completely different nature and referred to the adoption of extreme measures, and even war, with India, in order to have satisfactory solution of the Kashmir question.<sup>81</sup> Subsequently, President Ayub Khan spoke in a somewhat different vein and emphasised the necessity for amicable and peaceful settlements of disputes between India and Pakistan.<sup>82</sup>

In these circumstances and in the nature of things where a country is under a military regime, there can be no certainty of what future developments might be. We can hope for the best, but we have to be prepared for any possible emergency that might arise. There is no adequate reason for our Government or our people to take a tragic view of the situation. At the same time, there is equally no reason for a complacent attitude.

79. By the Nehru-Noon agreement signed at New Delhi on 11 Sept. 1958.

80. In their interview published in the *Daily Mail* on 10 Oct. 1958, Pakistan's new rulers, President Iskander Mirza and General Ayub Khan, said that peace with India was one of the main objectives of their policy. They also said that Pakistan would continue to be a loyal member of the Commonwealth and try to have friendly relations with India, provided the questions between both countries were settled in accordance with international agreements.

81. See item 14, fn 181.

82. Speaking to pressmen at Rawalpindi on 10 Nov. 1958, President Ayub Khan said that India and Pakistan should settle their disputes amicably and peacefully and cultivate friendly relations. That would be the only way to stabilise the position of both the countries.

We have in the past repeatedly expressed our concern at foreign military aid being given to Pakistan. This becomes of added significance in the new context that has arisen in Pakistan, and it may encourage still further aggressive tendencies there.

There has been a recrudescence of border incidents and of cases of ill-treatment and harassment of Indian nationals at the border check posts. I am placing on the Table of the House a statement of border incidents that have taken place between the 11th September, 1958, the date on which the Joint Communiqué was issued after the meeting of the two Prime Ministers, and the 15th November, 1958. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 63.] An analysis of these incidents will indicate that, during the last five weeks or so, since the abrogation of the Constitution on the 7th October in Pakistan, there have been thirteen incidents on the India-East Pakistan border, and three incidents on the India-West Pakistan border. During the four weeks previous to the 7th October, there were seven such incidents on the India-East Pakistan border and one on the India-West Pakistan border.<sup>83</sup> Minor incidents such as those of cattle lifting or petty thefts have not been included in this list. A serious aspect is the number of cases of kidnapping. Sometimes the persons kidnapped are returned a few days later. Whenever such an incident occurs, immediate action is taken by the State Government concerned, as also by the Central Government, and the appropriate authorities on the Pakistan side are approached. The matter is pursued and, in fact, we are now dealing with several such incidents according to the procedures laid down for the purpose. Apart from individual protests, we have addressed a separate communication through the Pakistan High Commissioner in New Delhi, expressing the Government of India's serious concern at the frequency of recent border incidents and the many cases of harassment and ill-treatment of Indian nationals at the border check-posts. A recent case has been particularly deplorable. A member of the staff of the Assistant High Commission in Rajshahi and his wife were brutally treated at the Customs check-posts at Darsana railway station.<sup>84</sup> We do not know if this kind of misbehaviour and the increasing number of border incidents are a reflection of some new policy of the Pakistan Government or are due to a weakening of the authority of that Government at the borders. In any event, the least we can expect is that adequate punishment should be given to those who are guilty. We have just received information that the Government of

83. See item 252.

84. See fn 71 in this section.



East Pakistan has informed our Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca<sup>85</sup> that they have ordered disciplinary action to be taken against the East Pakistan Jamadar concerned in the incident at Darsana railway station.

I do not wish to say much more on this occasion. We shall watch the situation carefully and, whenever necessity arises, place any new information before the House. We shall continue to follow our policy of a friendly approach to our neighbours and at the same time of firmness in defending our rights. I would like to repeat that we wish well to the people of Pakistan and our desire is to develop good neighbourly relations with them.

## 254. In the Rajya Sabha<sup>86</sup>

P.A. Solomon:<sup>87</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether any change has been made in the diplomatic relations between India and Pakistan on account of the abrogation of the constitution and the imposition of martial law in Pakistan?

Lakshmi Menon: No, Sir. The diplomatic relations are continuing as previously.

P.A. Solomon: May I know whether, after the abrogation of the Constitution of Pakistan, the new Government in Pakistan has made any approach to the Government of India for formal recognition?

Lakshmi Menon: It is not necessary. I have already stated that diplomatic relations are continuing as before.

R.B. Gour:<sup>88</sup> Was it not a fact that in the case of Iraq when the Government was changed after the military revolution<sup>89</sup> it was necessary and if that was necessary then, why is it not so in the case of Pakistan?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't understand the honourable Member's warmth over this question.

85. Purnendu Kumar Banerjee.

86. 27 November 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIII, cols 349-352.

87. CPI MP from Kerala.

88. CPI MP from Andhra Pradesh.

89. See item 3, fn 42.

R.B. Gour: You waited for a formal request from the Government of Iraq. Was it not necessary in the case of Pakistan? Why is it that the Government accept readily in this case though they waited for a formal request in the case of Iraq.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as Iraq was concerned, we were constantly in touch. We never broke off relations at all. We were constantly in touch and dealing with them, but the change in Iraq, in some ways, went much further than this change. It was a formality which was observed in the case of Iraq by us and by various other countries. There was no break in our relations at all. In fact the new Government approached us and we replied to them accordingly accepting that.

Bhupesh Gupta:<sup>90</sup> When the Prime Minister was asked at the Press Conference about the recognition of Pakistan he said: "That is a legal issue on which I would not like to express an opinion. But the fact is that the first coup d'état you know, was taken up to the Pakistan Supreme Court and they decided that revolution justifies everything, or the fact of the success".<sup>91</sup>

Then he gave a couplet. I would like to know—I am not very clear—what exactly he meant when he said this thing and gave the couplet.<sup>92</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Does the honourable Member want me to recite the couplet?

Bhupesh Gupta: I will not trouble him on that score. What were the complications, I want to understand. In all fairness he should clarify a little those things.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of complications as such. Things in Pakistan have proceeded, in spite of very radical and basic constitutional changes, more or less smoothly and as I said there, whatever the legal opinion might be—and opinions might differ—we decided to take things as they were and to continue our diplomatic relations as they had existed before. I cannot discuss the legal position here.

R.B. Gour: May I ask this? In Iraq also the change was absolutely peaceful...

Some Honourable Members: No.

90. CPI MP from West Bengal.

91. See item 14, here p. 208.

92. See item 14, here p. 208.



R.B. Gour: They were peaceful in the sense that the ex-rulers were sent away. Here also they were sent away, may be to England. The question is that the change was there and it was peaceful. How is it that you waited for a certain formal request from the new Iraq Government whereas you did not wait for any such request from the Pakistan Government? Does membership of Commonwealth in any way affect those relations, I would like to know.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The honourable Member, if I may say so with all respect, is rather confused. In Iraq, a monarchy existed. Diplomatic representation is always to the monarch and to nobody else. The monarch was removed, was killed. Therefore there was a break. We could not automatically be representing to somebody else. There were some further steps to be taken to that end and that had not happened. But, here, after the first coup d'état the person to whom our representatives were accredited, the President, continued—may be in another form. The same person was there to whom our diplomatic representatives went. When there was change in the Presidentship, the new President came in. There might have been internal changes of course but outwardly no such change occurred as the sudden ending of monarchy and its substitution by a totally different type of regime but as I have said, in practice we did not break off relationship at any time. We were in the closest relationship.

## 255. In the Rajya Sabha<sup>93</sup>

Nawab Singh Chauhan:<sup>94</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the progress so far made in regard to the implementation of the Nehru-Noon agreement of September last regarding border disputes; and
- (b) the number of meetings so far held by the representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan in this connection?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b). The Prime Ministers' agreement settled some of the disputes about the boundary between East Pakistan and India. This agreement has to be implemented by actual demarcation of the boundary. Instructions regarding demarcation have already issued to State Governments. The field season for demarcation operations started in November, and demarcation of the disputed sectors will be carried out.

93. 27 November 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIII, cols 372-374.

94. Congress MP from Uttar Pradesh.

The agreement also related to the exchange of Indian enclaves of Cooch-Behar in East Pakistan with Pakistani enclaves in India. Before this exchange can take place, it is necessary to pass legislation under the provisions of the Constitution of India. Necessary action in this connection is being taken.

Another item included in the agreement is the exchange of wrongly-held areas along the river Ganges on the West Bengal-East Pakistan border, where boundary has been demarcated according to Bagge Tribunal Awards. The exchange is to take place by the 15th January, 1959. The Government of West Bengal has been asked to take necessary action.

## 256. To Mehr Chand Khanna<sup>95</sup>

December 9, 1958

My dear Mehr Chand,<sup>96</sup>

I have your letter of December 6 about the action taken in Karachi in regard to evacuee property laws and the properties held by minorities.<sup>97</sup> From what you

95. JN Collection. Copy sent to Vishnu Sahay.

96. Union Minister of State for Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs.

97. Pakistan's new law on evacuee property threatened the rights of their minorities, that is, chiefly Hindus, as follows. By the existing law, once a property had been declared to be evacuee, the Custodian took possession of it. Anybody who claimed title to it would have to satisfy the Custodian for it to be restored. Thus, a property wrongly declared to be evacuee, in effect deprived the owner of it and as such could be a powerful instrument for harassing minorities. Khanna informed Nehru that Indian legislation had prohibited declaring evacuee properties after 7 Apr. 1955 and the law had ceased to operate in effect during 1954. But the Pakistan Government had not followed suit as expected after Nehru's visit to Karachi in July 1953. Instead, their new legislation of 1956 merely said that no property could be treated as evacuee after 1 Jan. 1957. This allowed the Custodian to claim that it had been "treated" as evacuee before that date since the law did not provide for any formal order declaring it to be evacuee. And, as may be expected, the Pakistan Government had issued notices to many Hindus that their properties would be declared evacuee. In addition, as from 1958, no properties were to be declared non-evacuee, and even those properties which had been declared to be non-evacuee, could now be reviewed by the High Court. Most of all, any individual could approach the High Court asking for review. In effect, Hindus would be denied security of title, and both the Government and interested individuals could hope to seize properties from Hindus. Khanna felt a strong protest would be the normal course of action; but Pakistan being a military dictatorship now, it might be better for Rajeshwar Dayal to study the question in Karachi itself and to find out what minority community leaders feel about it before GOI took action. The legislation in question was the Pakistan Government's Ordinance (later Act) of Nov. 1956 (Section 2) and the Amending Act of 8 Sept. 1958.



write, it is evident that this action is not only drastic and harmful to the minorities but is also contrary to the agreements arrived at.

It is right that Shri Rajeshwar Dayal should study this position at Karachi, but I think there would be no harm in your writing a personal letter to the Minister in charge of Rehabilitation in Karachi.<sup>98</sup> In this personal letter you can point out politely that this new act is contrary to the agreements arrived at and is likely to be very harassing to the minority community that still remains there.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 257. Canal Waters<sup>99</sup>

I agree with what you have written.<sup>100</sup> I would not mind one extra person going there if it was necessary. But I find that a demand is made for four additional persons to join our delegation in Washington. I really do not understand this when the Pakistan delegation is hovering on the brink and we are not sure whether it will stay or not. From the newspapers it appears that they have asked the Pakistan Government for instructions. I doubt very much if any adequate instructions will be sent to them. The result will be either their going back to Karachi or just hanging on without doing anything. Surely we should know a little more definitely what they are going to do before we appear in full force to meet an opponent who is not present or who is not properly participating in the discussions. To say that we have to convince the Bank does not seem to me a very convincing proposition. After months of labour we produce a scheme.<sup>101</sup> Is it necessary for a large team to convince the Bank of the major aspects of this scheme?

98. Lieutenant General Mohammed Azam Khan.

99. Note to N.R. Pillai, 12 December 1958. JN Collection.

100. The note is most probably by N.R. Pillai and dated most likely 12 Dec. In that note Pillai had objected to sending a larger delegation since Pakistan had in any case rejected the Indian proposal and nothing was certain.

101. When the talks resumed in Washington D.C. on 2 Dec. 1958, India suggested diverting the waters of the Chenab through a tunnel under the Rohtang Pass and the Indian waterways network into Pakistan. 10,000,000 acre-feet of water could be supplied to Pakistan at a cost of Rs 65 crores. India also offered a treaty guaranteeing to Pakistan exactly the same volume of water as she diverted into her rivers from the Chenab; but Pakistan rejected it.

It was with some reluctance that we agreed for Shri Gulhati<sup>102</sup> and others to go there at that stage. Now we are in a somewhat worse position, because at that time at least we did not know what Pakistan's attitude would be. Now we know that it has thus far been non-cooperative and they might even go back to Karachi. It would look rather absurd for a large team from us to go again and find that there is nothing much to do except to talk to the Bank people. Indeed, why the Bank people should enter into great detail if Pakistan is not helpful is not clear to me. In fact, it seems rather unbecoming for these people to go at this stage.

I suggest therefore that you might draft a message for Shri Gulhati and others on the lines of your note and have it sent to him.<sup>103</sup>

## 258. To B.C. Roy<sup>104</sup>

30th December, 1958

My dear Bidhan,

I see from today's papers that the West Bengal Assembly unanimously passed some resolution about the transfer of a part of the Berubari Union to Pakistan in terms of the Nehru-Noon Agreement.<sup>105</sup> Apparently strong speeches were delivered and our conduct was described gently as an act of treason by some opposition members. It was repeatedly stated that the State Government had not been consulted.<sup>106</sup>

It raises rather a serious issue. I shall be grateful if you will kindly have a full verbatim record of this discussion sent to us. So far as I am aware, the State Government had all along been kept in the picture and been consulted. On the occasion of the two Prime Ministers' meeting, the Chief Secretary of the West

102. Niranjan D. Gulhati was Chief Engineer (Special), ex-officio Joint Secretary to GOI, and leader of the Indian delegation to Washington.

103. As it happened, Gulhati in Washington D.C. was joined by four persons from India on 22 Dec.

104. JN Collection.

105. On 29 Dec. 1958, unanimous resolution of the West Bengal Assembly that the Berubari Union in Jalpaiguri District belonged to India and should remain so.

106. For example, Bankim Mukherjee, CPI MLA, and Sudhir Chandra Roy Chaudhary, PSP MLA.



Bengal Government and other officials were present here and it was only when we were assured of their agreement that we took any step in this matter.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

## (ii) China and Tibet

### 259. Arrest of Indian Reconnaissance Party<sup>107</sup>

I agree with your note above.<sup>108</sup> You should certainly inform our Ambassador in Peking<sup>109</sup> that Shri Kannampilly<sup>110</sup> committed a lapse in not sending a telegram to us communicating this important piece of information.

We should certainly address the Chinese Government on this subject. As you told me today, they have protested to us about the intrusion of our military personnel into their territory. We must keep this matter apart and deal with it separately. But in making our own protest to the Chinese Government about the way they have dealt with this matter and not told us anything about the

107. Note to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 4 November 1958. JN Collection.

108. B.K. Acharya, Joint Secretary, MEA, noted on 3 Nov. 1958, that there had been no contact with the Indian reconnaissance party after late Aug. 1958 and searches had proved fruitless. Subimal Dutt then asked the Chinese Ambassador about it on 18 Oct.; the Chinese Foreign Office informed K.M. Kannampilly, Counsellor at the Indian Embassy in Peking, on 23 Oct., that the party had been arrested about a month before and been sent back across the Karakoram Pass with food supplies, cotton padded clothing and footwear. Subimal Dutt proposed on 3 Nov. that GOI should protest strongly. He was also unhappy that Kannampilly had not realised the importance of the case and had merely informed Delhi by letter instead of telegram. Dutt received information just then from the Defence Ministry that the reconnaissance party had been located at Shyok, south of the Karakoram Pass.

109. G. Parthasarathi.

110. Karunakara Menon Kannampilly (b.1912); Educational Service in Singapore, 1934-42; Secretary General, Indian Independence League, Rangoon, 1945; Managing Editor, *Rangoon Review*, 1945-46; Secretary, History Committee, INA Central Enquiry and Relief Committee, 1946; joined Indian Foreign Service, 1947; Attaché, Consulate General of India, Batavia, 1947-49; First Secretary, Indian Embassy, Djakarta, 1949-50; First Secretary, Rangoon, 1950-53; First Secretary, Kabul, 1954; Deputy Secretary General, International Commission for Supervision and Control, Laos, 1954-55; Deputy Secretary, MEA, 1956-58; Counsellor, Indian Embassy, Peking, 1958-61; Chargé d'Affaires, Bucharest, 1961-62; Ambassador to Copenhagen, 1962-65; Joint Secretary, MEA, 1965.

arrest for nearly five weeks and then only rather casually, we might indicate that the fact of this particular area being in Indian or Chinese territory is a matter in dispute between the two countries. This question will be dealt with separately. But the fact that our surveying party went there in the ordinary course of their work cannot be said to be an intrusion in admittedly Chinese territory.

## 260. The Khampas<sup>111</sup>

This question appears to be a simple one and the answer can also be equally simple. The answer would be "No". To the knowledge of the Prime Minister, no such delegation wanted to wait on him during his recent visit to Bhutan.<sup>112</sup> Indeed no mention of it was made.

Simple as the question is, it may create an embarrassing situation for the Government of India. Supplementary questions might be asked and even the categorical negative answer might be supposed by the Chinese Government to hide some fact. In view of the difficult situation in Tibet, any kind of reference to it in Parliament may thus lead to embarrassment. Mr. Speaker may therefore, if he so chooses, inform the Member who has put the question that there is no truth in the allegation that a delegation from the Khampas<sup>113</sup> wanted to wait in deputation on the Prime Minister.

We would submit that the questions be disallowed.

## 261. Increase in Production in China<sup>114</sup>

Please send the following telegram in reply to the inquiry from Belgrade:-

"Your telegram 105 November 4th."<sup>115</sup>

Prime Minister in his speech at Bhopal referred to the reports of great progress in production being made in China but that the price for this was in terms of individual liberty. The whole country had been disciplined as in a military

111. Note to Subimal Dutt, 4 Nov. 1958. JN Collection.

112. Nehru visited Bhutan from 21 to 27 Sept. 1958.

113. Tribes of Eastern Tibet.

114. Note to Subimal Dutt, 5 November 1958. JN Collection.

115. The Tanjug (News Agency of Yugoslavia) correspondent in New Delhi telegraphed that Nehru in his Bhopal speech referred to China as a military camp. The Indian Embassy in Belgrade asked for a correct version of Nehru's speech.



camp and people were made to work in farm, factory or elsewhere as disciplined soldiers. For his part, he valued human freedom and individual liberty greatly, but the way the Chinese had awakened the latent powers of the people was praiseworthy.

Prime Minister's speech was extempore and in Hindi."<sup>116</sup>

## 262. Indian Frontier in Ladakh<sup>117</sup>

In regard to the controversy we are having with the Chinese Government about our frontier in Ladakh, there is one point which we should bear in mind. I am told that the frontier as claimed by us is not only marked so in our maps but is part of the MacMahon Line. If we touch the MacMahon Line in one place, then there is no particular reason why it should not be varied elsewhere.

2. Also, as you will remember, Premier Chou En-lai told me when he was here last in December 1956 and January 1957, that they were prepared to accept the MacMahon Line though he did not like it to be called by that name.<sup>118</sup> He said that because of our friendly relations he did not wish to raise that question. He made this quite clear as will be patent from the note I wrote on that occasion.<sup>119</sup> Of course, we have nothing in writing from him. Still we might perhaps refer to this MacMahon Line which settled our frontier at that time and which has been accepted ever since then. We might further say that we were given to understand by Premier Chou En-lai during his visit to India that the Chinese Government accepted this frontier.

116. Nehru's speech in Bhopal, 1 Nov. 1958.

117. Note to Subimal Dutt, 11 November 1958. JN Collection.

118. See SWJN/SS/36/p. 614.

119. For Nehru's note to N.R. Pillai, dated 1 Jan. 1957, see SWJN/SS/36/pp. 610-616.

## 263. Dalai Lama's Absence<sup>120</sup>

With reference to the attached telegram,<sup>121</sup> it is difficult for us to advise the Dalai Lama in this matter. Probably what our Consul General at Lhasa has suggested is the only attitude he can take up, that is, for the Dalai Lama to point out that his absence from Tibet may have an undesirable effect on the situation there. He has been a restraining influence and this restraint will then go and he would not be able to help if he is away.

If, however, the Chinese insist on his going, I do not quite know what he can do then.

## 264. To B.C. Roy<sup>122</sup>

November 27, 1958

My dear Bidhan,

Your letter of 25th November about your meeting Apa Pant and the position on the Tibet border.<sup>123</sup> I think that the impression that you got from Apa Pant as you state, is somewhat exaggerated. Not many people have come either to NEFA or to Bhutan from Tibet. It is a very difficult route. Nor do I expect any considerable number to come.

120. Note to Subimal Dutt, 26 November 1958. JN Collection.

121. S.L. Chibber, the Indian Consul General at Lhasa, telegraphed on 25 Nov. 1958 to Apa B. Pant, the Political Officer in Gangtok, that one Dronyer Chempo Phala told him of Chinese plans to invite the Dalai Lama to Peking in Jan. 1959, that the Dalai Lama himself and the people of Tibet feared that should he leave, he may not be permitted to return; and that a popular revolt could follow. The Panchen Lama was however preparing to go to China. Chibber agreed that the Dalai Lama should not go, and that the best excuse would be that his calming presence was required in the disturbed conditions of Tibet. Dronyer Chempo Phala sought GOI advice. The Political Officer in Gangtok also agreed and added that the Dalai Lama had spoken to him the year before about such a situation arising and was keen to have GOI advice. The archives do not tell us anything more about Dronyer Chempo Phala.

122. JN Collection.

123. Apa B. Pant, Political Officer in Sikkim and Bhutan, informed B.C. Roy that a large number of Tibetans were fleeing into Bhutan and NEFA and planning guerilla warfare against the Chinese from there. While they may be expelled from India as instructed by Delhi, others were merely migrating to Darjeeling district hoping to earn a livelihood. Since disturbances in Tibet provoked unrest among hill tribes in Darjeeling, he wanted the Chinese Government to exercise restraint.



Your suggestion that I should draw the attention of the Chinese Government is not at all feasible. If we did any such thing, it will not make the slightest difference to anybody, except that it will entangle us in grave difficulties.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

## 265. Mimangs and Khampas in Bhutan<sup>124</sup>

I agree. If once the Mimangs and Khampas are allowed to come into Bhutan and rest there even in small numbers, it is exceedingly likely that more will follow. Thus the problem will become more and more difficult to handle. Ultimately it will be completely beyond the control of the Bhutan Government if this process continues. This will naturally give rise to Chinese protests and possibly some action. Bhutan will be quite unable to face the situation. If we are asked then to help Bhutan, we shall equally be helpless. We should not do anything in a military sense. All we could do would be to protest to China and this will be a feeble policy because we will not be able to follow up that protest. The result will be that without doing good to anyone, we shall injure our relations with China. Once this happens then the Chinese Government will not hesitate to take such action as they like against Bhutan.

This same argument applies to Sikkim.

Therefore, it seems important and necessary to nip this trouble more or less in the bud, even though this leads to some embarrassing situations for Bhutan or Sikkim. As a matter of fact, the Mimang and Khampa leaders should, if they are intelligent, understand this position. They will not be benefited in any way by coming to Bhutan in the long run. I can understand two or three of them, who have family contacts with Bhutan, coming there for a while and then returning, although even that is a risky business. But to come in numbers and sit down there and use Bhutan as a base for carrying on their agitation or rebellion in Tibet will obviously be very harmful to Bhutan and later to India.

The question of manning the Sikkim check-posts by Indian Police may be considered, that is, the Sikkim Darbar may be consulted. But I would anyhow hesitate very much to agree to sending our Police or other armed forces to the Bhutan-China border. We cannot, of course, even suggest this to the Bhutan Government. Even in the event of their suggesting this, which is unlikely, I

124. Note to Subimal Dutt, 10 December 1958. JN Collection.

would be reluctant. What can our Police do there, completely cut off from India and in places which are difficult of access. A small number of them will be quite helpless. A large number would be a major development with international consequences. Obviously this would bring us into trouble with China and create new situations which will be very troublesome for us. We can hardly keep an army in Bhutan and relatively small forces at the check-posts will do little good. If the Bhutan Government wants to strengthen its check-posts, it must do it with its own people. Should they desire, we might consider some financial help to them which again should not be definitely given for this purpose. But, as I have said above, I feel reluctant to get entangled in this matter.

It should be made perfectly clear to the Bhutan Government (as well as to Sikkim, of course) that we cannot view with approval any development on their border there which leads to all these difficulties. The easiest course is to take a firm line right at the beginning. They may explain this as politely as they can to the Khampa and Mimang leaders. But politeness should go along with firmness.

## 266. To Chou En-lai<sup>125</sup>

December 14, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,<sup>126</sup>

I am writing to you after a long time. We have watched with great interest and admiration the progress made by the People's Government of China in recent years. In particular, we have been deeply interested in the remarkable advance in the yield of rice per hectare as well as in the total yield, as also in the great increase in production of pig iron and steel.

2. As we are faced with somewhat similar problems in our country in regard to rice production and steel manufacture, we would naturally like to benefit by the example of what China has done. For this purpose we decided to send two delegations to China, one consisting of farmers and agricultural specialists and the other of experts in iron and steel. Your Government was good enough to agree to this. It was pointed out however that the next season for rice sowing and cultivation would be in March-April next. We hope to send our farmers and agricultural experts then, if it suits the convenience of your Government. But we shall be sending our iron and steel experts to China fairly soon.<sup>127</sup> I hope

125. Subimal Dutt Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection and PIB.

126. Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China.

127. See item 190, fn 278.



that they will learn much from the methods being now employed in China and we could then profit by their experience.

3. My purpose in troubling you with this letter, however, relates to another matter. This is in regard to the border between India and China. You will remember that when the Sino-Indian Agreement in regard to the Tibet region of China was concluded, various outstanding problems, including some relating to our border trade, were considered.<sup>128</sup> A number of mountain passes were mentioned which should be used for purposes of travel between the two countries. No border questions were raised at that time and we were under the impression that there were no border disputes between our respective countries. In fact we thought that the Sino-Indian Agreement, which was happily concluded in 1954, had settled all outstanding problems between our two countries.

4. Somewhat later, my attention was drawn to some maps published in China. The maps I saw were not very accurate maps, but nevertheless the frontier as roughly drawn in these maps did not correspond with the actual frontier. In fact it ran right across the territory of India in several places. I was surprised to see this, as I had not been aware at any time previously that there was any frontier dispute between our two countries. No mention of this had been made in the course of the Sino-Indian talks which resulted in the Agreement of 1954.

5. Subsequently, in October 1954, I had the privilege of visiting your great country and the happiness to meet you and other leaders of the Chinese People's Republic.<sup>129</sup> We had long talks and it was a pleasure to me to find that we had a great deal in common in our approach and that there was no dispute or problem affecting our relations. In the course of our talks I briefly mentioned to you that I had seen some maps recently published in China which gave a wrong borderline between the two countries. I presumed that this was by some error and told you at the time that so far as India was concerned we were not much worried about the matter because our boundaries were quite clear and were not a matter of argument. You were good enough to reply to me that these maps were really reproductions of old pre-liberation maps and that you had had no time to revise them.<sup>130</sup> In view of the many and heavy preoccupations of your Government, I could understand that this revision had not taken place till then. I expressed the hope that the borderline would be corrected before long.

128. On 29 Apr. 1954. See SWJN/SS/25/pp. 468-469.

129. From 18 to 30 Oct. 1954. See SWJN/SS/27/pp. 3-90.

130. See SWJN/SS/27/pp. 81-82.

6. Towards the end of 1956, you did us the honour of paying a visit to India and we had the pleasure of having you in our midst for many days.<sup>131</sup> Part of this time you spent in visiting various parts of India.<sup>132</sup> I had occasion to be with you both in Delhi and during some of your visits, notably to our great river valley project at Bhakra-Nangal.<sup>133</sup> We had long talks and discussed many international issues which were then agitating people's minds and I was happy to know what your views were about them. In the course of these talks you referred to the Sino-Burmese border. You told me about the talks you had with U Nu at Peking and your desire to settle this problem with the Burmese Government.<sup>134</sup> I had received the same information from U Nu who had told me of your wish to settle this problem to the satisfaction of both countries. It was in this connection that you mentioned to me the Sino-Indian border, and more especially the so-called MacMahon Line. This MacMahon Line covered a part of the Sino-Burmese border and a large part of the Chinese border with India. I remember your telling me that you did not approve of this border being called the MacMahon Line and I replied that I did not like that name either. But for facility of reference we referred to it as such.

7. You told me then that you had accepted this MacMahon Line border with Burma and, whatever might have happened long ago, in view of the friendly relations which existed between China and India, you proposed to recognise this border with India also. You added that you would like to consult the authorities of the Tibetan region of China and you proposed to do so.

8. Immediately after our talk, I had written a minute so that we might have a record of this talk for our personal and confidential use. I am giving below a quotation from this minute:

"Premier Chou referred to the MacMahon Line and again said that he had never heard of this before though of course the then Chinese Government had dealt with this matter and not accepted that line. He had gone into this matter in connection with the border dispute with Burma. Although he thought that this line, established by British imperialists, was not fair, nevertheless, because it was an accomplished fact and because of the friendly relations which existed between China and the countries concerned, namely, India and Burma, the Chinese Government were of the opinion that they should

131. From 28 Nov. to 9 Dec. 1956 and again from 30 Dec. 1956 to 1 Jan. 1957. See SWJN/SS/36/pp. 580-638.

132. Chou En-lai visited Poona, Madras, Asansol and Calcutta. See SWJN/SS/36/p. 581.

133. For the record of talks there, see SWJN/SS/36/pp. 583-603.

134. See SWJN/SS/36/p. 600.



give recognition to this MacMahon Line. They had, however, not consulted the Tibetan authorities about it yet. They proposed to do so".<sup>135</sup>

9. I remember discussing this matter with you at some considerable length. You were good enough to make this point quite clear. I then mentioned that there were no disputes between us about our frontier, but there were certain very minor border problems which were pending settlement. We decided that these petty issues should be settled amicably by representatives of the two Governments meeting together on the basis of established practice and custom as well as water sheds. There was long delay in this meeting taking place, but ultimately a representative of the Chinese Government came to Delhi and discussed one of these petty issues for some time. Unfortunately no settlement about this matter was arrived at then and it was decided to continue the talks later. I was sorry that these talks had not resulted in a satisfactory agreement so far. The issue is a minor one and I wanted to remove by friendly settlement all matters that affected our two Governments and countries. I had thought then of writing to you on this subject, but I decided not to trouble you over such a petty matter.

10. A few months ago, our attention was drawn again to a map of China published in the magazine "China Pictorial", which indicated the border with India. This map was also not very clearly defined. But even the rough borderline appeared to us to be wrongly placed. This border line went right across Indian territory. A large part of our North-East Frontier Agency as well as some other parts which are and have long been well recognised as parts of India and been administered by India in the same way as other parts of our country, were shown to be part of Chinese territory. A considerable region of our neighbour country, Bhutan, in the north-east was also shown as being on the Chinese side. A part of the North-East Frontier Agency which was clearly on the Indian side of what has been known as the MacMahon line, was shown in this map as part of Chinese territory.

11. The magazine containing this map was widely distributed and questions were asked in our Parliament about this.<sup>136</sup> I gave answers to the effect that these maps were merely reproductions of old ones and did not represent the actual facts of the situation.

12. We drew your Government's attention to this map some time ago this year. In a memorandum in reply to us, it has been stated by your Government that in maps currently published in China, the boundary line between China and

135. See SWJN/SS/36/p. 614.

136. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 567.

neighbouring countries including India, is drawn on the basis of maps published before the liberation.

I was puzzled by this reply because I thought that there was no major boundary dispute between China and India. There never has been such a dispute so far as we are concerned and in my talks with you in 1954 and subsequently, I had stated this. I could understand four years ago that the Chinese Government, being busy with major matters of national reconstruction could not find time to revise old maps.

I am venturing to write to you on the subject as I feel that any possibility of grave misunderstanding between our countries should be removed as soon as possible. I am anxious, as I am sure you are, that the firm basis of our friendship should not only be maintained but should be strengthened.

May I send you my warm regards and every good wish for the New Year?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 267. To Amrit Kaur<sup>137</sup>

December 14, 1958

My dear Amrit,<sup>138</sup>

Welcome home! I hope you are not too tired after your wanderings.<sup>139</sup>

The note you have sent me is a copy of a note which I saw some time ago and which has been circulated to many people by some émigrés from Tibet. I do not think it is a very reliable note as these émigrés live on rumour and exaggerate even that. Of course there has been trouble in Tibet and to some extent it continues. In fact, in some parts of Eastern Tibet, a kind of guerilla war has been going on and considerable numbers of Chinese have been killed on the one side and no doubt large numbers of Tibetans have been killed on the other by bombs or otherwise. It is a difficult position in Tibet. The Dalai Lama has appealed to the rebels to stop their activities. There is nothing that we can do in this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

137. JN Collection.

138. Congress Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab, 1957-64, and Union Health Minister, 1947-57.

139. Amrit Kaur returned to India on 11 Dec. 1958 after a six-week tour of the USA.



## (iii) USA

268. To U. Krishna Rau<sup>140</sup>

November 8, 1958

Dear Dr. Krishna Rau,<sup>141</sup>

I have your letter of the 5th November. I do not see any objection to your going to the United States on a brief visit from the West Indies. But I would not like you to go in connection with the U.S. Leadership Programme.<sup>142</sup> Nor would I like you to agree to undertake a lecture tour there. The Leadership Programme has been utilised for all kinds of odd individuals, most of whom are of no consequence, to be invited to go to the U.S. The other day such an invitation was sent to Shri R.R. Diwakar<sup>143</sup> and I advised him not to accept it.

As for going on a lecture tour, this is bound to be embarrassing and inappropriate. Your hosts would no doubt expect you to say things which please them. If you do not do so, they will not like it. If you do so on the other hand, your tour will be considered a propaganda tour on behalf of the U.S. Government. In either event, the impression would be unfortunate.

Of course there would be no harm saying a few words of greeting at any place, but formal lectures should be avoided.

Thus, if the U.S. authorities invite you to pay a brief visit to the United States, this invitation can be accepted, but preferably this should not be under the leadership programme and you might make it clear that you cannot undertake a lecture tour.

I am sending a copy of this letter to your Finance Minister, Subramaniam.<sup>144</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

140. J.N. Collection.

141. (1900-1961); MBBS from Madras Medical College, 1924; Member, Madras Corporation Council, 1930-51; Mayor of Madras, 1947-48; Member, Madras Legislative Assembly, 1952-61; Minister for Industries and Labour, Madras State, 1952-54; Speaker, Madras Legislative Assembly, 1957-61; Chairman, Madras branch of Indian Red Cross Society and St. John's Ambulance Association; Member, Syndicate, Madras University; editor, *The Antiseptic* and *The Health*, Madras.

142. Launched in 1940, the International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP) was the premier professional exchange programme of the US Department of State.

143. R.R. Diwakar was Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

144. C. Subramaniam.

## 269. Publicity Consultant in Washington<sup>145</sup>

Whatever the special purpose was for the appointment of an American Public Relations Consultant, presumably it does not exist now. I do not on principle like the idea of a foreigner, however good he might be, interpreting us in another country. Now that his<sup>146</sup> second six months term is likely to expire in January, this need not be renewed and both our Ambassador in Washington<sup>147</sup> and Shri B.K. Nehru<sup>148</sup> might be informed that this is our opinion.

## 270. To John Foster Dulles<sup>149</sup>

November 18, 1958

Dear Mr. Secretary of State,

I was very glad to receive, through Ambassador Bunker<sup>150</sup> your letter of November 7, 1958, conveying your good wishes on my birthday. I am grateful to you for the message.

I share your gratification that our common endeavours have brought our two countries closer together, and I venture to express the hope that the coming year will bring peaceful solutions to the many difficult problems which we are facing at the moment. In particular, I hope that the negotiations about disarmament will make progress and that all countries, big or small, will cooperate to achieve this end.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

145. Note to Subimal Dutt, 17 November 1958. File No. 20/23-XP(P)/57, MEA.

146. Edward K. Moss and his firm of public relations consultants were engaged by the Indian Embassy for six months from 15 Jan. 1958, and their contract renewed for another six months from 15 July 1958.

147. M.C. Chagla.

148. Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance.

149. JN Collection.

150. Ellsworth Bunker (1894-1984); American diplomat; Ambassador to Argentina, 1951, Italy, 1952-53, Nepal, 1956-59, and India, 1956-61; mediator, Dutch-Indonesian dispute over West New Guinea, 1962; Consultant to Secretary of State, 1963; Representative on Organisation of American States Council, 1964-66; Ambassador-at-Large, 1966-67 and 1973-78; Ambassador to Vietnam, 1967-73; Chief Negotiator, Panama Canal Treaties, 1973-78; received Presidential Medal of Freedom with Special Distinction, 1963 and 1968, General George Catlett Marshall Award, 1974, and President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service, 1979.



**271. To M.C. Chagla<sup>151</sup>**

November 20, 1958

My dear Chagla,

Thank you for your letter of November 12th<sup>152</sup> which I have just received.

I have read Walter Lippman's<sup>153</sup> article from which you give a quotation. I have no doubt that opinion is slowly changing in the United States. But I do not expect any marked change in their policy so long as Dulles is the Secretary of State.

Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, has been here and we have had some talks with him. He told me that Canada did not agree in many respects with the U.S. policy but, as they could not possibly break with them on this issue, they had more or less to follow it.

There has been, as you know, a good deal of talk about India's need for foreign help during the last many months and we have actually received some help and some promises for the future. I think it would be better if we did not constantly refer to this need for help. Whenever an opportunity offers itself, you should of course talk about four ideals and objectives, our firm stand for democracy and our tremendous efforts to solve our problems and raise our standard of living. Also, of course, to our passionate desire for peace. This not only is absolutely essential if we are to carry on our work for building up a new India, but is also a consequence of our general outlook on the world and the special conditioning we have received during the Gandhi era and our own peaceful movement. We believe that the military way of solution is not only out of date

151. JN Collection. Copies sent to N.R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt.

152. M.C. Chagla, Indian ambassador to the USA, was optimistic about an American policy shift after reading Walter Lippmann's article arguing that the only convincing answer to Communism was to demonstrate to the non-Communist nations that there was a more humane way of overcoming poverty. He regarded India vital to this and stressed Americans must prove that material progress along with civil liberty could be achieved in a big country like India. He pointed to the difference between Gandhi and Lenin in addressing the suffering of the masses.

153. (1889-1974); American editor, journalist and author; Assistant to the Secretary of War, 1917; Secretary of E.M. House organisation to prepare data for Paris Peace Conference, 1918-1919; Associate Editor, *New Republic*; on editorial staff, *New York World*, till 1931; on editorial staff, *New York Herald Tribune*, 1931-67, and his daily columns became internationally famous; Author of *A Preface to Politics* (New York: M. Kennerley, 1913) and *The Stakes of Diplomacy*, (New York: H.Holt, 1915); awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1958 and 1962 and Presidential Medal of Freedom, 1964.

but does not solve anything and only adds to difficulties. Therefore, even if we do not agree with the policies of other countries, we endeavour to maintain friendly relations with them.

I shall certainly send you my photographs.

All good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 272. In the Rajya Sabha<sup>154</sup>

Bhupesh Gupta: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether Government's attention has been drawn to a report published in *The Times of India* of October 3, 1958, (Delhi edition) in which it is said:

"The United Steel Workers Union of America has appropriated 20,000 dollars to combat communist infiltration into steel plant unions in India, Mr Howard Hague, International Vice-President of the Union, reported today";<sup>155</sup> and

- (b) If so, whether Government have made any inquiry in the matter?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b). Yes. Enquiries are not yet complete.

154. 27 November 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIII, col. 372.

155. *The Times of India* reported Howard Hague saying that the money would be sent to the International Metal Workers Federation, an organisation with headquarters in Switzerland, for its use in India.



### 273. Military Equipment from the USA<sup>156</sup>

The conditions laid down by the U.S. Government and accepted by us in 1951 are not by themselves objectionable. But I confess that I do not like the idea of agreeing to any kind of condition or giving any kind of assurance to a foreign Government as to what should do in certain circumstances, even though that assurance is in line with our general policy.<sup>157</sup> We might therefore consider whether in future we should buy any arms or military stores or equipment from the United States. I think we should avoid doing so except in regard to some essential spare parts which presumably we cannot get elsewhere.

As a matter of fact, U.S. prices are normally higher than those pertaining elsewhere and involve dollars. This is also a reason why we should avoid buying such arms or equipment from the U.S.

In practice, I cannot think of any occasion when we might wish to dispose of these arms or equipment from the U.S. to any other country. What we sell to other countries are the products of our own ordnance factories. What we get from a foreign country is something that we need for our own use; otherwise we will not get it.

In the present circumstances, we can hardly refuse to confirm the old assurance. That would almost mean that we intend using these arms and equipment in contravention of those previous assurances.

Therefore we can write a brief letter to the U.S. Embassy here, in answer to their enquiry, and say that we confirm the understanding arrived at previously. We might add that in fact, as is well known the firm policy of India is to work for international peace and on no account does the Government of India even consider the possibility of aggression against any other State.

156. Note to Subimal Dutt, 10 December 1958. JN Collection.

157. Dutt explained in his note of 10 Dec. 1958 that in 1951 GOI had given assurances to the US Government, as required by the US Mutual Defence Assistance Act of 1949, that weapons acquired from the US would not be used for aggression or transferred to others. The Act of 1949 was replaced by the Mutual Security Act of 1954 with similar conditions, but the assurances did not have to be repeated. Fresh weapons supplies under the 1954 Act however required fresh assurances, hence the US request. The Law Minister did not object as India would not be making any new commitment.

274. To M.C. Chagla<sup>158</sup>

December 16, 1958

My dear Chagla,<sup>159</sup>

I understand that Dr. Martin Luther King,<sup>160</sup> the well-known Negro leader, is anxious to come to India partly to study Gandhian methods. The American Friends Society<sup>161</sup> have arranged to pay for his travel expenses to India. He is anxious, however, to know that he would be welcomed here when he comes.

It would not be feasible for us to send a formal invitation to him to come here, but I would certainly like him to come here and we shall endeavour to give him facilities to visit places and to stay with friends.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur had written to me on this subject<sup>162</sup> and I have said to her that I have written to you above. Probably she will write to him. You may also, if occasion arises, indicate to him or to someone who could convey this message to him that he will be welcome in India and will get necessary facilities here.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

158. JN Collection.

159. Indian ambassador to the USA.

160. (1929-68); Clergyman and civil rights campaigner; advocate of non-violence and racial brotherhood; known for his policy of passive resistance and oratorical skills; his greatest successes came in challenging the segregation laws of the South; received the Kennedy Peace Prize and the Nobel Peace Prize, 1964; Founder and President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; assassinated in 1968.

161. It was not the American Friends Society but the American Friends Service Committee. Nehru's error is due to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's error in her letter of 15 Dec. 1958 to Nehru. Harishwar Dayal, Minister in the Indian Embassy in Washington, had however noted it correctly in his letter of 10 Nov. 1958 to S. Sen, Joint Secretary, MEA, about Martin Luther King's plans to visit India. This Committee was a Quaker organization, founded in 1917, committed to sundry good causes, among them, promoting harmony between communities. It was a co-recipient of the Nobel Prize in 1947.

162. Amrit Kaur asked Nehru on 15 Dec. to confirm that he would receive King; on 16 Dec. Nehru wrote to her as he had to Chagla.



## (iv) USSR

**275. Trade Agreement<sup>163</sup>**

After I had written the above note, I saw the fresh papers that you have sent me on this subject and I have read your note of the 6th November.<sup>164</sup> What you have stated in your note is logical and your various apprehensions may possibly

163. Note to N.R. Pillai, 6 November 1958. JN Collection.

164. Pillai's note is reproduced below:

[Pillai's note of 6 Nov. begins]

"PM spoke to me yesterday about the telegram from Shri K.P.S. Menon. Since then I have got together the relevant facts, and have given much thought to the Soviet proposal which has been supported so strongly by our Ambassador. I have also had the advantage of examining the proposal in discussion with FS, Secretary, Economic Affairs (Shri A.K. Roy), Additional Secretary, Economic Affairs (Shri S. Jagannathan) and Commerce and Industry Secretary (Shri S. Ranganathan). The conclusions suggested in this note are the joint conclusions of all of us.

2. For a proper understanding of the matter in issue, it is necessary to view it against its historical background. In December 1953, we signed a trade agreement with the USSR, to remain in force for a period of five years, under which both Governments undertook to "develop and strengthen the trade relations between the two countries on the principles of equality and mutual benefit". The agreement had attached to it schedules of goods to be exported from India to the USSR and of goods to be imported by India from the USSR. The quantities of each of the commodities to be purchased by each country were not specified, but each Government engaged itself to grant the maximum facilities to enable the trade in these goods to be developed to the fullest extent. The agreement also contained certain payments clauses which provided for payments between India and the USSR of various descriptions to be made in Indian rupees. Such payments were to include expenditure incurred by India on the maintenance of its diplomatic mission in Moscow as well as expenditure incurred by the USSR on the maintenance of its Embassy and trade representation in India. While the accounts were thus to be maintained in rupees, there was an end provision to the effect that all balances were to be convertible into sterling on demand. The effect of this provision was to bring about the same result as if each payment by either side had been made in sterling.

3. In December 1955, at the conclusion of the visit to India of Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev, a joint statement was issued by PM and these two Soviet leaders. Simultaneously, a joint Indo-Soviet communiqué regarding economic relations between the two countries was also issued, and this communiqué was signed by Mr. Kумыкин on behalf of the USSR and by Shri H.M. Patel on our behalf. The communiqué recorded the agreement of the USSR to supply, and of India to purchase over a period of three years, one million tons of steel as well as oil, mining and other equipment. In order to enable India to pay for these large purchases, it was also stated that the USSR would increase substantially its purchase from India both of raw materials and of manufactured

goods. It was then agreed, "It is hoped that the total value of such purchase, including sums which may be required for the maintenance of Soviet official organisations in India, will be equal to the total value of goods purchased by India from the USSR."

4. The sentence quoted above is a major importance because, according to Shri KPS Menon, the Russians regard this as a basic policy statement on economic relations between the two countries. Now, as I have said above, the main purpose of the clause of which this sentence forms part was to bring about a substantial increase in Soviet purchases from India. As the total volume of purchases to be made by each country was not fixed and provision was made for final settlement in sterling, this clause had in practice no restrictive or other deleterious effect upon our foreign exchange position. In fact, expenditure on the Soviet Embassy and other Soviet establishments in India has continued to be met by the USSR Government by remittance of sterling to India.

5. The negotiations now going on in Moscow are directed to the conclusion of a different type of trade agreement. It occurred to us that if exports from India to the USSR and imports to India from the USSR could be balanced at the highest practicable level and if the transactions were made in non-convertible rupees, we could secure additional resources by means of enlarged exports which could then be used for the purpose of purchasing from the USSR essential goods which it would not have been possible for us to secure otherwise. If this end in view, we drew up a list of commodities to be purchased by India from the USSR and to be sold by India to the USSR and specified the quantity of these commodities to be purchased or sold. By this means we aimed at securing an exact balance in our current commercial exchanges with the USSR. The payments to be made by us on account of the Bhilai credits and the expenditure incurred by the two countries on the maintenance of their respective missions were to be outside the scope of the agreement.

6. I must confess that the scheme does not appear to me to be as attractive as it did to its sponsors. An increased offtake by the USSR of Indian goods would not necessarily in all circumstances mean a net gain to our export trade. This is particularly the case in regard to our staple items of export such as jute manufactures and tea, where diversion is possible to a greater or less extent. In the case of entirely new lines of trade, such as footwear, purchases by the USSR would, of course, represent a genuine expansion of exports. The point I wish to make, however, is that the net increase in our export trade resulting from such an agreement would not be as high as might appear from the quantum of offtake. I thus share the doubts expressed by the Governor of the Reserve Bank as to the value of such an arrangement.

7. The Soviet proposal appears to me to tilt the balance further against us. The proposition that the expenditure of Soviet establishments in Indian should be cleared through this arrangement means that our exports to the USSR would be reduced by the amount of that expenditure. As the Soviet Government have even declined to consider a ceiling for such expenditure, this further means that whereas we would be committed to buy from the USSR stated quantities of a large number of commodities, the total volume of our exports would vary from year to year depending on the amount spent by the USSR on the maintenance of their offices here and we would be unable to plan our exports in the same way as the Soviets could plan theirs.

8. Secondly, the proposal involves our surrendering the foreign exchange now accruing to us from the maintenance of Soviet establishments in India, while we get no relief



take shape. But K.B. Lall's opinion, as given in this telegram, seems to me to have much weight.<sup>165</sup>

2. It seems to me that we are looking at this matter from a point of view which would be applicable to countries based on a capitalist economy, but

ourselves either in regard to the Bhilai payments or in regard to the expenditure on our mission in Moscow. Nor is this all. Once we concluded this type of agreement with the USSR, we would be driven to adopt the same pattern in regard to other countries which also aim at achieving a bilateral settlement of trade accounts, that is to say, other Communist countries. In all such agreements we naturally would have to agree to the same concessions as that given to the Soviets, and this would result in our giving up the foreign exchange we now derive from the remittances made by these countries to support their missions in India. Worse still might follow, for the principle is one of general application. The USA has large holdings of non-convertible rupees in India, and if we permitted to the Soviet to utilise their non-convertible rupees for the purpose of meeting the expenditure on their mission here, the US might be expected to put forward a similar request. Such a request we would find it difficult to turn down, and would lead to a further and very large loss of dollar earnings. The position therefore is that, while the pattern of agreement we are discussing with the Russians holds out prospects of an addition to our imports of essential goods by reason of increased exports to the USSR, we must set against this the certainty of a considerable reduction in the foreign exchange accruing to us by reason of remittances for the maintenance of foreign missions in India. This is a gamble which we cannot afford to take, for our last state might easily be worse than our first.

9. Our considered view therefore is that we should not accept the Soviet proposal. I understand this is the view also of the Finance Minister and the Governor of the Reserve Bank. It would be far preferable to adhere to the present type of agreement.

10. I think we should be candid with the Russians and tell them that acceptance of their proposal would cause a chain reaction to our detriment, resulting in much avoidable loss of foreign exchange. It was recognised in the agreement of 1953 that the development of trade between the two countries should be based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. So far as we are concerned, the Soviet proposal does not contribute to "mutual benefit". The sentence in Article 1(c) of the Patel-Kumykin in communiqué refers to a different set of circumstances, and if that is to be guiding principle, then we must maintain the conditions in which that statement was made and was to be operative. That is to say, we must be content to go on with the present type of agreement."

[End of Pillai's note of 6 Nov.]

165. K.B. Lall, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry; his telegram No. 268 of 5 Nov. from Moscow is reproduced below:

[K. B. Lall's telegram No. 268 of 5 Nov. begins]

"Your 32868 [of] 4 November. Have tried my best to sell your ideas at highest practicable level but have been unable to discover any sign of the Soviets being persuaded to relent on exclusion of Embassy expenditure from rupee payment. In my judgement it is unfair to suggest that Russians are trying to have it both ways. They have already agreed that

which is less likely in regard to the Soviet Union. I do not attach much importance to what the Governor of the Reserve Bank<sup>166</sup> has said about re-export of the commodities they buy from us. I cannot of course rule this out, but it seems highly unlikely in the special circumstances.

3. The U.S.S.R. is not very much interested in the relatively small amount of trade they can do with us. If they are interested at all, that is because of their desire to help us in order to have friendly relations. We deal with a Government here, not with private parties who are intent on making money.

4. Also, I do not think we need attach too much importance to the Finance Minister's<sup>167</sup> apprehension that the U.S.S.R. might accumulate rupees for

repayment due on account of Bhilai in 1959 will be utilised for purchase of Indian goods and have also given me to understand but are unwilling to commit that repayments in subsequent year will also be similarly utilised. The Soviets have also so far not raised the question of converting rupees for payment of freight on account of Indian and Soviet goods transported in non Indian and non Soviet shops. You will recall that you were doubtful about Soviet attitude on Bhilai and were prepared to permit freight payment being made in foreign exchange. The gain on those two counts would actually counter balance Soviet Embassy expenditure.

2. Soviets are strongly urging that a non convertible rupee account is inconsistent with financing of Embassy expenditure through sterling remittances. If however you have any compromise formula to suggest which will dispense with the use of sterling I shall try to put it across to the Soviet delegation.

3. On the question of technical credit Soviet delegation has not asked for anything which they themselves or not prepared to concede on their part. In the light of your instructions however we have succeeded in two days discussion in persuading the Russian delegation to accept the reduced figure of rupees one crore for interest free technical credit and to maintain a balance of rupees one crore in the central account before asking for facilities for investment in treasury bills. As regards further credit on interest a ceiling will operate against our own exports against unlimited credit on interest the Soviet may be persuaded to agree that major portion of their balances in India one carried in central account. Amount of credit cannot be very high if Bhilai repayments are initially pass through central accounts. If we insist on a ceiling we will have to agree to permit sterling remittances to finance Indian exports in busy season and correspondingly the Soviets will insist on conversion facilities when balance in central account exceeds the credit ceiling. Soviets do not appear to me to be interested in carrying large balances with commercial bank and will be prepared to accept any arrangements on a basis of full reciprocity which secures uninterrupted flow of goods from one country to the other.

4. In view of difficulties which have cropped up in our negotiations in Moscow please advised whether we should cancel or postpone our visit to Warsaw."

[Lall's telegram of 5 Nov. ends]

166. H.V.R. Iengar.

167. Morarji Desai.



purposes other than trade and for propaganda activities. There are many ways of doing this if they so want and there is little we can do to stop this if they are intent on doing it.

5. Much would depend upon the type of goods they take from us. They took cotton from Egypt although they did not want it at all, but to help Egypt at a time of her need, and this was greatly appreciated by Egypt.<sup>168</sup> Not wanting the cotton, they passed it on to others.

6. I think I drew your attention to some information we received from recent visitors to the Soviet Union that ordinary consumer goods from China are everywhere in evidence in the Soviet Union. The Chinese are pushing ahead their export drive. We seem to function in a restricted sphere and in a restrictive way. For fear that some possible harm may come to us, we dare not take a chance of increasing our trade and exports. I think this is an unwise and far too cautious a policy and will always come in the way of any substantial exports. We have to think in terms of changing the pattern of our exports and not relying on the same old things. It seems to me far more important to try to take advantage of an ever-increasing market in the Soviet Union in regard to consumer goods, than to lose it by abundant caution.

7. I do not think that there need be any such general reaction as is feared. Certainly this cannot apply to the United States or other countries with a capitalist economy where we do not deal with States as such. If it applies to some extent to the East European countries, that can be considered later.

8. I must say I am much influenced by K.B. Lall's latest message. In any event, I do not see what great harm can befall us if we have an agreement for a limited period, say a year, and see what the results are.

## 276. Cable to K.P.S. Menon<sup>169</sup>

Reference Lall's two telegrams Nos. 277 and 278 of November 12.<sup>170</sup>

2. We have considered these matters fully again and in view of the understanding already reached with the Russians, we should abide by it. Lall and you have full discretion in this matter and you can sign the agreement, if possible with some changes by exchange of letters or otherwise. Separate telegram is being sent to you by Ranganathan drawing attention to certain

168. By the agreement of 29 Jan. 1958.

169. 13 November 1958. JN Collection. K.P.S. Menon was Indian Ambassador in Moscow.

170. Lall's telegram No. 277 of 12 Nov. reproduced below:

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

aspects. It would be advantageous if these points are clarified but, as I have said, we leave you entire discretion in this matter to sign the agreement.

[K.B. Lall's telegram No. 277 of 12 Nov. begins]

"Yours 32871 dated 8 November. Mani must have by now explained the position fully. Full understanding has been reached on the new trade agreement which will replace current agreement with effect from 1 January and will remain valid for a period of five years. Agreement has also been reached on closer business relationship between state owned commercial organisations of the two countries. Schedules to trade agreement are valid only for one year and details of minimum purchases on either side have been fixed for 1959 subject to price deliveries and specifications being fully competitive and the acceptable to competent buyers.

2. On the question of payment of Embassy expenditure while agreeing to include this item in Article VII we have agreed upon draft of a letter to be exchanged between two delegations. This draft provides that payments for Embassy expenditure will continue to be made from rupee accounts during the calendar year 1959 provided excess of such payments over rupees five million is recouped by transfer from repayments against Bhilai and other credits. As regards years following 1959 it has been agreed that the two Governments will as soon as predictable discuss and agree upon ways and means for effecting payment on maintenance of Embassies agreement so reached deemed to be an integral part of the trade agreement. While the inclusion of this item in Article VII saves Russians from obvious embarrassment the letter fully complies with your instructions as regards 1959 and safeguards freedom of action for following years.

3. Full agreement has also been reached on the exchange of letters providing technical credit and sterling guarantee to cover balances in central clearing account.

4. Ambassador Menon and I saw Vice Premier Mikoyan and Minister Patolichiev today; these discussions paved the way for final agreements.

5. Soviet delegation has promised that they will try to secure the approval of all there authorities concerned by Saturday. We have promised we will also try to secure your approval by that date.

6. It has been agreed subject to approval of competent authorities on both sides agreements and understandings reached will be signed on 17 November. We propose leaving for New Delhi same night.

7. Grateful if you would cable your instructions to Ambassador at Moscow and repeat them to Prague to be dispatched by courier to me at Warsaw."

[Lall's telegram No. 277 of 12 Nov. ends]

Lall's telegram No. 278 of 12 Nov. reproduced below:

[K.B. Lall's telegram No. 278 of 12 Nov. begins]

"We have just seen your 6087 dt. 11 November and are intrigued by apparent misunderstanding on the question of period of agreement. Current Trade Agreement was negotiated in 1953 for a period of five years and express on 2 December. Obviously



#### IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

the new trade agreement could not but be operative for a period of five years although we did try to limit this period to three years. The Soviet delegation however pointed out that shorter period was at to be misconstrued as a weakening rather than a strengthening of commercial relations.

2. New agreement mostly repeats provisions of current trade agreement on matters relating to commerce and shipping. As for payment arrangements the only significant change is in regard to non-convertibility of rupee balances achieved through a self-balancing of central clearing account. This device was evolved in compliance with a Cabinet decision to increase exports to and to balance trade with individual countries. In the absence of such a device most state trading countries were running up unfavourable trade balances against us and were claiming payments in sterling for goods supplied by them against ordinary import licences.

3. Apart from this device we have ourselves not made any irrevocable commitments or procedures and practices the full implications of which will naturally be unfolded in actual practice. Because of this consideration schedules of commodities are to be negotiated from year to year, commitments for purchases and sales subject to acceptance of price, equality and delivery terms have been made for only 1959 and question of payment on maintenance of Embassies after 1959 has been left open for discussion and agreement.

4. Article XI of Agreement provides that the two Governments shall consult with each other as and when necessary in respect of matters connected therewith and a meeting within 45 days of the request has been made obligatory.

5. You will thus see that on all points on which you wish to have opportunities for further reflection and examination commitments have been made only for 1959 and adequate machinery for reviewing and consultation has been provided.

6. Your suggestion for a short adjournment of negotiations for new agreement may not be well received by the Russians. We had made this very suggestion on 10 November but the Soviet delegation did not agree. Instead they preferred to accept compromise formula for maintenance of Embassies. We are however leaving Saksena behind so that he returns to India by next Air India International flight for fuller explanation to you.

7. As regards Warsaw economic affairs have been concerned about excess of Polish imports over Indian exports and B.K. Nehru himself suggested provision of adequate short term accommodation to enable Poles to finance purchases from India. The current payment arrangement is working to our disadvantage and we are seeking to persuade the Poles to agree to a non-convertible account so as to increase Indian exports to match imports from Poland. This modification will be only for remaining period of Agreement which expires 31st December 1959.

8. We are leaving for Warsaw in a few minutes and we are scheduled to return on Saturday evening. Please advise at Warsaw whether we should press for this modification and indicate limit of technical credit we should offer."

[Lall's telegram No. 278 of 12 Nov. ends]

## 277. Soviet Seven Year Plan<sup>171</sup>

The Soviet Ambassador<sup>172</sup> came to see me this evening. He told me that he had been attending the meetings of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union, where their next Plan for seven years was fully discussed. This would now go to their Congress next year. In this Plan, they had decided to make very large investments. Indeed, he said that they proposed to invest as much or more during these seven years as they had done during the last 40 years since the Revolution. At the end of the seven-year period, they expected the production of the Soviet Union and the allied countries (that is, the Communist countries in Europe as well as China) to be half the total production of the world. That is to say, the production of the Communist countries would equal the production of the rest of the world.

2. This, he said, would give a powerful base for helping other countries. Of course, this did not mean, he added, that the help would be available at the end of seven years. During the intervening period, the capacity to help will be progressively growing.

3. He said further that they had concentrated so much on heavy industry in past years as well as on producing other articles that house construction had lagged behind. In many of the rural areas, the houses were still old and decrepit, although the persons living there might have television sets and all kinds of gadgets. Now, they proposed to go ahead with houses, and their programme (presumably for the seven years) was fifteen million apartments in the cities and seven million houses in the rural areas.

4. He then produced a letter addressed to me<sup>173</sup> from Mr. Khrushchev. This is about Bhilai. I enclose this, with a copy. I am sending a copy directly to the Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel.

5. The Ambassador told me that, since this letter was written, apparently about six weeks ago, some improvement had been made at Bhilai and additional people had been engaged to expedite the programme. Nevertheless, the pace could be made faster. He said that it was not difficult to train up people to do the work required of them. They were prepared to do this.

6. He referred to the high rates of contractors. In one case relating to some kind of pipelines, he said that the contractor wanted to charge seven hundred rupees per cubic foot. The Soviet people offered to train up the workers

171. Note to N.R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt, 26 November 1958. JN Collection.

172. P.K. Ponomarenko.

173. See item 188, fn 267.



themselves to do it directly, and this offer was accepted. The cost then was 90 rupees per cubic foot.

7. I asked him what the penultimate paragraph in Mr. Khrushchev's letter meant. Apparently, it means that the people, who will ultimately run the plant, should be there now, so that they may get used to it and be able to function effectively and efficiently as soon as the time comes. Otherwise, there would be a lag in production, and there was danger of mistakes occurring which might be highly injurious, such as the pig iron congealing or something like that. He said that he ventured to tell me this as he himself was an engineer and knew something about it.

8. I shall have to reply to Mr. Khrushchev.<sup>174</sup> I shall do so after I have got full particulars from the Minister.

## 278. To Karan Singh<sup>175</sup>

December 12, 1958

My dear Yuvaraj,<sup>176</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 12th December. Your wife<sup>177</sup> will of course accompany you. There is no question of confirmation from Moscow, though of course we will write to them now more definitely. The dates were suggested by them.<sup>178</sup> You can therefore make arrangements for your passports etc.

As you are going to be Soviet Government's guest, you will not require much foreign exchange, but of course you should have some money with you. I think I have some money in Moscow which has come to me from royalties on my books published there. If need arises, you can draw upon this.

I think you can send your formal letter to the President now.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

174. See item 194.

175. JN Collection.

176. Karan Singh was Sadar-i-Riyasat, Jammu and Kashmir, 1952-65.

177. Yasho Rajya Lakshmi.

178. On 10 Dec. 1958 Nehru informed Karan Singh that the Soviet Government had proposed mid-Apr. to mid-May, according to K.P.S. Menon, the Indian Ambassador.

## 279. Yudin's Article<sup>179</sup>

I agree that no official action need be taken by us in this matter. But it might be worthwhile to mention this casually to Mr. Ponomarenko. This should not be by way of protest, but rather as a matter of interest as to how Soviet Ambassadors function. He need not be sent for for this purpose, but advantage should be taken of some other meeting.

2. Instead of keeping this newspaper report, it is far better for you to keep the number of the *World Marxist Review* which published not only academician Yudin's<sup>180</sup> article,<sup>181</sup> but also my original note. I might add that the title "The Basic Approach" was not given by me to my note. That was given by the people who reproduced it here.

3. I have myself got a copy of the *World Marxist Review*. I intend to keep it for reference.

179. Note to Subimal Dutt, 26 December 1958. JN Collection.

180. Pavel Fedorovich Yudin (1899-1968); Soviet philosopher and diplomat; Director, Institute of Philosophy, Institute of Red Professors, 1932-38; Member, USSR Academy of Sciences, 1939-53; at Moscow State University, 1943-47; Chief Editor, *Trud*, 1947, and *For Lasting Peace, For People's Democracy*, 1947-50; Political Advisor, USSR Control Committee in Germany, 1950-53; Member, Central Committee, CPSU, 1952-61; Ambassador to People's Republic of China, 1953-59; Editor, *Short Philosophical Dictionary*, 1956; Member, Editorial Board of *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, 1958; publications include *The Prime Source Of The Development Of Soviet Society: Concerning The Complete Conformity Between The Productive Forces And The Relations Of Production In The U.S.S.R.* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950)

181. Yudin, in an article "Can We Accept Pandit Nehru's Approach" published in *World Marxist Review*, Vol.1, Issue No.4, Dec. 1958, pp. 42-54, had said that while both India and China became free almost at the same time and were at the same level of development to start with, the Chinese People's Republic had "out-stripped India during this time by a whole historic epoch."



## 280. To H.C. Heda<sup>182</sup>

December 27, 1958

My dear Heda,<sup>183</sup>

Thank you for sending me your article in reply to Academician Yudin. I have read this article.

Appearing in the [AICC] *Economic Review* under the signature of a prominent member of the Congress Party, it will naturally be considered almost an official reply to Yudin. I would not like this impression to prevail. If we have to reply to Yudin's article, we shall have to think carefully about the manner of doing so and the content of such a reply.

I do not know if your article is appearing in the *Economic Review*. I would have preferred it not to appear at this stage. In particular, I do not want any comparisons with the Soviet Union or China.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 281. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>184</sup>

December 27, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,

H.C. Heda wrote to me two or three days ago and sent me a copy of an article which he had written and which he had sent to the *Economic Review* for publication. This article is meant to be a reply to Academician Yudin.

I have read Heda's article. I do not particularly fancy it and consider it rather thin and superficial. What I am worried about is that such an article appearing in the *Economic Review* will be considered the Congress official reply to Yudin and may be quoted as such. That will not be good.

I would not have minded any article appearing elsewhere, but it makes a difference when this appears in the *Economic Review*.

The question as to whether we should reply to Yudin or not, should be considered by us. If there is a reply, it will have to be very carefully considered. I myself am inclined to think that we should not reply formally. Perhaps, I

182. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to U.N. Dhebar.

183. Harish Chandra Heda was Congress Lok Sabha MP from Nizamabad, Andhra Pradesh.

184. JN Collection.

might say something about the subjects touched at by him (probably without referring to Yudin) at a suitable opportunity.

I have sent a brief note to Heda, a copy of which I enclose.

In the new issue of *Link*, there is a note, on page nine, on Yudin's article. This note, I believe, has been written by a person who is a near-Communist and was a member of the Communist Party at one time. It brings out certain contradictions in Yudin's approach or rather in the approach of the Indian Communist Party.<sup>185</sup> You might perhaps read it.

I am enclosing Heda's letter and article, in case you have not seen it yet.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(v) Canada

## 282. Canada, India and the Commonwealth<sup>186</sup>

प्रधानमंत्री जी, श्रीमती मेयर<sup>187</sup> और महानुभावों,  
आपने देखा कि इस मौके पर, ताकि किसी को धोखा न हो, आपको बता दिया गया कौन  
Prime Minister बोलने वाला है। (हंसी) यहाँ बिलफेल दो मौजूद हैं। आपको शायद याद

185. By Ajoy Ghosh in the issue of Dec. 1958. It analysed the problems the CPI might face after Yudin's comment on Nehru's article "The Basic Approach", in the *AICC Economic Review*, Vol.10, Issue Nos.8-9, 15 Aug. 1958, pp. 3-6. Yudin asserted that non-violent social progress was impossible and that genuine land reform would be violent; he extolled China's Great Leap Forward and saw British monopoly capital dominating India. While others may ignore Yudin, Ghosh feared Yudin's views would cause ideological confusion among communists, especially since the CPI's new constitution adopted in Amritsar committed it to achieving "full democracy and socialism by peaceful means" and affirmed that with a parliamentary majority "the working class and its allies can overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and ensure that Parliament becomes an instrument...for effecting fundamental changes in the economic, social and state structures." The Soviet Party had blessed the Amritsar thesis, but the Chinese Party had consistently held to the inevitability of violence. Ghosh wanted the rejection of Yudin's thesis for reviving Stalinism and provoking differences among Indian communists.

186. Speech at the civic reception to John George Diefenbaker, the Prime Minister of Canada, at Diwan-i-Khas, Red Fort, Delhi, 19 November 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. John George Diefenbaker and his wife Olive Evangeline Freeman Palmer Diefenbaker arrived in New Delhi on 18 Nov. on a six-day visit.

187. Aruna Asaf Ali was Mayor of Delhi.



हो कि तीन-चार बरस हुए कनाडा के एक और प्रधानमंत्री यहाँ आये थे और उनका भी स्वागत हमने इसी दीवान-ए-खास में किया था।<sup>188</sup> आज मुझे बहुत खुशी है कि Mr Diefenbaker, जो कि उनके बाद वहाँ प्रधानमंत्री हुए हैं, यहाँ आये, और हमें मौका मिला उनका स्वागत करने का। यों तो बहुत बुजुर्ग आते हैं, हम उनका स्वागत करते हैं और देहली की शोहरत कुछ दुनिया में हो गयी है इस बात की, कि बड़े लोग आयें और उनका स्वागत हो यहाँ पर। क्योंकि दिल्ली के लोग और मैं कहूँ कुछ हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के दिल बड़े हैं, और मोहब्बती हैं।

लेकिन एक मायने में कनाडा के जो प्रधानमंत्री यहाँ आये, तो कई तरह से हमारा दिल और दिमाग उनकी तरफ जाता है। मुझे याद है कि जब करीब-करीब पचास बरस हुए, ज़माना गुजरता है, और मैं स्कूल या कॉलेज में पढ़ता था इंग्लैंड में, और उस समय जाहिर है अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत थी, यहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में, जोरों की, और शुरुआत थी कुछ यहाँ माँगें पेश करने की और जब वो माँगें बहुत धीमी थीं, उस वक्त तक यहाँ के जो हमारे नेता थे वो कुछ धीमी आवाज़ से बोलते थे। वाक़्यात ऐसे थे। तो जब उनसे माँगा गया था कि हिन्दुस्तान में भी कुछ प्रजातंत्र की, democratic हुकूमत हो, अंग्रेज़ी राज के अंदर, उसको कहा गया था, और शायद किसी ने मिसाल दी थी कनाडा वगैरह की, तो जो उस समय इंग्लैंड के वज़ीर थे हिन्दुस्तान के, यानी Secretary of State for India, मशहूर आदमी थे Lord Morley,<sup>189</sup> तो उन्होंने जवाब दिया था कि कनाडा में ऐसा मौसम है कि लोगों को बड़े fur coat पहनकर निकलना पड़ता है, बड़ा सर्द मौसम है वहाँ। तो क्या तुम भी वहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में fur coat चाहते हो पहनना? इस तरह से उन्होंने उस छोटी सी माँग को टाल दिया था, ख़त्म किया था। ख़ैर, उसके बाद एक लम्बी कहानी है, जिसको बहुत लोग आपमें से जानते हैं। आपमें से बहुत लोगों ने उस कहानी के लिखने में भी हिस्सा लिया। तो यह मुझे हमेशा याद आती है यह एक मेरी बचपन की बात। मैं उस वक्त भी जब मैंने सुना था किस्सा यह तो नागवार गुजरा था। कुछ बचपन की या जवानी की शेख़ी में गुस्सा भी चढ़ा था। लेकिन वो बात याद आती है।

ख़ैर, एक ज़माना आया जब हमारी आज़ादी की लड़ाई पूरी हुई और हमने कामयाबी हासिल की, और उस वक्त सन् '47 में, आपको याद होगा, जो पहला बड़ा कदम हमने

188. Louis Stephen St. Laurent, Prime Minister of Canada, 1948-57, visited India from 21 to 28 Feb. 1954.

189. John Morley (1838-1923); British liberal statesman, writer and newspaper editor; elected Member of Parliament 1883; Chief Secretary, Ireland, 1886 and 1892-95; Fellow, All Souls College, Oxford, 1903; Secretary of State for India, 1905-1910; Chancellor, Manchester University, from 1908; Lord President of the Council, 1910-1914; resigned from the Cabinet as a result of the declaration of War, 1914; received the Order of Merit, 1902; author of *Life of Gladstone* (London: Macmillan, 1903) and *Life of Richard Cobden* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905).

उठाया, आज़ादी तो हमारी पूरी हुई, लेकिन वो एक dominion की शक्ल थी और ख़ास संबंध अंग्रेज़ी राज्य से था, हालाँकि हमें आज़ादी पूरी थी उस वक़्त से। तो उसके बाद जब हमारा नया आईन बना, नया विधान बना, जब हमने एक कदम और उठाया और जो पुराने हमारे आरजू थे, आशा थी, उसको पूरा किया, एक गणतंत्र, republic, कायम किया। तो एक बड़ा सवाल उठा था उस वक़्त कि हमारा रिश्ता इंग्लैंड से और जो आज़ाद मुल्क इंग्लैंड के साथ Commonwealth में थे, क्या हो? जाहिर है कि सोलह आने वो नहीं हो सकता था, republic होने के बाद, जो कि पहले था। उस समय तक Commonwealth में कोई republic नहीं थी जो एक नया सवाल था उस मौक़े पर। मुझे याद है कि जो बहसों वगैरह हों, उसमें जो कनाडा के उस वक़्त के प्रधानमंत्री थे, कितने जोरों से उन्होंने इस बात का, इस बात की ख़्वाहिश जाहिर की कि हालाँकि हिन्दुस्तान एक republic हो गया, फिर भी हमें उसका स्वागत करना चाहिए और इस नये-नये रूप होने पर भी रिश्ता करीब से करीब का कायम रखना चाहिए, जो आज़ाद मुल्कों में रिश्ता हो सकता है। यह बात हमें मंज़ूर थी, क्योंकि हमें अपनी पूरी आज़ादी की ख़्वाहिश थी। हम गणतंत्र किया चाहते थे, वो बातें हो गयीं। उसके बाद हम चाहते थे कि करीब से करीब रिश्ता हो, वो हो हर मुल्क से और किसी रिश्ते को हम तोड़ें नहीं, बशर्ते कि हमारी आज़ादी में कोई दखल न हो। उस मसले का फैसला हुआ हमारी मर्ज़ी के मुताबिक। सात-आठ बरस हुए, उसको भी नौ बरस हुए, आठ बरस हुए याद नहीं, सन् '50 में शायद।

इस ज़माने में अक्सर हमें मिलने का मौक़ा मिला। Commonwealth के जो प्रधानमंत्रियों का सम्मेलन होता है, मिला करते हैं, और उसमें एक अजीब, एक नया ढंग निकला और बदलता गया। और एक ऐसी चीज़ यह Commonwealth हो गयी, जिसमें जिसकी कोई और मिसाल नहीं है और अक्सर लोग उसको पूरी तौर से समझते भी नहीं कि क्या है यह। कुछ लोग नाखुश होते हैं समझके कि इसमें कुछ पराधीनता आ गयी, यह तो बिल्कुल गलत है। क्योंकि इसमें नामोनिशान नहीं, हमारे आईन में, Constitution में कोई चर्चा नहीं है। यह आज़ाद मुल्कों का एक रिश्ता है जो बात बिल्कुल एक-दूसरे को बांधता नहीं, दबाता नहीं। हाँ, अगर आप कहिए तो उसके पीछे यह है कि हम एक-दूसरे से संबंध रखें दोस्ती का, मशवरे का और अपने रास्ते पर चलें। मुझे तो यह तरीका कहीं ज़्यादा पसंद है बनिस्वत इसके कि हम किसी तरह से अपने को बांधें, जकड़ें कि किसी और के कहने पर, किसी रास्ते पर चलें। और जो मुझे तज़ुबा हुआ इस पिछले दस-ग्यारह बरस में उससे मेरा यह यकीन बढ़ता गया। मैं जानता हूँ और आप जानते हैं कि Commonwealth के अंदर कशमकश है। बाज़ मुल्क ऐसे हैं कि जिनमें हममें कुछ अनबन है। पुराने सवाल हैं, नये सवाल हैं, उसमें जैसा मुनासिब हम समझते हैं, करते हैं, कोई हमारे रास्ते में दूसरा तो नहीं आता। लेकिन बावजूद इसके यह एक अजीब बात है और किसी कदर ताज़्जुब की बात है यह रिश्ता कायम रहा, और कुछ बढ़ता ही गया।

इस रिश्ते के कायम रखने में एक बहुत बड़ा हाथ कनाडा का रहा और उनकी तरफ



से जो लोग वहाँ आते थे (तालियाँ)— पहले प्रधानमंत्री का, और अब उनकी जगह आये, प्रधानमंत्री हुए हैं, दोनों। शुरु से उन्होंने एक विशेषकर हिन्दुस्तान के साथ प्रेम का इज़हार किया और प्रेम ऐसा नहीं कि जिसको आप कहें एक दिखावटी, लेकिन एक असली। उनका मुल्क हमारे मुल्क से बहुत दूर है। आधी दुनिया का चक्कर लगाकर वहाँ से कोई आ सकता है, या वहाँ से कोई वहाँ जा सकता है। मसलन, बिल्कुल दूसरी हालत, दूसरा नया मुल्क, और नया इस मायने में कि एक सौ-दो सौ बरस का मुल्क, ढाई सौ बरस ज़्यादा से ज़्यादा समझ लीजिए। इनके dominion बने करीब सौ बरस हुए हैं। और यहाँ एक पुराना मुल्क हज़ारों बरस का, हज़ारों बरस का बोझा, हज़ारों बरस की खूबियाँ, हज़ारों बरस के ऐब हमारी पीठ पर हैं। तो फर्क है। लेकिन अजीब बात हुई जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा कि हमारा उनका रिश्ता कुछ बढ़ता ही गया, और अक्सर, अक्सर नहीं तो कभी-कभी, किसी बात पर इत्फ़ाक़ न हो, लेकिन कभी इस बात का असर हमारे रिश्ते पर नहीं हुआ। संयुक्त राष्ट्र में, United Nations में भी बहुत काफी हमारा संबंध रहा और अक्सर साथ कदम मिलाकर चले। आपको याद होगा कि कुछ बरस हुए Indo-China में कुछ वहाँ की लड़ाई जब रुकी, तो हमें [sic] इसका वहाँ तय हुआ था कि कुछ बाहर के लोग, बाहर के मुल्कों के, वहाँ अपने नुमाइंदे भेजें, और कुछ थोड़ी फौजें भेजें, लड़ाई के लिए नहीं।

और पुराना मुल्क की शक्ल भी अभी तक बहुत है, और रहेगी, और हर सूरत, बहुत कुछ हमारे दिलो-दिमाग़ पुराने हैं, हज़ारों बरस में ढले हैं, लेकिन उसके साथ एक नयी शक्ल भी है, एक नयी जवानी भी है, उस पुरानेपन के ऊपर आती जाती है। उसकी शक्ल भी उन्होंने कल देखी exhibition में और जैसे कि उन्होंने मुझसे बार-बार कहा कि कल से आने के बाद लोगों के चेहरों पर, दिल्ली के रहने वाले, तो कुछ दोनों रूप उन्होंने देखे और यकीनन चंद रोज़ यहाँ रहेंगे हिन्दुस्तान में तो और दोनों शक्लें देखेंगे। दोनों हमारी शक्लें हैं, एक नहीं, और दोनों को मिलकर चलना है, और हल्के-हल्के पुरानापन तो रहेगा, रहना चाहिए, लेकिन हल्के-हल्के एक पुनर्जन्म भी हो जाएगा उसके साथ-साथ, और वह नया ढंग, नया रूप, नयी ताकत, नई जवानी, हल्के-हल्के आ रही है, आयेगी। तो कुछ उन्होंने दो रूप देखे और सबमें बड़ी बात जो उन्होंने देखी, जिसका उन्होंने बार-बार जिक्र किया, वो यह कि यहाँ के लोगों के, नौजवानों के चेहरों पर, बूढ़ों के और बच्चों के, एक जिस निगाह से वो देखते थे, उनकी तरफ़ एक दोस्ती की निगाह थी, किसी कदर मोहब्बत भी उसमें थी, जिससे उनके ऊपर असर हुआ। मुझे भी खुशी हुई यह सुनकर कि उनसे उनके ऊपर असर हुआ।

मेरा पक्का यकीन है चाहे हमारे मुल्क के सवाल हों, चाहे दुनिया के सवाल हों, वो अदावत से, लड़ाई झगड़े से हल नहीं होते बल्कि शराफ़त से और मोहब्बत से हल होते हैं। कोशिश की हमने। मुश्किल तो है यह बात, लेकिन उस ढंग से हम कुछ अपनी वैदेशिक नीति चलायें, कुछ-कुछ यहाँ भी चलायें हिन्दुस्तान में अपने घरेलू मामले में। यह मैं नहीं कहता कि हम कामयाब हुए, यह सवाल बहुत पेचीदा है, लेकिन कम से कम यह सिद्धांत,

यह उसूल तो अपने सामने रखा और कोशिश की उस रास्ते पर चलने की, और जो हमारे पुराने जो लोग, जो हमारे, जिनसे हमारा पुराना झगड़ा था उनसे भी हमने दोस्ती की, और दोस्ती से हमने भी फायदा उठाया और औरों ने भी।

तो कनाडा के प्रधानमंत्री साहब का यहाँ आना उनको मुबारक हो और हमें मुबारक हो।

[Translation begins]

Mr. Prime Minister, Mayoress<sup>190</sup> and distinguished guests,

As you may have noticed, you have been told which of the two Prime Ministers present here is going to speak so that you may not be in any doubt. You may remember that about four years ago, another Prime Minister of Canada had visited India and he was also given a civic reception at the Diwan-i-Khas.<sup>191</sup> I am very happy that we have the opportunity of welcoming his successor, Mr. Diefenbaker. We have the opportunity of welcoming many dignitaries and Delhi has made a name for itself in the world for its hospitality. I would say that the people of Delhi and for that matter the people of India are extremely large-hearted and affectionate.

But, in a sense, we have been especially drawn towards the Prime Ministers of Canada. I remember the time when I was studying in England. It was more than fifty years ago, and the first stirrings of the freedom movement had begun in India against British rule. Those were the days when our leaders used to present their demands in a very soft voice. The circumstances were such then. When the demand for participation of Indians in the governance of the country was made, the example of Canada was quoted. The Secretary of State for India at that time, the famous Lord Morley,<sup>192</sup> is supposed to have replied that "Canada has a very cold climate and the climate is such that the people have to wear fur coats. Do Indians also want to wear fur coats?" This is how he squashed this meager demand. As you know, what followed is a long story and many of you might have participated in writing that story. So I always remember this episode which occurred when I was a child. When I heard it as a child I found it intolerable. In the arrogance of my childhood or youth I even became angry when I thought of this and I have never forgotten it.

Then came a time when our efforts paid off and we won freedom. In 1947, India became completely independent and she was no longer a dominion of the British Empire. We framed and adopted a new Constitution and gave

190. See fn 187 in this section.

191. See fn 188 in this section.

192. See fn 189 in this section.



shape to yet another old dream of ours by establishing a democratic republic of India. At that time, one crucial issue which arose was what our relationship with the Commonwealth should be. It is obvious that we could not continue as before. There was no republic in the Commonwealth then. I remember that at that time, the Prime Minister of Canada had argued very strongly in favour of welcoming India into the Commonwealth, even though we had become a republic, and of maintaining close ties befitting independent nations. This was acceptable to us because we wanted complete freedom and a democratic republic in India. That had been achieved. After that, it was our desire to maintain friendly ties with every nation and not to break up relations with any of them so long as there was no interference in our freedom. The matter was settled to our satisfaction in 1950.

In recent times, we have had ample opportunities to participate at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conferences. The Commonwealth has been transformed into an organisation which has no parallel in the world. Very often people do not even understand the nature of this association fully. Some people are unhappy about it because they feel that it has introduced an element of subservience which is absolutely wrong. There is no trace of it and it does not find mention in our Constitution. It is a relationship of independent nations which does not tie any of the members in any way. You can call it a friendly relationship where we consult one another but follow the path of our choosing. I like this approach better than to tie ourselves up with some other country and follow some path at its instance. My experience during the last ten to eleven years has strengthened this belief. I am aware and you are also aware that there are tensions within the Commonwealth. There are certain countries with which we have disputes, old and new. We deal with them as we think proper and nobody interferes. The strange thing is that, in spite of this, this relationship has continued and, in fact, grown.

Canada has played a major role in keeping this relationship going. Those who represented Canada at the Conferences—the former Prime Minister and now the present Prime Minister—have been, right from the beginning, disposed affectionately towards India, not superficial affection but real. Canada, a comparatively new nation, at the most 250 years old and having different traditions and customs, is half way across the world from us. Canada became a dominion only a hundred years or so ago. Here is India with the accretions of thousands of years, including excellent qualities and shortcomings. Yet the relationship between the two countries has continued to grow. We may have had differences of opinion sometimes. But that has never affected our relationship in any way. We have been working closely in the United Nations and other world bodies. You may remember that some years ago when the war in Indo-China came to a halt, it was

decided to send representatives from some neutral countries with peace-keeping forces.

Well, India bears the stamp of thousands of years of history and this condition will continue in any case. To a large extent our hearts and minds are also old, moulded as they have been over thousands of years. This country is now also putting on a garb of modernity and youth. Our guest saw this new face of India at the Exhibition yesterday. He has told me repeatedly that he can see the two faces of India, the old and the new, on the streets of Delhi and elsewhere. He will see more during the next few days. We have to forge ahead maintaining a fine balance between our past and present. Our ancient country is undergoing a rebirth and rejuvenating itself gradually into a young nation with a new face and fresh vitality. What seems to have impressed the Prime Minister is the expression of friendliness in the faces of the old and the young in India. I am happy that that has made an impact upon him.

I am fully convinced that national and international problems cannot be solved by wars but only by means of friendship and affection. We have tried to follow this path in our foreign policy though it is very difficult. I do not say that we have been entirely successful in this regard in the conduct of our internal affairs or foreign policy. But we have kept this principle before us and tried to follow it as far as we can. We have tried to establish friendly relations even with countries with which we have some dispute. Everyone has benefited by this.

We are glad to welcome the Prime Minister of Canada as our honoured guest.

[Translation ends]

## **283. Friendship between India and Canada<sup>193</sup>**

Mr. Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Nearly four years ago we welcomed the Prime Minister of Canada in this room. And now it is our privilege to welcome another Prime Minister of Canada here. We welcome you Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Diefenbaker, not only as eminent representatives of your country and as friends but also, if I may say so, we welcome you and, of course, through you we welcome Canada.

193. Speech at the banquet given in honour of the Prime Minister of Canada, New Delhi, 19 November 1958. File No. 17, Jawaharlal Nehru Supplementary Papers, NMML.



You have been here just for a day now and no doubt you have gathered some impression of Delhi City and its citizens. We are gathered here, rather if I may use the word, a select crowd, but a little while ago you saw others who perhaps were not so quite select but also equally perhaps more representative of the citizens of Delhi, and I think that whatever I might say cannot equal the impression you must have got from those people whom you saw in the streets of this old city and in that Audience Chamber of the Emperors of old days here. You may have noticed friendliness in them, even a touch of affection. It is true that we are normally a friendly people and it is not an easy matter for us to become unfriendly. Sometimes we misbehave no doubt, but it is a passing phase, a phase which does not last.

Now, in the course of the last few years our relations with your country, which is far from us and in some ways very different, have grown. I remember whenever Canada is mentioned in such a connection, this old memory comes back to me of how fifty years or so ago when I was a student in London, there were some people in London, some of them leaders of today in this country, who put forward some modest demands for self-government. The then Secretary of State for India in London, a famous person, Lord Morley, reminded us that Canada and India were not the same type of countries, that they were very different. In Canada people used to go about with heavy fur coats. We do not require them in India, he said. Well, as a matter of fact, we do require fur coats in certain parts of India. But even without the fur coats there are some things which people require anywhere and everywhere. And so a time came when we joined that family of nations of which Canada was one of the pre-eminent ones, and in which indeed had played a very important part in that dynamic evolution which is characteristic of the Commonwealth. It was Canada really which led the way to independent nationhood within that family of nations.

So, when we attained independence, we gladly agreed to continue in that family, and while I do not wish naturally to differentiate, nevertheless I think I can say that we found it easiest of all to get on with the representatives of Canada, chiefly because they were receptive and they went out of their way to be friendly. It is, I believe, a fundamental rule or law of life that if you give friendship, you get friendship in return, just as if you give the opposite of friendship, the reactions are likely to be the same. So, a little later another change came over this Commonwealth when we took a lead in another direction and became a Republic. That was a novel position which the Commonwealth had not faced till then.

Again, it may not be perhaps improper for me to say something that might be considered secret. It was the Canadian representative at the Prime Ministers' Conferences in London who helped us greatly in finding a way out in this new

position because we were anxious, in spite of being a Republic, to continue in that close relationship, and the Canadian Prime Minister of the day also was anxious that we should continue. Indeed others were too, but he did play perhaps a more important part in those talks than some others.

Then, again, whenever we have met, whether in the Prime Ministers' Conference or in the United Nations or elsewhere, because we have had many common dealings with each other, we have found this bond of friendship uniting us and understanding, even though we did not always agree. In Eastern Asia, in Indo-China, Canada and India undertook a responsibility which is partly continuing still; elsewhere also. So, we worked together in these many fields and got to know each other a little better. But above all it was the friendly approach, the approach where one respects the other even though one does not always agree, which brought us together and which keeps us together and which will no doubt hold us together for a long time. So, it is a very special pleasure to all of us here to welcome you Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Diefenbaker, and I hope that when you go back, you will convey our greetings and friendship and comradeship in many common causes to your people.

I have referred to common causes. We in India ever since we became independent have struggled hard to better our conditions, to improve the lot of the common man, to raise him, to give him self-assurance, self-confidence mainly through his own efforts, because no individual or nation rises except through its own efforts. But we have welcomed assistance and help from others, and in that category also Canada has played a notable part for which we are thankful.

But apart from our own domestic problems which naturally tend to overwhelm us we cannot escape the problems of the world, although we have no desire to get entangled in them. But the world is too small today and each country has become the neighbour of the other country however far it may be. And above all we feel, as you know, Mr. Prime Minister, very strongly about peace in the world. I suppose every sensitive person does so, because everyone realises that without peace there is no hope, there is no future, there is no progress, and there may well be a disaster which is almost beyond human imagination. For us who are bent on working out the destiny of our country, the very idea that this peace would be shattered by war is terrible to contemplate, because it puts an end to all our hopes and aspirations and efforts. So peace becomes, apart from an ideal which we aim at, apart from something which is necessary, absolutely essential for us, and indeed I suppose it is so for the world. It is a very difficult problem in the state of the world today, and it is curious that while everyone, every country, I believe, really desires peace, because it knows the consequences if peace is shattered, yet difficulties arise



and they are not easy to surmount. I have no doubt they will be surmounted because there must be ultimately some basic commonsense in humanity which will not permit these terrible disasters to occur.

One thing struck me, and I ventured to mention it to you this morning, that quite apart from the intricacies of these problems, peace, disarmament and the rest, is it not possible at least for countries to approach each other in a somewhat more friendly way? It is easy enough for friends to approach each other in a friendly way; it does not require any effort to do so. The point is when you are approaching those who are not apparently friends in a friendly way that requires an effort. But I have no doubt if an effort to that end is made, if an attempt is made, the problems are not necessarily solved, but the problems become easier of solution, and this frightful suspicion of each other, fear of each other, distrust of each other lessens. When these problems are discussed, these great problems of the world today, peace and war and problems of disarmament, all kinds of formulae are evolved and discussed. It has often struck me that the problem really has no doubt to be dealt with by experts, politicians, scientists and others. But perhaps the basic thing is the psychological approach—and not purely the political approach—the approach of trying to win over the other party, trying to be friends with the other party; because if that is done, then what I ventured to describe as the law of nature and science would come into play, that is to say, what one gives to others is likely to get back from them.

We are a very big nation in terms of size; yours in terms of size is a bigger one. In terms of population we are much bigger than yours. But in this matter, of course, bigness does not count, other factors come in which are important, and we are not presumptuous enough to imagine that what we say or do would make much difference to the destiny of the world—a little it might occasionally, as it really does no doubt. Anyhow, whether it makes any difference or not we try to the best of our ability to promote an atmosphere of friendliness among all nations so that at least these barriers might be removed.

I welcome you again Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Diefenbaker, and I ask your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen to drink to their health.

## 284. Stature of Norway<sup>194</sup>

प्रधानमंत्री जी<sup>195</sup> और सज्जनो, नयी-नयी शक्तें यहाँ आती हैं, नये-नये मेहमान आते हैं, लेकिन एक शक्ति हमेशा साथ बंधी रहती है, और वो पेश कर दी जाती है आपके सामने। तो यह बार-बार नुमाइश से कुछ, कितना ही बेहया आदमी हो, कुछ आखिर में शरमाने लगता है। (हंसी)

आपने इस दीवान-ए-खास में बहुत बड़े आदमियों का स्वागत किया है। आज भी एक शख्स हमारे मेहमान हैं। आपने सुना कि वो एक दूर के मुल्क से आये हैं, लेकिन शायद कुछ बहुत ज़्यादा आपको उनका हाल न मालूम हो, या उनके मुल्क का। हमारा कम्बोवेश एक गरम मुल्क है, हालाँकि ऊँचे पहाड़ भी हैं, बड़ी सर्दी होती है वहाँ। उनका मुल्क सर्द मुल्क है बहुत, North Pole के करीब समझिए, और वहाँ आजकल बहुत लम्बी रात होती है और दिन बहुत ही छोटा। और यहाँ तक कि बाज़ हिस्सों में रात दो-दो दिन तक चलती है, यह अजीब बात है। यानी आफताब नज़र नहीं आता। घंटे भर के लिए निकल आये या आधे घंटे के लिए, उत्तर नाँव में, और उस तरह से गर्मी में रात नज़र नहीं आती, दिन ही दिन रहता है। उनके मुल्क का एक और नाम है, the Land of the Midnight Sun, वो देश जहाँ कि आधी रात में सूरज हो।

खैर, यह तो जगह का मैंने आपको बताया। फैला हुआ मुल्क है, पहाड़ी मुल्क है। आबादी वहाँ की मुझे ठीक याद नहीं, लेकिन चालीस लाख से कम है। यानी बाज़ हिन्दुस्तान के शहर हैं, बड़े शहर हैं, जिनकी आबादी सारे मुल्क से ज़्यादा है।<sup>196</sup> लेकिन आप सोचें, हमारी तो चालीस करोड़ के करीब हो गयी है, उनकी चालीस लाख भी नहीं है। सौ गुना ज़्यादा। लेकिन अब आपके गौर करने की बात है, यह मुल्क जिसकी आबादी इतनी कम

194. Speech at a civic reception in honour of the Prime Minister of Norway, 28 November 1958. Diwan-i-Khas, Red Fort, Delhi, AIR tapes, NMML.

The Prime Minister of Norway, Einar Henry Gerhardsen, his wife Werna Gerhardsen, Foreign Minister Halvard Lange and Mrs Lange arrived in New Delhi on 27 Nov. and they left Bombay on 11 Dec.

195. Einar Henry Gerhardsen (1897-1987); Norwegian politician; road worker, 1914-22; Chairman, Road Repairer's Union, 1919; Secretary, Norwegian Municipal Association, 1922-23; Secretary, Oslo Labour Party, 1925-35; Member, Oslo Town Council 1932-45; Secretary, Norwegian Labour Party, 1934-45; Mayor of Oslo, 1940; took part in the resistance against Nazi occupation and arrested in 1941; interned in concentration camps in Germany in 1944; Mayor of Oslo, 1945; Chairman, Labour Party, 1945-65; Prime Minister, 1945-51; Leader of Labour Party in Parliament, 1951-55; Prime Minister, 1955-63 and 1963-65; retired from national politics, 1969.

196. On 1 Jan. 1958, the population of Norway was 3,510,199.



है, दुनिया के ऊँचे से ऊँचे मुल्कों में उसकी गिनती है, याने किसी मुल्क की गिनती, लम्बान और चौड़ाई से नहीं होती, उनकी आबादी से होती है। गिनती में कितने लोग हैं, लेकिन उसकी अच्छाई होती है वहाँ के लोग कैसे हैं, तगड़े हैं, अक्लमंद हैं, कितने हुनर उनमें हैं। इस तरह से गिनती होती है मुल्क की। तो यह मुल्क छोटी सी आबादी का इसने हर फन में नाम हासिल किया है। उसका साहित्य, छोटे से मुल्क की बोली है, मशहूर है, उसको दुनिया के सबसे बड़े इनाम मिले हैं, उसको दुनिया भर में, उनके साहित्य के लिए। इनके दो एक बुजुर्गों का नाम मानपत्र में, हमारे मेयर ने आपको बताया, लेकिन सबमें, मैं समझता हूँ, खूबी इनके मुल्क में जो है वो यह कि उन्होंने जोड़ा है अपने मुल्क में आजकल के समाजवाद के जुज़ को और उसी के साथ एक काफी तरक्की की है प्रजातंत्र की। प्रजातंत्र और समाजवाद को जोड़ा है, याने जो बात हम अपने मुल्क में किया चाहते हैं कि समाजवाद आये लेकिन उसी के साथ आज़ादी रहे, प्रजातंत्र। वो बातें उन्होंने कौन और इनके जो दो एक और पड़ोसी मुल्क हैं, वहाँ हासिल की है, और ऊँच-नीच बहुत कम है वहाँ। हैसियत एक-एक इंसान की काफी अच्छी है, देखभाल होती है उनकी।

और जो प्रधानमंत्री जी खुद हैं, उनकी मिसाल में देहली के बहुत सारे बच्चों के सामने पेश किया चाहता हूँ खासकर। यहाँ देहली के पुराने और नये बहुत हमारे बच्चे और नौजवान सड़कों पर इधर-उधर घूमा करते हैं, फुटकर काम कर देते हैं। कभी छोटा काम कर दिया, कभी किसी का जूता साफ कर दिया, कभी अखबार बेचे, जो कुछ काम मिला कर देते हैं। तो हमारे जो प्रधानमंत्री बैठे हैं उनका भी शुरु कुछ ऐसा ही हुआ था, यानी जब यह छोटे लड़के थे, तो ये भी कहीं अखबार बेचते थे या फुटकर काम इस तरह के करते थे, और उस हैसियत से—कुछ बुरी हैसियत नहीं है, यह आप न समझिए—लेकिन बहरसूरत इन्होंने अपनी हिम्मत से, अपनी काबिलीयत से यह बढ़े और अब मुझे ठीक याद नहीं है लेकिन बारह-तेरह बरस से अपने मुल्क के प्रधानमंत्री हैं, और बहुत इनकी इज़्ज़त होती है। इनकी कोई लम्बे-चौड़े खानदान की वजह से नहीं, न पैसे की वजह से, बेचारे मामूली हैसियत के आदमी। वहाँ के जो दल हैं, यही समाजवादी दल, उसके ये नेता और उस दल का वहाँ राज, वहाँ इंतज़ाम है। तो हमारे सामने एक नमूना है एक शख्स का और एक मुल्क का जैसे कि हमारी कोशिश है, हम भी कुछ वैसे ही थोड़े बहुत हो जाएँ। तो इसलिए खास एक खुशी की यह बात है हमारे लिए और इज़्ज़त की बात है कि आप यहाँ आये।

बहुत बातों में दुनिया के सवाल उठते हैं। चाहे संयुक्त राष्ट्र में, चाहे दुनिया के और इधर-उधर जगह, हमारा और इनका साथ हुआ है। हर बात में हमारी उनकी राय एक नहीं है, लेकिन बहुत बातों में है। और चुनाँचे मिलने का मौका मिला, और मिलकर काम करने का, तो इन सब बातों से हमारे लिए यह एक मुबारक दिन है कि इस छोटे से मशहूर मुल्क के प्रधानमंत्री, जो कि दुनिया की सभ्यता में, संस्कृति में, और जो अच्छे हुनर गिने जाते हैं मुल्कों में, जो काफी ऊँचा है, यह दिखाता है कि थोड़े से लोग भी गिनती में दूर तक जा

सकते हैं, और खाली गिनती से और number से देश बढ़ता नहीं है। जाहिर सी बात है, हरेक जानता है, लेकिन फिर भी जानकर भी हम भूल जाते हैं। इसलिए हम इनका स्वागत तो करते ही हैं, लेकिन उसके साथ हम उनसे और उनके देश से सबक भी हमें सीखने हैं और मैं आशा करता हूँ सीखेंगे हम।

मैं इनके देश एक कोई एक डेढ़ बरस हुए गया था। और पहले मैं वहाँ उसी समय मिला था,<sup>197</sup> और खाली इनसे नहीं मिला, देश के और लोग मिले, देश के वहाँ की जनता जो है तगड़ी अच्छी भली। जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा, बहुत ज्यादा ऊँच-नीच नहीं है कि कुछ लोग करोड़पति हैं और कुछ लोग गरीब हैं, काफी बराबरी है। हाँ, कुछ तो है ही फरक। उनसे मिला और बहुत प्रेम से मोहब्बत से, मेरा स्वागत किया था, यह मुझे याद है। और मुझे खुशी है कि मैं प्रधानमंत्रीजी को, उनकी धर्मपत्नी जी हैं वह और उनके साथ जो लोग आये हैं, उनको यह दिखा दूँ, मैं क्या दिखाऊँ, आप दिखाएँ कि हमारा देश, हमारी दिल्ली की जनता, उनका और उनके देश का आदर करती है।

[Translation begins]

Mr. Prime Minister,<sup>198</sup> ladies and gentlemen,

New faces are seen here, new guests come. But one figure always accompanies them and is put on show. So no matter how shameless that individual might be, this constant exhibition eventually makes him feel a bit shy.

You have welcomed innumerable dignitaries in this Diwan-i-Khas. We have amidst us a guest who has come from a very distant land. But you may not know very much about him or his country. India has by and large a warm climate though there are also high mountains where it is extremely cold. But Norway is near the North Pole and so extremely cold. They have very long nights and short days. In fact, in some parts of the country the nights are as long as two days at a time. They do not see the Sun except for an hour or half an hour in northern Norway. Similarly, they have only days in the summer, no nights. Norway is known by another name—the Land of the Midnight Sun.

Well, this is about that country. It is spread out with hilly terrains and the population is less than forty lakhs, which means that the population of certain cities in India is more than the entire population of Norway.<sup>199</sup> India's population is forty crores, a hundred times more than that of Norway. But a country with such a small population is among the leading countries of the world. So it is obvious that the length and breadth of a country and its population do not

197. Nehru visited Norway from 20 to 22 June 1957. See SWJN/SS/38/ pp. 540-560.

198. See fn 195 in this section.

199. See fn 196 in this section.



matter. A country's greatness depends on the quality of its people, their skills, intelligence, strength and character. Norway with a small population has made a name for itself in every field. Such a small country has its own language. Its literature is famous in the world and the biggest literary awards have been bagged by it. The welcome address mentions a few well-known figures of Norway. But I think that Norway's greatness lies in the fact that they have been able to link socialism with the principles of democracy and have made great progress. This is what we are trying to do in India. One or two of their neighbours have also managed to do this. There is very little disparity in Norway and the common man is very well-off and is well looked after.

I want to quote the example of the Prime Minister of Norway to the children of Delhi in particular. We often find children and youth on the streets of Delhi, doing odd jobs, like selling newspapers and polishing shoes. The Prime Minister of Norway began his life in a somewhat similar manner. As a child, he used to sell newspapers and do odd jobs. Not that he was very poor. But he has grown to his present position by his spirit of service and because of his ability. He has been the Prime Minister of Norway for the past twelve to thirteen years and is highly respected in his country. That is so not because of his family background or great wealth. He comes from an ordinary family. He is the leader of the ruling socialist party. So we have before us the example of a nation and an individual whom we are trying to emulate. Therefore, it is a matter of great honour and pride for us that he is visiting India.

We have worked together in many world forums, in the United Nations and elsewhere. We do not have exactly the same views on every issue. But we do see eye to eye on many crucial issues and so we have had the opportunity of working together. It is for these various reasons that this is an auspicious day for us when the Prime Minister of a small but famous country which is very advanced in modern culture and civilisation has come to visit us. Norway stands as an example of a nation with a very small population which has attained great stature in the world. It is obvious that mere numbers or size cannot make a country great. Yet we often tend to forget it. We must not only welcome our honoured guest but at the same time learn a lesson from his great country.

I had visited Norway a year and a half ago and met the Prime Minister for the first time.<sup>200</sup> I met a large number of people in Norway. As I said there is no great disparity between the rich and the poor. The people of Norway gave me a warm welcome. I am happy to be able to welcome the Prime Minister and his

200. See fn 197 in this section.

wife and other members of his party. It is now for the people of Delhi to show that they and the whole of India have respect for the visitors and their country.

[Translation ends]

## 285. Avoiding War<sup>201</sup>

Mr. Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me peculiar pleasure to welcome our distinguished guests, Prime Minister of Norway and Madame Gerhardsen, for a variety of reasons. A purely personal one is that I visited Norway recently, a year and a half ago, and the welcome I had there from you, Sir, and from the people of Norway is an abiding memory to which I refer very often.

Our country is a lovely country but in many ways Norway and the other countries of Scandinavia have so many things that appeal to us and so many things that we would like to see in our own country that inevitably we feel drawn to it. When we have to consider great countries, great powers, one likes many things there, one admires many things, but one is also a little overwhelmed by them and one does not quite know where one is, and it takes time I suppose for a feeling of intimacy to grow up when one visits these great countries.

You have been here, Sir, just for a day, and a day is a very short time for you to gather impressions. Yet, I suppose you have gathered some impressions, I am a little afraid, of one thing, that staying in this noble mansion in which we are at present, looking at these, if I may call them, relics of Imperial glory and splendour, the President's Bodyguard, and also that very beautiful Diwan-i-Khas in the Red Fort where you received a welcome from our Corporation of Delhi, you might get, what I think, rather false impressions of India.

Now, we, in spite of all this in India, are simple people and the great majority of our people, of course, are very simple indeed, lacking even the ordinary necessities of life which we seek to give. So I might with all respect give this little warning to you, Sir, not to be misled by this pomp and circumstance.

This has been the lot of most of our people for a long time and so naturally, it has been our strong and passionate desire to better their lot, to raise them to higher standards of living so that they might think of other things also, not merely for the sake of those material things which undoubtedly are important

201. Speech at the banquet in honour of the Prime Minister of Norway, New Delhi, 28 November 1958. PIB.



in life to a certain extent, but even more so, so that they might have the leisure of mind and opportunity to think of other things which might be even more important.

India is a very big country in size and our population is not only big but perhaps too big. As I said, we have a great deal of potential resources which no doubt will gradually become actual and bring some results in their trail in the way of better living standards for our people, but however big we may be on the map and in numbers, we have absolutely no desire, at least most of us I believe have no desire, to become what is called a great power to flaunt our might, to have big armies, navies and air forces and generally, you may use it in colloquialism, to throw our weight about in the world.

What the future will bring, I do not know. We are struggling today in our five-year plans and others for the material betterment of India. It is a hard struggle, because our people are many and they have long been oppressed by poverty. But while we may struggle for this betterment, we do not think that is the end of our struggle. I do not know what in different people's minds India represents. But every free country has an individuality, has some kind of soul and spirit, and unless it retains that, it loses the special virtue it had. I do not think any country can become uprooted without losing something of its infinite value.

How to find some kind of equilibrium between these varying desires which sometimes conflict with each other? That is our problem, perhaps, it is not a problem for us only but for the world, how to combine what might be called material progress with the deeper things of the spirit.

In another sense we talk in the world of freedom and freedom is precious for a country, for an individual. We talk of social progress, and in the world today with the advance of science and technology the individual becomes oppressed by the big things, the big machine.

Today we talk with apprehension of the possibility of war, with the terrible weapons that the world possesses. Well, war, anyhow, is not good and is much worse now than it was in the past. If it comes, of course, it puts an end to everything, freedom and all the other things, material things as well as the things of the spirit. Therefore, it becomes the primary aim for you, Sir, your country and us, and, I believe, for people in every country, to struggle again at these tendencies, so far as we can, which tend to push the world towards this type of disaster.

I do not know how we should get over all this, except that we should try to do so. And in trying, we seek the comradeship of others who think likewise. And in this, we feel we have good friends, good comrades in your country. Therefore, we are drawn to your country in more ways than one.

It is, as I said, a great delight to us to have you here as our honoured guests and we hope that during your stay here, you will have some glimpse of what we are and what we are painfully trying to do.

May I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to drink to the health of the Prime Minister of Norway and Madame Gerhardsen.

(vii) UK

**286. To Harold Macmillan<sup>202</sup>**

November 18, 1958

Dear Prime Minister,<sup>203</sup>

I was greatly touched by the message of greeting and affection you sent me on the occasion of my birthday,<sup>204</sup> and I should like to express to you my sincere gratitude. You have spoken appreciatively of your visit to India early this year.<sup>205</sup> We welcomed that visit, and have the happiest recollections of it. I have in particular greatly valued our talks at that time and the opportunities we have later had for direct exchange of views on a personal basis on current world problems.

One regards a birthday with rather mixed feelings, but is sustained and encouraged by the expressions of goodwill and affection which the occasion brings from friends and well-wishers. Thank you again for your very kind message.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

202. JN Collection.

203. Prime Minister of the UK.

204. Macmillan's effusive message of good wishes on 15 Nov. concluded thus: "I know that there are many millions of my countrymen who on reading of your 69th birthday will have kind thoughts about you in their hearts."

205. 8 to 12 Jan. 1958. See SWJN/SS/41/pp. 677-690.



## 287. Prince Philip's Visit to India<sup>206</sup>

Professor Thacker<sup>207</sup> came to see me this evening and spoke to me about Prince Philip's visit here.<sup>208</sup> He said that you had stated to him that Prince Philip would not be a State guest as he was coming for the Science Congress.<sup>209</sup> I was rather surprised to learn of this. He will, of course, be a State guest in whatever capacity he may come here. He will stay at Rashtrapati Bhavan and perhaps for two or three days in my house. Wherever else he goes, he will stay in Raj Bhavans. In fact he and his immediate entourage will be treated as State guests throughout wherever they go in India.

I understand that eight persons are accompanying him and one of these is a Professor Delegate for the Science Congress. Presumably he will stay at the Ashoka Hotel. I am not sure about treating him as State guest. Of course normally there would be no question of treating him as State guest, but if he is considered a member of Prince Philip's party, perhaps we might have to deal with him in the same way. We can consider this matter later.

The other members of Prince Philip's party are his Secretaries, Valet, Security Officer, etc. They should all be treated as our guests.

When Prince Philip arrives in Delhi, he should be given a Guard of Honour, but no booming of guns. I shall go to receive him and some other Ministers and senior officials might also go there.

When he goes to other cities or places in India, there need be no Guard of Honour and of course no guns. When he leaves India finally, he should be given a Guard of Honour.

The other details of his visit can be discussed later.

206. Note to M.R.A. Baig, the Chief of Protocol, MEA, 12 December 1958. JN Collection.

207. M.S. Thacker was Secretary, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, and Director General, CSIR.

208. Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, was in India from 21 Jan. for a fortnight.

209. The 46th session of the Indian Science Congress commenced in New Delhi on 21 Jan. 1959.

## 288. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>210</sup>

December 25, 1958

[Nan dear].

On return yesterday from Santiniketan,<sup>211</sup> I received your telegram about Prince Philip wanting to go to Jaipur. Of course we shall include this in his programme. I have already sent you a reply by telegram.

In this reply I have pointed out that it would be desirable not to cut too short his stay at Agra. If he goes to Jaipur in the morning and stays there till lunch, that will mean his reaching Agra probably by 3.30 or 4 p.m. The days are rather short and he will not have much time in day-light to see various places in Agra. Of course he can see the Taj by moon-light and there is supposed to be full moon that day. But he will not be able to go to Fatehpur Sikri at all and that is worth a visit.

He could of course go to Agra first, spend a good part of the morning and early afternoon there and then go to Jaipur, have lunch there and spend the night, coming to Delhi early next morning. In that event he will not see the Taj by moon-light, but will presumably see the Maharaja of Jaipur by moon-light. Personally I am not so enamoured of seeing the Taj by moonlight. I would much rather see these places in the day-time. There are three courses open:

- (1) Go to Jaipur in the morning, have lunch there and go at 3 p.m. to Agra, reaching there in less than half an hour and spending the rest of the day and night there.
- (2) Go to Agra in the morning, have lunch there and about 4 p.m. go to Jaipur and spend the night there.
- (3) Go to Agra in the morning, say about 8 a.m., from Delhi, reaching there by 8.45, remaining there till 12 and then going to Jaipur, reaching there in about 20 minutes or so—say 12.30, having lunch there and leaving Jaipur at about 3 for Agra, reaching Agra 3.30 and spending the rest of the day and the night there.

I mentioned this to Malcolm MacDonald<sup>212</sup> last night and he seemed to prefer the third course. It is for Prince Philip to decide what he would like to do and we shall fix up his programme accordingly.

Nkrumah of Ghana arrived here yesterday and during the next few days will be in Delhi and will of course take up much of our time.<sup>213</sup>

210. JN Collection.

211. Nehru addressed the convocation of Visva-Bharati University as Chancellor. See item 12.

212. British High Commissioner.

213. See item 291.



Tara<sup>214</sup> writes that she will not be coming to Delhi now. I am sorry at this as I was looking forward to seeing her.

[Love]

[Jawahar]

(viii) Ghana

**289. To Kwame Nkrumah<sup>215</sup>**

November 23, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,<sup>216</sup>

Thank you for your letter No. 309 dated the 13th October 1958, regarding the loan of services of an Air Force officer to assist Ghana in the establishment of the nucleus of a future Air Force.<sup>217</sup>

I have consulted my colleague, the Minister of Defence,<sup>218</sup> and we will do our best to meet your wishes.

Our Defence Ministry is selecting a suitable officer of the rank of Air Commodore for service in Ghana. We are, however, advised that a second officer of the rank of Squadron Leader would be necessary to assist the Air Commodore in his mission. We hope this will be acceptable to you.

We are going ahead with the selection of two suitable officers and are also working out the details regarding terms of service etc. These will be communicated shortly.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

214. Nayantara Sahgal, second daughter of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

215. JN Collection.

216. Prime Minister of Ghana.

217. Nkrumah wanted an officer who would "advise the Government on the precise definition of the role of the air force in its initial stages, and once that has been settled, to prepare plans for the establishment of a force capable of carrying out that role." He suggested a Group Captain for 18-24 months, and wanted him as early as the new year.

218. V.K. Krishna Menon.

## 290. Message to Kwame Nkrumah<sup>219</sup>

Thank you for your message transmitted through our High Commissioner in Accra<sup>220</sup> on the subject of negotiations between the Prime Minister of Ghana and the Prime Minister of Guinea to enter into a Union. I have since seen the Joint Declaration made by the two Prime Ministers.<sup>221</sup> Our High Commissioner also conveyed to me the substance of the advance information regarding the Joint Declaration which you gave to him and other Commonwealth representatives on 23rd morning.

I fully appreciate the desire of the West African States to come together and also your wish to remain within the Commonwealth. I agree with you that there may be practical difficulties but I trust that they will be satisfactorily resolved. I send you my good wishes.

I am looking forward to welcoming you here next month.<sup>222</sup>

## 291. Ghana as a Symbol of African Vitality<sup>223</sup>

Mr. Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

We welcome you, Sir, here on your first visit to our country. We welcome you for a variety of reasons because your country is a fellow member of the Commonwealth. You represent the independent State of Ghana. But in addition to that, we welcome you as something more.

Nearly two years ago Ghana became independent.<sup>224</sup> Perhaps many people in this part of the world were not acquainted with the name of Ghana. They knew the country, of course, but they were not acquainted with that name. And to them

219. 28 November 1958. JN Collection.

220. Balraj Krishna Kapur.

221. By the joint declaration of 23 Nov. 1958, the Prime Ministers of Ghana and Guinea agreed to constitute their two states as the nucleus of a Union of West African States. They decided to adopt a union flag, to develop the closest contacts in defence, foreign, and economic affairs, and to draft a constitution for the union. They declared that their union would not affect their respective relations with the Commonwealth and the French community.

222. Nkrumah visited India from 22 Dec. 1958 to 11 Jan. 1959.

223. Speech at the banquet in Rashtrapati Bhavan in honour of Nkrumah, New Delhi, 24 December 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

224. The Gold Coast became independent Ghana at midnight 5-6 Mar., 1957.



the independence of Ghana was something more than the independence of a new country which had been under colonial rule. It is something more because this had happened in Africa. The last dozen years or so, ever since the war, many people had talked about certain movements in Asia and a number of countries in Asia became free and independent. They called it the renaissance of Asia. We had Africa in mind, some of us, because Africa was full of problems, full of a long history of cruel suppression. And so when this, relatively small in size, country of Ghana became independent it was to many an historical event of considerable significance. We saw, we noticed even from this distance, the reactions of that in other parts of Africa. And we have been watching since then, for the last one and a half years or so, these reactions growing and how Ghana became some kind of a symbol to many other countries in Asia and in Africa. Recently, we heard of Ghana and the newly independent country of Guinea coming closer together and perhaps as a prelude to other changes.<sup>225</sup>

Only a few days ago we had a Conference at Accra where representatives of nearly all the African countries gathered together.<sup>226</sup> That also, I think, was almost an eye-opener to people who are not intimately acquainted with what was happening in Africa—the forces at work, the undercurrents which had been working there for a long time. They came to the surface and surprised many people. And suddenly they realised that something big was happening in Africa and Africa was astir to all kinds of longings for freedom, and it was not so much individual countries in Africa that sought their freedom which, of course, they did, but something on a wider and bigger scale—Africa somehow seemed to come very much in the centre of the picture. Hoping, longing for freedom and, what is more, doing so not with too soft a voice, rather assertively, rather aggressively, which was perhaps natural after this long period of suppression and the terrible history of hundreds of years. And so the drama has unfolded itself in the past year and a half and in this drama Ghana has been a very important element and a central State.

Your coming, therefore, to India, Sir, is doubly welcome both for the sake of Ghana and for the sake of Africa and the new movements and urges that are moving the minds and the hearts of millions and millions of people. We wish well to them, and we hope not only that they will achieve their freedom but that they will achieve it peacefully and in cooperation with other countries and we hope that the peoples of Africa and the countries of Africa and we in Asia as well as other countries in Asia or Europe, will live cooperatively and peacefully together.

225. See item 290.

226. From 15 to 22 Apr., 1958. See item 2, fn 20.

Countries which are sometimes described as underdeveloped, wherever they might have, to some extent, common problems to face, sometimes common backgrounds of colonial rule, and so inevitably they come closer to each other to learn from each other and, where possible, to help each other. And so we have been drawn to these countries and we have been drawn in particular to the new countries taking shape in Africa. And I earnestly hope that in the future these bonds of friendship and cooperation will grow to the advantage of both parties in all these countries. For, if that does not happen, the alternative is rather terrible to contemplate because all these great forces that have arisen and that are evident in Africa, moving masses of human beings, obviously cannot be suppressed. They will find an outlet. We can only hope that they will find that outlet in peace and friendship for otherwise it will be most unfortunate for all concerned. Anybody acquainted with Africa, whatever his other views might be, must realise that this great continent is full of vitality. It may be backward in development but when people are full of vitality and full of the desire to make good and grow, they have their essential quality to grow and they are likely to make good. So I have no particular anxiety about the future provided that this growth is peaceful and leads soon to freedom in those countries; otherwise, as I said, there may be unfortunate conflicts which will do harm to many, many people in many countries.

So you come here today not only as the Prime Minister of Ghana but as a symbol of what is moving the minds and hearts of the people of Africa and we welcome you especially in that capacity. Sir, I trust that your brief visit to India will enable you to realise to some extent our own aims and ideals and objectives. Our very bigness brings tremendous problems but we hope to survive them and get over them and to achieve the objectives we have placed before us, though undoubtedly we shall have to work very hard for that.

So Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the health of the Prime Minister of Ghana and the prosperity of the people of Ghana.

## 292. Reawakening of the People of Africa<sup>227</sup>

प्रधानमंत्रीजी, मेयर साहिबा और भाइयो, बहिनो,  
मैं देख रहा था बैठे हुए आप सभों को, तो दूर से नहीं देख सकता था पूरी तरह से, लेकिन  
जो करीब बैठे हुए थे वो साहिबान कुछ सुकड़ते जाते थे इस मौसम में। तो आपके साथ

227. Speech at the civic reception to Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, New Delhi, 27 December 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.



यह कुछ इंसान नहीं करना है कि आपको यहाँ और देर तक ठहरायें, शायद सर्दी बढ़ती जाये। लेकिन मुझे ख्याल आया।

यह आप जानते हैं कि हमारी नीति है, जिसको अंग्रेजी में कहते हैं co-existence, यानी मिलजुल कर रहना—अलग-अलग मुल्कों की राय हो, अलग-अलग रायों का मिलना और एक दूसरे को समझाना, समझा के अपनाना, लड़ाई-झगड़ा न करना। चुनाँचे हिन्दुस्तान में भी अक्सर कुछ इस किस्म के लोगों की राय आपको सुनने में आयेगी, और कुछ अखबारों में भी छपा करती है। अक्सर माकूल है, अक्सर इंतहा दर्जे ना-माकूल है। लेकिन दोनों की बरदाश्त होती है और दोनों के लिए रास्ता खुला है। तो उन्होंने यह सोचा कि हमारे जो मोअज्जिज़ मेहमान आप हैं वो ये भी देख लें कि यहाँ दिल्ली में पूरी तरह co-existence है, गर्मी और सर्दी की भी, दोनों का तजुर्बा उन्हें है। बहरसूरत हिन्दुस्तान में तो है ही। बाज़ मकान हैं, इन्तहा दर्जे सर्द हैं यहाँ, और बाज़ बहुत ही गर्म हैं।

ख़ैर, यहाँ दिल्ली के किले के दीवान-ए-आम में बहुत सारे बड़े आदमियों का इस्तकबाल हमने किया। आज भी एक आजकल की दुनिया के बड़े आदमी हमारे मेहमान हैं और इस्तकबाल करना उनका ठीक है, लेकिन उसके पीछे जो बात आपको याद करनी है वो ज़्यादा गहरी है। अभी यह जो मानपत्र उनको दिया गया, उसमें कुछ जिक्र था अफ्रीका का और वहाँ भी कुछ हो रहा है, और एक तरह से प्रधानमंत्री उसकी एक निशानी हैं। अपने मुल्क के एक नुमाइंदे तो हैं ही, और नेता, लेकिन मुल्क के बाहर भी जो कुछ हो रहा है उसका झंडा भी कुछ उनके हाथ में है।

यह बात अफ्रीका में जो हो रही है, उसका चर्चा बहुत ज़्यादा आप अखबारों में नहीं पढ़ेंगे। कभी-कभी होता है। बड़े-बड़े सवालियों का चर्चा अखबारों में होता है, लेकिन शायद आजकल के ज़माने में, आजकल के ज़माने का जब इतिहास और तारीख लिखी जाये तब एक बहुत बड़ी बात उसमें यह होगी कि अफ्रीका का जागना और उठना, अफ्रीका के लोगों का। पुरानी कहानी से अगर आप वाकिफ हों अफ्रीका की, तो बहुत दर्दनाक कहानी है। और बेहद जुल्म और ज़्यादती हुई, बेहद वहाँ के लोग दबाये गये, आपस में लड़े और दबाये गये, और किस तरह से वहाँ से जबरदस्ती बांध-बांध के लोग ले जाये गये गुलामी के लिए और मुल्कों में। दुनिया का कोई और हिस्सा नहीं है जहाँ इस किस्म का इतना जुल्म हुआ हो। तो अब, हो कोई एक। पिछली सदी में, उन्नीसवीं सदी में हमला हुआ उस पर, यूरोप के मुल्कों का। दो हमले बड़े हुए, एक तो हल्के-हल्के हुआ था उत्तर में और कुछ और अफ्रीका के समुद्री किनारे के मुल्क हैं उनमें। फिर वो एक सत्तर बरस हुए, एकदम से और बड़ा हमला हुआ सब करीब-करीब यूरोप के, सब तो नहीं लेकिन अक्सर मुल्कों में, क्योंकि वहाँ उन्होंने देखा कि मैदान खाली है, जल्दी से कब्ज़ा कर लें, और एक race सी हुई। और यह आप नक्शा देखें अफ्रीका का, तो आप देखें पूर्व, पश्चिम में यूरोप के मुल्कों के नाम के साथ यह इस मुल्क का हिस्सा है, यह उसका मुल्क का है। अजीब एक बंटवारा इस तरह से किया गया और काफी फायदा उससे उठाया।

एक और बात हुई वहाँ। बाज़ हिस्से अफ्रीका के तो ऐसे हैं जहाँ यूरोप के लोग रहना बहुत पसंद नहीं करते, यानी मौसम के लिहाज़ से गर्मी ज़्यादा, वगैरह। लेकिन जहाँ ज़रा मौसम ठंडा हुआ, मौजू हुआ उनके लिए, तो वहाँ वो असबाब बांध के गये वहाँ बैठने के लिए और जमे। खैर, और जम के वहाँ उन्होंने अपनी एक रियासतें कायम की, जैसे आप जानते हैं बाज़ जगह हैं, और जो वहाँ के रहने वाले थे उनका उसमें कोई हिस्सा नहीं था, वो तो उनके ऊपर थे। अब तक बाज़ मुल्क ऐसे हैं जो कि दुनिया में आज़ाद गिने जाते हैं, जिनकी नुमाइंदगी वहाँ है, संयुक्त राष्ट्र में, लेकिन अगर पर्दा उठा के देखिए तो वहाँ की अस्सी फीसदी आबादी उसमें कहीं नहीं है, या अस्सी से भी ज़्यादा, बल्कि कुछ लोग जो ऊपर हैं, यूरोप के आये हुए, वो मुल्क को समझते हैं उनका है, वही हुकूमत करते हैं, वही नुमाइंदगी करते हैं और औरों को मौका राय देने का भी नहीं देते। यह हाल है।

खैर, एक तरफ से यह है। दूसरे तरफ से यह भी है कि अफ्रीका के मुल्क हल्के-हल्के आज़ाद हो रहे हैं और इस बारे में हमें अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत की नीति की तारीफ करनी चाहिए कि उन्होंने इन मुल्कों में इस किस्म का रवैया अख़्तियार किया है जिससे यह बात हुई। उसमें इसकी एक बड़ी मिसाल घाना की है। आप तो कुछ दिन हुए घाना के नाम से भी वाकिफ न होंगे, न मैं वाकिफ था। सच बात यह है क्योंकि इसका नाम दूसरा था, अंग्रेज़ों का दिया हुआ नाम था। वही सब जुगराफिया में और नक्शे में वही छपता था, Gold Coast कहते थे उसे। क्योंकि वहाँ सोना कुछ मिलता था। सोने के लालच में कुछ लोग गये थे। लेकिन उसका पुराना नाम घाना था। जब यह आज़ाद हुआ तो वहाँ उन्होंने जाहिर है यह नाम पसंद किया और रखा।

घाना का होना आज़ाद, एक उससे अफ्रीका के बड़े हिस्सों में एक लहर सी चली गयी, फैली, क्योंकि वो एक निशानी हो गया अफ्रीका के असली कौमों का आज़ाद होना। उनके मुल्क के पास एक और मुल्क है, Nigeria है। सुना जाता है, उम्मीद है, कि साल दो साल में वो भी आज़ाद होगा।<sup>228</sup> इस तरह से कई मुल्क वहाँ हो रहे हैं। Guinea का आपने सुना ही है, वो फ्रांसीसी हुकूमत में था।<sup>229</sup> तो वो बहुत तारीखी और ऐतिहासिक बात है जो अफ्रीका में हो रही है, अफ्रीका के लोगों का उठना और जागना। और अफ्रीका के लोग उनको बहुत बरसों से बहुत मौका नहीं मिला उठने का, न बहुत ज़्यादा तालीम का, न और बातों का ख़ास इंतज़ाम था। जब-जब मौका मिला अच्छे आये उसमें, बड़े, तगड़े थे, समझदार थे। मुझे खुशी है कि हमारे मुल्क में वहाँ से बहुत सारे तालिब-ए-इल्म आये हैं पढ़ रहे हैं वहाँ दिल्ली में, कलकत्ते में, बनारस, इलाहाबाद, बम्बई, मद्रास—सभी जगह फैले हुए हैं। और मुल्कों में भी गये हैं। और यकीनन यह लोग जो जायेंगे इनको बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारियाँ उठानी पड़ेंगी वहाँ। लेकिन जो बात आपके और हमारे समझने की है वो है सारे अफ्रीका

228. Nigeria became independent at midnight 30 Sept.—1 Oct., 1960.

229. Guinea, a former French territory of West Africa, became an independent Republic on 1 Oct., 1957.



के लाखों और करोड़ों लोगों में वो एक हलचल उनके दिमागों में, दिलों में, और यकीनन जो कि बड़े-बड़े सवाल पेश करेगी दुनिया के सामने। अगर वो सवाल अमन से हल हुए और वो मुल्क आज़ाद हुए तो हरेक का भला है, दुनिया का भला है, उनका तो है ही। अगर नहीं हुए तब ज़रा अंदेशा है कि फिर जाने क्या उखाड़-पछाड़ हो, मालूम नहीं। क्योंकि इतनी बड़ी कौमों बहुत दिन तक दब तो नहीं सकतीं। जब एक दफा उनकी आँखें खुल गयीं, एक दफा एक दिमाग और जिस्म में गर्मी आयी, तो उसको ठंडा करना बड़ा मुश्किल होता है। यह हाल है, और अफ्रीका के लोग, हालाँकि एक पुरानी कौम है, लेकिन बड़ी जवान कौम भी उसी के साथ है और एक काफी एक जोश-ए-जवानी उनमें है, इसलिए मुनासिब है कि अफ्रीका के लोगों के और उसके तरफ आप लोग और हम सब ध्यान दें क्योंकि अजीब-अजीब बातें वहाँ हो रही हैं, कुछ अच्छी बातें, कुछ बुरी बातें, और मुनासिब है हर सूरत से कि हमारा और उनका रिश्ता अच्छा हो।

अक्सर पहले मैंने एक बात कही है वह फिर कह दूँ। हमारे हिन्दुस्तान से अक्सर लोग बाज़ अफ्रीका के मुल्कों में भी गये हैं, व्यापारिक, व्यापार करने या कोई पेशा करने, और काफी उनको लाभ हुआ है, फायदा हुआ है, व्यापार वगैरह में। मैंने कहा है, आज से नहीं जब से मैं प्रधानमंत्री हुआ बल्कि बहुत बरस हुए कांग्रेस की ओर से हमने कहा था, यह कि जो कि हिन्दुस्तानी बाहर जाते हैं जाहिर है कि हम चाहते हैं कि वे इज़्ज़त से रहें जहाँ जायें और उनकी इज़्ज़त हो। यह बात ठीक है। लेकिन हम नहीं चाहते कि कोई हिन्दुस्तानी जो बाहर जायें, वो उस मुल्क के रहने वालों के खिलाफ कोई बात करें, या चाहे उनको ख़ास एक प्यार या privilege या कोई चीज़ मिले जो वहाँ के लोगों को नहीं है, और वो हमेशा समझें कि उस मुल्क में वो मेहमान हैं। अगर उस मुल्क के लोगों से उनकी नहीं बनती तो उनकी जगह नहीं रहती और हम जबरदस्ती अपने लोगों को कहीं नहीं ठूस सकते। न मुनासिब है, न हो सकता है। इसलिए हमने हमेशा सलाह दिया कि जो लोग बाहर जायें, उनका फर्ज़ है जिस मुल्क में जायें उनसे दोस्ती करें, वहाँ के लोगों से, उनकी ख़िदमत करें और इस तरह से एक अच्छी कड़ी बनायें उस मुल्क में और हमारे मुल्क में। एक तरह से जो हिन्दुस्तानी बाहर जाता है चाहे किसी हैसियत का हो वो हिन्दुस्तान का छोटा सा सफ़ीर हो जाता है। यहाँ कोई बदतमीज़ी भी करे तो छिप जाती है लाखों आदमियों में, लेकिन बाहर कोई हिन्दुस्तानी बदतमीज़ी करता है तो छिपती नहीं है। क्योंकि वह बात शायी हो जाती है और हमारा मुल्क बदनाम हो जाता है।

खैर, मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि हमारा और अफ्रीका के आज़ाद मुल्कों का रिश्ता बढ़ता जाता है, करीब का होता है, और मैं समझता हूँ कि उससे हम दोनों को फायदा होगा। हम किसी के खिलाफ तो हैं नहीं, किसी और मुल्क के, लेकिन हम ज़रूर समझते हैं कि जहाँ-जहाँ मुल्क आज़ाद नहीं हैं अभी तक, और मुल्कों की हुकूमत में हैं, उनको आज़ाद होना चाहिए। हम समझते हैं कि जिन मुल्कों में, जिन मुल्कों की नीति है या उनका रवैया है कि वे अलग-अलग कौमों में फर्क करें, यानि जिसको racial discrimination कहते

हैं, दबायें किसी को, गोरा और काला और बीच के जो मुखतलिफ रंग हैं अलग-अलग करके उनको, यह महज गलत बात नहीं है बल्कि इंसानियत के खिलाफ बात है और बहरसूरत हम इस बात को बरदाश्त नहीं करेंगे कभी भी। यह, इसकी मिसालें आप जानते हैं इसकी मिसालें अफ्रीका में बड़ी जबरदस्त हैं। एक तरफ आप अफ्रीका में इसकी मिसाल देखते हैं, यह बिल्कुल गलत है, और कभी-कभी वहशियाना बातें, दूसरी तरफ यह आज़ादी की लहर जब वहाँ फैल रही थी दोनों बातें। अब कैसे दोनों इन में आपस में समझौता होगा। यह एक इतिहास ही बतायेगा बाद में। लेकिन जाहिर है हमारा दिल और दिमाग़ गवाही देता है—इसका जवाब एक है, हो सकता है, और वो यह कि अफ्रीका में आज़ादी का फैलना।

तो आज जब आप और हम यहाँ जमा हुए हैं Dr Nkrumah के स्वागत के लिए तो एक माने में महज एक आदरणीय मेहमान का स्वागत नहीं हुआ बल्कि ये जो लहरें अफ्रीका में हैं आज़ादी की, उनका भी एक स्वागत करते हैं यहाँ आकर और उनको अपनी सहानुभूति, हमदर्दी और मुहब्बत का पैगाम भेजते हैं।

[Translation begins]

Mr. Prime Minister, the Mayoress, and brothers and sisters,  
I have been looking at all of you sitting here and at least the ones sitting in front of me seem to be shivering in the cold weather. So it is not proper that you should be asked to stay here much longer as the temperature may further dip.

As you know, our policy is known as one of co-existence. That means that nations can have different opinions but there should be an attempt to explain one another's point of view peacefully; that they should live in harmony and there should be no quarrels. You often find various views expressed in Indian newspapers, some good, others extremely inappropriate. But both are tolerated and there is freedom of expression. So it seems that their idea is that our honourable guest should see the co-existence of heat and cold in India. Some of the houses in India are extremely cold and some quite warm.

Anyhow, we have had the privilege of welcoming many great people in this Diwan-i-Aam of the Fort in Delhi. Today we have with us a leading international personality and it is proper that we should give him a warm welcome. But you must remember that he stands for something which has a deeper significance. Just now in the welcome address given to him, there was some mention of Africa and what is happening there. In a sense, the Prime Minister is not only a representative and leader of his country but also a symbol of what is happening elsewhere in Africa.

You will not find much mention of what is happening in Africa in the newspapers. But I think when the history of the present times is written, one of the most significant things in it will be the awakening of the people of Africa.



The history of Africa in the past has been a tragic one. Terrible atrocities and crimes have been committed against the people of Africa. The people of Africa have been brutally suppressed and often taken out of their continent to other countries as slaves. There is no other part in the world which has experienced such brutal atrocities. In the last century, there was an onslaught of European colonialism in Africa, or rather two waves of it. One was in the North and in the coastal countries of Africa, and then about seventy years ago, a concerted attack by practically all the European countries on the continent. Finding the field open, each country was in a hurry to carve out a slice for itself. There was sort of a race and, if you look at the map of Africa, you will find that an extraordinary division of spoils took place.

There was one more thing. The Europeans did not much care for the hotter parts of Africa but wherever the climate was cool and congenial to them the Europeans parcelled out the land among themselves and settled there. The natives were thrown out. Even now, though some of the so-called independent countries are represented in the United Nations, if you see closely you will find that about 80 per cent or more of the African population has no real representation in the United Nations. Those who have come from Europe consider the country theirs. They rule over there and do not even give an opportunity to other to express their views.

This is the picture on the one hand. On the other hand, you find that the countries of Africa are gradually becoming free and in this respect we must appreciate the policies of the British Government for they adopted an attitude which made this possible. Ghana is an example of this. Many of you may not be familiar with this name for in geography books and maps, it is known as the Gold Coast. Gold mines were discovered and people went there in search of gold. But the old name was Ghana and after independence, obviously, they have preferred to revert to it.

A new wave spread over the whole of Africa when Ghana became free because it became a symbol of freedom for the other African countries. It is hoped that Nigeria, which is a neighbouring country, will become free in a year or two.<sup>230</sup> Other African countries are also likely to achieve freedom. You have heard of Guinea which was under French control.<sup>231</sup> So a historic event is taking place in Africa—a re-awakening of the people of Africa. They have been kept suppressed for centuries with not much opportunity for education or other things. Whenever they got the opportunity, they came out well. The people are

230. See fn 228 in this section.

231. See fn 229 in this section.

strong and intelligent. I am happy that many African students have been coming to India for studies and are spread out in various places like Delhi, Calcutta, Allahabad, Bombay, Banaras, Madras, etc. They go to other countries also for education. These are the people who will undoubtedly have to shoulder great responsibilities when they go back. But what is noteworthy is the great ferment in the hearts and minds of millions of people in Africa which is bound to have far-reaching consequences for the rest of the world. The interest of the world lies in the African countries becoming free by peaceful methods. If not, nobody can predict what upheavals may result. Such large nations cannot be kept suppressed for very long. Once there is an awakening and hearts seethe with action, it is difficult to pacify the people. This is the position in Africa. Though the Africans are an ancient race, they are also full of the enthusiasm and passion of youth. So it is proper that we should pay attention to Africa because extraordinary things are happening there, good as well as bad. So it is desirable from all angles that the relations between India and Africa should be good.

I will repeat what I have often said before. Innumerable Indians have gone to Africa in the past for trade or other professions, and have made enormous profits there. I have repeatedly said, not only since I became Prime Minister but for years before that on behalf of the Congress, that obviously we want that the Indians who go abroad should live there with dignity and earn the respect of others. That is all right. But we do not want that any Indian who goes abroad should do anything which is against the interests of the local population or try to grab privileges which are not available to the native people. They must always behave like guests in a foreign country. If they cannot get along with the people of a country, then there is no place for them there. We cannot push our people by force where they are not wanted. It is neither proper nor possible. Therefore, we have always advised the people who go abroad that it is their duty to be on friendly terms with the local population and to serve them and thus establish a strong link between India and those countries. In a sense, any Indian who goes abroad, in whatever capacity, automatically becomes an ambassador of the country. In India, any misdemeanour on the part of an Indian may remain hidden, but a similar act by an Indian abroad comes to light and the country gets a bad reputation.

Well, I am happy that the relations between India and the independent countries of Africa are growing closer and I feel that that is to the advantage of both. We are not opposed to any country. But we are strongly in favour of freedom to the countries which are still under colonial rule. We believe that racial discrimination on the basis of one's colour, like white, black, and certain intermediate shades, is not only wrong but it is also against the dignity of man and will never be tolerated by us under any circumstances. As you know, there



are overwhelming instances of this in Africa. So you see, on the one hand, such instances, barbarous acts against human beings, and, on the other hand, a spreading of the wave of freedom. Both the things are there. Now, only history will tell how a compromise will be reached between the two. But it is obvious, and our hearts and minds bear witness to this, that there is only one answer to this and that is the spread of freedom all over Africa.

So today, when all of us are gathered here to welcome Dr Nkrumah, in a sense we are welcoming not merely an honoured guest but also the spreading waves of freedom in Africa. We send a message of sympathy and love to the people of Africa.

[Translation ends]

### (ix) Germany

#### 293. Grotewohl's Visit<sup>232</sup>

I agree generally with what you have written.<sup>233</sup> I think that you should speak to the Trade Representative of the German Democratic Republic<sup>234</sup> frankly explaining to him our position. In view of our not having normal diplomatic relations with that country, it would be embarrassing for us and for him to treat the Prime Minister of East Germany as if we had such diplomatic relations. But, in the event of his coming here<sup>235</sup> he will be treated as a distinguished guest. Thus the visit will be in the nature of a private visit and not a State visit. There will be no Guard of Honour and it will not be appropriate for me to receive him on arrival but a member of the Government as well as others will receive him if he comes. I would gladly meet him later and perhaps we could have a private meal together. As a distinguished visitor he will be given every courtesy.

Then there is the question of the timing. He will appreciate that it would be embarrassing for him and for us if his visit overlaps with the visit of some other distinguished guests from abroad. So far as I am concerned I shall be out of

232. Note to Subimal Dutt, 5 November 1958. JN Collection. Otto Grotewohl was the Prime Minister of German Democratic Republic from 1949 to 1964.

233. Subimal Dutt proposed the following in his note of 1 Nov.: 1) Grotewohl be welcomed as a distinguished visitor; 2) no overlap with the visits of Nkrumah and Tito; 3) no guard of honour, although he did not commit himself when the Chinese Ambassador had asked "casually" whether there would be one.

234. E. Renneisen.

235. Grotewohl visited India, 12-16 Jan. 1959, en route to North Vietnam and Peking.

Delhi for many days in January.

So, if he is passing through India or making a brief stay here in Delhi, the dates should be so fixed as to avoid my absence from here and the visit of some other foreign dignitary.<sup>236</sup>

## 294. Modalities of Grotewohl's Visit<sup>237</sup>

We have already agreed to the Prime Minister of East Germany breaking his journey in Delhi. It has been made clear that this would be considered a private visit, and not a State visit, but otherwise he will be given the courtesies due to a distinguished visitor. I shall meet him, and he can meet some other Ministers also. His probable stay is longer than I expected.

2. I think that we should try to avoid his visit coinciding with Marshal Tito's. I do not know how Marshal Tito himself would react to such an overlap. I think that you might enquire from the Yugoslav Ambassador<sup>238</sup> and, in any event, you might inform the Trade Representative of East Germany that we would prefer to avoid such an overlap. Even if the Prime Minister of East Germany comes on the date stated, he might perhaps be sent to Agra or some other place on the days when Marshal Tito is here.

3. I think the Prime Minister of East Germany and his party should be put up at Hyderabad House. If all of them cannot be accommodated there, some may be sent to a hotel.

4. I might mention that I shall be returning to Delhi on the 12th January from Nagpur. On the 16th, I shall visit Ambala for the day, returning in the evening.

5. We shall discuss the programme of the Prime Minister of East Germany later. I think that I might invite him to a more or less informal dinner at my house. There will be no banquet.<sup>239</sup>

236. President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia also visited India from 13 to 19 Jan. 1959.

237. Note to Subimal Dutt, 5 December 1958. JN Collection.

238. Dusan Kveder.

239. In another note of 11 Dec. to Subimal Dutt, Nehru set out other protocol details: Cabinet Minister to receive Grotewohl at the airport; calls on Nehru and Rajendra Prasad; visits to Delhi University and elsewhere, and so on.



**295. Protocol for Grotewohl<sup>240</sup>**

I think we have acted quite correctly in this matter and there is no reason why we should worry over it.<sup>241</sup> There is no question of an official banquet being given to him. As for his stay, it is exactly the same thing whether they stayed at Hyderabad House or in the Ashoka Hotel as our guests.

I do not think we should go out of our way to tell the East German Trade Representative as to how he should function.

It might be advisable however to give privately some hint to our press as to our attitude in this matter.

**296. Message to Konrad Adenauer<sup>242</sup>**

Please accept my warm congratulations on the happy occasion of your birthday<sup>243</sup> and my best wishes for your health and happiness. May you live long for the service of your country and your people. I am particularly glad that the friendly relations between our two countries have been further strengthened by the recent visit of your Minister of Economics Dr. Ludwig Erhard.

240. Note to Subimal Dutt, 26 December 1958. File No. 7(144) Eur (W)/58, MEA.

241. Badruddin Tyabji, Indian Ambassador to West Germany, complained to S. Sen, Joint Secretary, MEA, on 12 and 17 Dec. that the West German Government might resent Grotewohl being welcomed in India, given the complexities of the Berlin and German unification problems. Therefore, not only was it to be a private visit, but it "should appear private to the outside world." Ashoka Hotel would be better than Hyderabad House for his lodgings, there should be no official banquet or such functions, and they should not be allowed to conduct any publicity campaigns in India. The East German Trade Representative should be told this and the press briefed.

Subimal Dutt had anticipated Tyabji's concerns when he noted to Nehru on 5 Dec. that Grotewohl was spending five days in Delhi en route to North Vietnam without "enough to occupy himself." Therefore, he was likely to engage in "some high pressure propaganda in favour of the East German point of view in regard to Berlin and other matters." In his note of 26 Dec. 1958 to Nehru he observed that Tyabji and the West German Government need not fear that India might offer mediation on the German question.

242. 27 December 1958. JN Collection.

243. On 5th Jan. 1959.

**297. The Question of Cyprus<sup>244</sup>**

The Turkish Ambassador came to see me this morning and handed to me the attached paper.<sup>245</sup> He said that he had come under instructions from his Government and added that what the Government had said on the question of Cyprus was much stronger than what he had tried to reproduce in more diplomatic language in the paper he was giving me. In fact, his Government felt that Archbishop Makarios was trying to blackmail everybody.

2. I told the Ambassador that while it was not our wish or practice to interfere in matters relating to other countries, the question of Cyprus had caused us concern because of its implications and because of the continuance of the conflict there. In fact, Cyprus had become one of those questions that troubled the conscience of the world.

3. While perhaps Cyprus was not a colonial issue in the old sense of the term, the fact remained that it was administered by a foreign government and did not have self rule. Our attitude in this matter had all along been to encourage some mutually satisfactory settlement. Our Delegation in the UN during the last two-three years had exercised a restraining influence on those who wanted to follow more extreme courses because we hoped that such a settlement might be reached. When the question of Enosis was raised, the attitude we took was that the people of Cyprus should be given the opportunity of self-

244. Note to N.R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt, 10 November 1958. JN Collection. Copy sent to Defence Minister, V.K. Krishna Menon.

Cyprus was part of the Ottoman Empire until 1878 when the British Government seized it, hence the modern Turkish claim to the island. But the local Greek population, led by the National Organisation of Cypriot Combatants (EOKA) under Archbishop Makarios and General George Grivas demanded union with Greece, or enosis. In June 1958 the British Government proposed a seven-year interim self-government plan for Cyprus but both Turkey and Greece rejected it and Turkey demanded partition. The matter was to come before the UN General Assembly and the Political Committee.

245. This was an appeal, dated 3 Nov. 1958, by the Turkish Government to India not to support a resolution for the independence of Cyprus; instead it hoped India would merely reiterate its resolution of 26 Feb. 1957, endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly "that a peaceful, democratic and just solution will be found in accord with the principles and purposes of the Charter... and the hope that negotiation will be resumed and continued to this end," in short, continued negotiations.



determination. That was not only in conformity with our normal views on such subjects but was also the least we could say. It would have been wholly out of keeping with our general policy for us to be opposed to self-determination or self-rule.

4. I realised that there was some substance for the apprehensions of the Turkish Government. Indeed, owing to the conflict during the last two-three years, opposition had become much worse in Cyprus. But I had no way out except to accept self-rule subject to such guarantees as might be devised for the protection of minority or majority. A partition of that small island would only result in keeping up this bitter feud.

5. The Ambassador said that all that the Turkish Government wanted was for us to continue to adhere to our resolution in the UN on this issue last year. He added that the Turks were willing to discuss these matters and had agreed to go to the NATO Council meeting for this purpose. But at the last moment under pressure from Archbishop Makarios, the Greek Government had declined to attend.

6. I said that we were not bypassing our previous resolution on Cyprus. We still hoped that some way out would be found by way of settlement. But if a question arose about self-rule or self-determination, we had to support it as otherwise we would be denying the policy we had pursued in regard to all such matters in the past.

7. When the Ambassador pointed out that Cyprus was quite near to the Turkish mainland and therefore a foreign power occupying it would be a danger to them, I said that if Cyprus was partitioned that danger in a sense might be said to continue. Further whenever two countries adjoin each other that type of danger arises for both. Apart from this, the whole military approach to this problem had lost its significance with the development of modern methods of warfare. The bitter feud in Cyprus was a greater danger than anything else.

8. A copy of this should be sent to the Defence Minister with a copy of the paper that the Turkish Ambassador gave me.

**298. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>246</sup>**

Your telegram 345 November 28th.<sup>247</sup> Cyprus.

2. Macdonald<sup>248</sup> saw me this afternoon with message from Macmillan.<sup>249</sup> Said that British policy was for self-government first and later self-determination which they knew would inevitably lead to independence. If, however, independence was stressed now the result would almost inevitably be partition to which U.K. Government were opposed. If matter is brought to a head now in the U.N. Assembly on issue of independence or of unity, Turkey may finally commit itself to partition and solution would become more difficult.

3. He referred to our resolution. Apparently only part of it to which objection raised by Macmillan was reference twice to "united personality of Cyprus". Macdonald admitted that this phrase had been used by U.K. Representative and it represented British Government's thinking but, to mention it in formal resolution now would inevitably lead to bitter discussions in U.N. and Turkey digging in its toes.

4. I told Macdonald that I thought our resolution on Cyprus was very moderate and constructive. Our own instructions to our Delegation were for a stronger attitude. Our approach is of course always one to find some satisfactory settlement and not merely to express our strong views. We feel that British policy in Cyprus has been unfortunate and has led to worsening of situation. Also that Turkish policy is not justified although we recognise that there should be some guarantees to protect their position. In any event we are entirely opposed to idea of partition.

5. I could not understand British objection to words "United personality of Cyprus". That may please Turkey but it would greatly displease others and in fact make them suspect that partition was intended. In any event, to leave these words out now from our Resolution, after others had seen it, would mean that we are backing out of our assurances and not holding on to any policy.

246. 12 December 1958. JN Collection.

247. Krishna Menon's telegram of 28 Nov. to the FS argued that the British, Turkish, and Greek resolutions could not be supported but it would be embarrassing for India to abstain. Britain wanted joint control by Britain, Greece, and Turkey rather than independence. The Indian position of freedom for Cypriots would be supported by Greece and independent Latin American, Asian, and African states, privately by the USA, and Canada was exerting pressure on Britain; but the Soviet Union may abstain.

248. British High Commissioner.

249. British Prime Minister.



6. We did not attach special value to any particular form of words and if there was agreement on any other form, we would naturally agree. But we could not go back on what we had said and which represented our own considered views, unless some other arrangement was agreed to by parties concerned. In any event, this matter was in the hands of our Delegation in New York and should be discussed with them. I told Macdonald that I would inform you of our talk.

7. Macdonald indicated that the U.K. Government had given up their last resolution<sup>250</sup> and were bringing forward an improved one.

8. I agree with you that it is not possible for us to abstain on this issue or not to participate in voting.

#### (xi) Other Countries

#### 299. Cable to Sukarno<sup>251</sup>

I am happy that our President is visiting Indonesia next month<sup>252</sup> and will thus have the chance of meeting Your Excellency again and seeing your beautiful country. This visit will no doubt strengthen the strong bonds of friendship that unite us.

In drawing up his programme we were confronted by a difficulty. Our President will be travelling by Viscount Aircraft. A continuous journey from India to Djakarta was likely to be a great strain on our President in view of his age. Also, in any event, the Aircraft would have to stop for refuelling in Malaya. The change in local timings between India and Djakarta also made the day shorter. For all these reasons we had to come to the conclusion that he should break journey at Kuala Lumpur and rest. We wanted to avoid any risk to his health and also wanted him to reach Djakarta in a fresh condition and not tired out. On his return journey this break is not so necessary as change in local timings is to our advantage.

This brief visit to Kuala Lumpur is thus rather incidental and for the sake of his health. His only purpose in leaving India is to visit Your Excellency. In redrafting his programme, we have suggested the elimination of two rest days

250. The British plan for Cyprus continuing as a colony for seven years to be followed by the joint government of Britain, Greece and Turkey.

251. 6 November 1958. JN Collection. Sukarno was President of Indonesia.

252. Rajendra Prasad's visit to Indonesia, 8-19 Dec., with a stopover at Kuala Lumpur on the 6th.

in Indonesia so that no item need be omitted. He has to come back to Delhi by a certain date to receive some eminent guests from abroad who are expected here then.<sup>253</sup>

I hope that in these circumstances you will be good enough to agree to the slight modification in the dates of our President's visit to Indonesia and his breaking journey en route at Kuala Lumpur as suggested.

With kind regards and good wishes.

### 300. To Rajeshwar Dayal<sup>254</sup>

November 12, 1958

My dear Rajeshwar,<sup>255</sup>

Dutt<sup>256</sup> has shown me your report summarising the activities of the UNOGIL. Now that there is an early prospect of the successful conclusion of the labours of the UNOGIL, I should like to express my appreciation of the important part which you played in giving a good start to the Observation Group in Lebanon and in helping it through a critical period of its existence. I watched with interest your activities and those of the other Indian members of the Observation Group's personnel, both at headquarters and in the field. I am happy to feel that by your objective and non-partisan approach to the difficult problems which arose from time to time during the past few months, you were able to give a practical demonstration of our policy of non-alignment and won the hearts of the people of Lebanon. Please accept my congratulations and convey them to your other Indian colleagues, both civil and military.

A word of special praise is also due to Jansen<sup>257</sup> and I should like you to convey it to him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

253. The Prime Ministers of Norway and Ghana, Gerhardsen and Nkrumah, respectively.

254. JN Collection.

255. Member of UNOGIL from June 1958; Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan from Nov. 1958.

256. Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary.

257. G.H. Jansen, joined the Indian Information Service in 1951 and later worked as Press Attaché in Beirut.



### 301. To Lalji Mehrotra<sup>258</sup>

15th November, 1958

My dear Lalji,<sup>259</sup>

I have seen your letter to Mathai dated 12th November.

I am surprised to learn that U Ba Swe<sup>260</sup> is under the impression that I do not like him. There is absolutely no basis for this. Of course, the fact is that I have been much more intimately connected with U Nu<sup>261</sup> and have admired him greatly. I hardly know U Ba Swe. Whenever I went to Rangoon, my conversations were chiefly with U Nu. When U Ba Swe came here as Prime Minister,<sup>262</sup> I met him, of course, several times and we had some talks. But, as you perhaps know, he is not a great talker.

I would certainly like to remove the impression which U Ba Swe has got. But it is not clear to me what I can do about it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 302. To N. Raghavan<sup>263</sup>

November 16, 1958

My dear Raghavan,<sup>264</sup>

The lovely Argentine painting you sent me was delivered to me on my birthday. Also your note. I am very grateful to you and Radha<sup>265</sup> for this beautiful gift, although I must say that gifts rather embarrass me and I do not take them here in India.

You appear to be having a somewhat exciting time in the Argentine. We have been reading your messages, but it is difficult for us to form some correct

258. JN Collection.

259. Indian Ambassador to Burma.

260. Prime Minister of Burma, 1956-57.

261. Prime Minister of Burma, 1948-56, 1957-58 and 1960-62.

262. In Nov. 1956. See SWJN/SS/35/p. 334.

263. JN Collection.

264. Indian Ambassador to Argentina.

265. Raghavan's wife.

idea of the forces at work there. I suppose, however, that this kind of thing is a normal occurrence in most of the South American States.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 303. Deputation of Major-General Habibullah to Malaya<sup>266</sup>

I mentioned this matter to the Defence Minister<sup>267</sup> before he left. He told me that there should be no difficulty in our agreeing to Major-General Habibullah<sup>268</sup> going to Malaya as requested. He thought, however, that it will be better for Major-General Habibullah to be given an extension of service here and then deputed to go to Malaya, than for him to terminate his service and then go there. He was going to discuss this with the Army Chief of Staff.<sup>269</sup>

2. Will you please find out from Army Headquarters as to how this matter stands, so that I can send a reply to the Prime Minister of Malaya?<sup>270</sup>

### 304. Message to H.C. Hansen<sup>271</sup>

I have learnt with profound sorrow of the sudden passing away of Ambassador Viggo Theis-Nielsen.<sup>272</sup> I offer you and the Government of Denmark, as also the bereaved family, the most heartfelt sympathies of the Government of India and my own, on this tragic loss of a distinguished diplomat and lovable personality. You may rest assured that we will do everything possible to assist Mrs Theis-Nielsen and her daughter at this sad moment.

266. Note to N.R. Pillai, and Vishnu Sahay, 16 November 1958. File No. 3101(33)/SD/59, MEA. See also item 305.

267. V.K. Krishna Menon.

268. Major-General Enaith Habibullah was appointed Commandant, National Defence Academy, Khadakvasla, Poona, in Jan. 1955.

269. K.S. Thimayya.

270. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra.

271. 19 November 1958. JN Collection. H.C. Hansen (1906-1960); Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Denmark, 1955-60.

272. (1910-1958); Danish diplomat; Trade Commissioner in Bombay, 1949-53; Ambassador to India, 1956-58; died on 19 Nov. 1958 after a brief illness.



**305. To Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra<sup>273</sup>**

24th November 1958

My dear Prime Minister,<sup>274</sup>

I received your letter of the 5th November, 1958,<sup>275</sup> some time ago. I am sorry for the delay in answering it. I had to make some references and to find out what the position was before I could send you an answer.

When your letter came, our Defence Minister was here. But immediately after he went away to lead our delegation at the United Nations. Since then, I have been more or less in supervisory charge of the Ministry of Defence.

I have enquired from the Chief of Staff of our Army and he is agreeable to Major-General Habibullah being seconded for two or three years, as you choose, to serve in Malaya. He has sounded Major-General Habibullah also and I understand that he is also agreeable to going to Malaya. Of course, he would like to have some particulars about the terms of service.

We would like to know:

1. The date from which you require the services of Major-General Habibullah;
2. The period of the contract; and
3. The pay and allowances to which the officer will be entitled.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

273. JN Collection.

274. Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya.

275. Tunku Abdul Rahman wrote to Nehru on 5 Nov., addressing him "My dear Panditji" in his own hand, and asking for an Indian Major General as deputy to the head of the Federation Armed Forces, the General Officer Commanding. Senior officers were chiefly foreigners, the seniormost Malay officer being a colonel. He did not want to promote Malay officers until they were qualified for the rank, and he did not want British officers. He wanted Major General Habibullah, who, interestingly, was his son's choice. The young man had been through Khadakvasla ("Karakh Vasala" in the Tunku's spelling) where Habibullah had been Commandant; the Tunku had then met him at Mecca and found him "eminently suitable." He hoped Habibullah could be seconded for two to three years.

### 306. Elections in Nepal<sup>276</sup>

Nawab Singh Chauhan:<sup>277</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Government of Nepal have sought any help from the Government of India in connection with their first General Elections;<sup>278</sup> and
- (b) if so, what help they have sought and what help has so far been given or is proposed to be given to them until their elections are over?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b) Yes.

Sir, at the request of H.M.'s Government of Nepal, since October 1954 an Indian Adviser on elections and parliamentary affairs has been working in the Indian Aid Mission. He has been assisting the Nepal Government in the delimitation of constituencies, revision of electoral rolls, training of election staff and the collection of election material.

Recently with a view to providing telecommunications in the interior of Nepal for election work, H.M.'s Government in Nepal requested the loan of fifteen wireless sets, along with the requisite operators etc., for a period of six months. The Government of India have agreed to meet this request.

The Government of India have presented some documentary films to educate the public in Nepal in the conduct of elections. The Government of India have also agreed to prepare a documentary film on the forthcoming elections in Nepal at the request of that Government.

In addition, miscellaneous requests like the supply of indelible ink and printing of ballot papers have also been complied with.

276. 27 November 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIII, cols 368-370.

277. Congress MP from Uttar Pradesh.

278. The General Elections in Nepal began on 18 Feb. 1959 and completed in a phased manner on 3 Apr. 1959.



**307. New Algerian Government<sup>279</sup>**

T. Sanganna<sup>280</sup> and others: Will the Prime Minister be please to state:

- (a) whether any formal request has been made to Government by the New Algerian Government<sup>281</sup> for its recognition; and
- (b) if so, the reaction of Government of India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) A request to this effect was received through the Embassy of India, Cairo.

(b) The Government of India did not consider it appropriate to give formal recognition at this stage. Government are, as is well known, [sic] in Algeria to self-determination and independence. These views have been expressed repeatedly at the United Nations, in public statements and diplomatic correspondence. Government, however, felt that formal recognition by them at this stage would not be helpful and would not be in keeping with the present facts of the situation.

**308. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>282</sup>**

Your telegram 359 December 9. Algeria.

I do not like preambular para 7 and last operative para. These are not in conformity with the attitude we have taken up in regard to the provisional Government of Algeria and it would not be quite fair on our part to make this sudden change in our attitude in this way.<sup>283</sup> You should not repeat nor co-sponsor this resolution as it is. You might certainly try to improve it and make it more in line with our thinking.

279. 29 November 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXII, cols 2096-2097.

280. T. Sanganna was Congress MP from Koraput, Orissa.

281. The provisional government of the Algerian Republic was formed in Cairo in Egypt by the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) on 19 Sept. 1958.

282. 10 December 1958. JN Collection.

283. Krishna Menon's telegram of 9 Dec. reported that Ghana, Ethiopia, Liberia and the five African Arab States had brought before the Asian African Group at the UN a draft resolution on Algeria. Paragraph 7 of the preamble read thus: "Taking note of the establishment of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic;" and the next one, the 8th, said: "Urges negotiations between the two parties concerned [...]." Nehru objected because they spoke of the Provisional Government which GOI had not yet recognised (see item 307). Menon said co-sponsorship would mark out India as a "blind supporter of the Asian-African formulation" and upset France. Altering it however would upset others both at home and in the Afro-Asian countries.

### 309. Indo-Ceylon Pact of 1954<sup>284</sup>

I regret I am unable to accept this short notice question. We have received no information about the alleged repudiation of the Indo-Ceylon Pact of 1954 in regard to the representation in the Ceylon Parliament of persons of Indian origin.<sup>285</sup> So far as we know, there has been no such repudiation.

Apart from this, the question does not really relate to Indian nationals and it would not be advisable for us publicly in Parliament to discuss this matter which relates to people who are or should be Ceylon nationals.

Thirdly, the original provision for separate electorate was made at the instance of the Ceylon Government. If instead they are absorbed in the general electorate and only the provision for separate electorates is repealed, this would be preferable.

### 310. Cable to R.K. Nehru<sup>286</sup>

Your telegram 353 December 10.<sup>287</sup> I shall be glad if President Nasser<sup>288</sup> can visit India at his convenience. If he accepts this in principle, we can consider the date later. We are having many eminent visitors from abroad in January and February and early March.<sup>289</sup> President Voroshilov of the Soviet Union is likely

284. Note to Rajya Sabha Secretariat, 10 December 1958. JN Collection.

285. On 18 Jan. 1954 India and Sri Lanka agreed 1) to stop illicit immigration; 2) the Sri Lankan Government would prepare a register of all residents who were not already on the electoral register; 3) to complete the registration of citizens under the Indian and Pakistani (Citizenship) Act by the end of 1955; 4) to place all such registered persons in a separate electoral register for 10 years and to encourage those who did not register their names to register themselves as citizens of India.

286. 12 December 1958. JN Collection.

287. Referring to the recent visit of Habibur Rahman, Pakistan's Minister for Education, Information and Broadcasting, R.K. Nehru, Indian Ambassador to the UAR, pointed out that the UAR was suspicious of Pakistan because of its military alignment with the West, the press had "studiously avoided any comment on the recent changes in Pakistan", and Nasser's firm non-alignment would preclude any rapprochement with Pakistan. Indeed, the Soviet Ambassador, E.D. Kisselev, "said Nasser had told him that he will not compromise his relations with India for the sake of Pakistan." Therefore this would be the right time to renew the invitation to Nasser to visit India; and he was keen to visit.

288. Gamal Abdel Nasser was President of Egypt.

289. Kwame Nkrumah, Marshal Tito, Prince Philip, Mohammad Daud, and Otto Grotewohl, visited India in the first quarter of 1959.



to spend a good part of February here.<sup>290</sup> Probably the second week of March onwards might be suitable for President Nasser's visit to India.<sup>291</sup> Our Parliament will be sitting then for the budget session. That will keep me fairly busy.

Please tell President Nasser on my behalf that he had promised to come here and we have been long expecting him. I shall be very happy if he can find it convenient to pay a visit to India and to see our development schemes. But more particularly I would welcome the opportunity to have talks with him about the many developments that have taken place in the world since we met last. His visit here will not only cause pleasure to us but will be eagerly welcomed by the Indian people.<sup>292</sup>

### 311. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>293</sup>

Your telegram 363 December 11 on draft resolution on Hungary.<sup>294</sup> This is a typical example of cold war technique and can only result in worsening situation and embittering everyone concerned. This is not the way to find any solution or of helping Hungarian people.

I think that it will not be advisable for our representative to abstain from speaking. Brief statement should be made on our behalf and we should then abstain from voting.

The statement might be on following lines. We have regretted incidents in Hungary in October 1956 and subsequently<sup>295</sup> and have expressed our regret in regard to them on past occasions.<sup>296</sup> We have expressed the hope that the Hungarian people would be enabled to live in freedom and without fear. We are

290. E.E. Voroshilov cancelled his visit in Feb. 1959 citing illness.

291. R.K. Nehru's telegram of 12 Dec. reported on his one and a half hour meeting with Nasser, who was interested mainly in India's Plans. Nasser claimed that India and Egypt had more in common between themselves than with China, wanted greater exchange of ideas, and asked for an Indian delegation to visit Egypt to study co-operation there just as one had gone to China for that purpose.

292. Finally, Nasser visited India from 29 Mar. to 10 Apr. 1960.

293. 12 December 1958. JN Collection.

294. The draft resolution on Hungary had 37 sponsors. Menon reported that "not only Russians and Hungarians are incensed at it as might be expected but also Poles who came to see me this morning." The UAR was going to abstain and remain silent; Yugoslavia would oppose but not speak.

295. See SWJN/SS/35/pp. 450-485.

296. See SWJN/SS/35/pp. 450-457.

however convinced that constant interference in the internal affairs of the country and condemnation of the Governments concerned will intensify cold war and bring no relief to people. Our policy is to be friendly to all countries and hostile to none. To condemn Governments with whom we have diplomatic and friendly relations would be opposed to our general approach and policy. We are convinced that only a friendly approach can lead to understanding and agreement. The present resolution<sup>297</sup> is not likely to achieve any satisfactory result and we propose therefore not to participate any further in this discussion and to abstain on it.

### 312. To Sean Thomas O'Kelly<sup>298</sup>

December 16, 1958

My dear Mr President,<sup>299</sup>

I am happy to receive your letter of December 11th with your good wishes for Christmas and the New Year. It was very good of you to write to me and I appreciate your message very much.

Every country and indeed the world is full of problems and difficulties and the hopes we have do not always find fulfilment. But it is something to labour for a cause that appeals to one. Even in that attempt comes a measure of fulfilment.

May I send you and your wife my deep regards and all good wishes for Christmas and the New Year.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

297. The draft resolution deplored repression in Hungary, denounced the execution of Imre Nagy and others, condemned the defiance of General Assembly resolutions, and called upon the USSR and the Hungarian government to stop repression.

298. JN Collection.

299. President of the Republic of Ireland, 1945-59.



313. To M.C. Chagla<sup>300</sup>

December 18, 1958

My dear Chagla,

Thank you for your letter of December 5.<sup>301</sup> I have read your account of Mexico with great interest.

Siqueiros<sup>302</sup> came here a year or two ago.<sup>303</sup> He is of course an outstanding Mural painter. There was some talk of his undertaking some work here in Delhi. He had however to rush back to Mexico because his mother was ill or something had happened. Now that we are terribly hard up for foreign exchange and, in fact, are economising in every possible direction, it would not be suitable at all for us to invite him.

There is an odd story I had heard about Siqueiros: that he was somehow connected with the murder of Trotsky.<sup>304</sup> I do not know if this is true.

300. JN Collection. Copied to N.R Pillai and Subimal Dutt.

301. Chagla, the Indian Ambassador to the USA and concurrently Ambassador to Mexico, made sundry observations after his recent visit to Mexico: "a great interest in India"; "a great deal in common between us and the Mexicans"; "their ancient culture has some striking resemblance to ours"; "the complete absence of racial feeling"; the beauty of Mexico city"; advanced social security; village councils like panchayats; the danger of neglecting the countryside; and its being "perhaps the only Latin American country" that was "definitely democratic in outlook." He felt trade would spurt if a trade centre were set up. He spoke about his meeting with Siqueiros, the artist, and his wife. Siqueiros showed him his murals on public building, and Chagla was so enthused, he wanted Nehru to promote art in India as the state did in Mexico. Owing to lack of domestic patronage Indian artists painted for a foreign clientèle, he thought, thanks to which it "has not the necessary content of national hopes and aspirations." Siqueiros suggested that Nehru invite Lazaro Cardenas, President of Mexico, to India. Changing the subject, Chagla reported that much of American public opinion, from *The New York Times* to the United Churches, was in favour of recognising China, but Dulles was the obstacle. He expected that with a Democratic Presidency from 1960, things would change.

302. David Alfaro Siqueiros.

303. Siqueiros came to India on 13 Nov. 1956 on a four week tour as a guest of GOI. See SWJN/SS/35/pp.125 and 541.

304. Trotsky was assassinated on Stalin's orders by Ramon Mercador in Mexico City on 20 Aug. 1940.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

You will remember that I wrote to you once that we had better not make any request for further help from America.<sup>305</sup> We may well require this in the future. But it is better not to refer to this unless we are asked a question.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 314. To S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike<sup>306</sup>

December 26, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,<sup>307</sup>

Thank you for your letter of 16th December.

I have noted the decision taken by the Ceylon Government not to proceed with special electoral arrangements for Ceylon citizens registered under the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act<sup>308</sup> and to place them instead on a common register of voters along with all others.

With kind regards and best wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

305. See item 271.

306. JN Collection.

307. Prime Minister of Ceylon.

308. By the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act of 1948, Indian residents could register as citizens of Ceylon provided that they could prove (a) uninterrupted residence for a specified period; and (b) adequate means of livelihood. The procedure was complicated.



## (c) Disarmament

**315. Nuclear Tests in Trusteeship Areas<sup>309</sup>**

D.C. Sharma:<sup>310</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations have expressed their views with regard to the suspension of nuclear tests in the Trusteeship areas; and
- (b) if so, the nature of their report?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) The 22nd session (October 1958) of the Trusteeship Council considered the question regarding the conduct of Nuclear and Thermo-Nuclear tests in or in the proximity of Trust Territories. Two draft resolutions were submitted to the Council.

The first of these, submitted by the representative of the USSR, would recommend to the Government of the USA that it should discontinue nuclear weapons tests in the trust territory of the Pacific Islands. It would also recommend that USA should restore to the indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territory all their rights to the Islands of which they had been deprived by the US authorities, that is, should take the necessary measures to remove the danger to which these inhabitants were exposed by the holding of nuclear tests in their territory, and that it should compensate the indigenous population of the Trust Territory for the material damage caused.

The second draft resolution submitted by the representative of India would request the Administering Authorities of Trust Territories not to conduct nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests in or in the proximity to any Trust Territory.

The two draft resolutions were considered by the Council during the examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The Representative of the USSR withdrew his draft resolution. The Indian resolution was voted upon and was lost as it could not obtain the necessary majority of the votes cast. The voting was four in favour (Burma, India, USSR and United Arab Republic); seven against (Australia, Belgium, "China", France, Italy, UK and the USA) and two abstentions (Guatemala and Haiti). The New Zealand representative did not participate in the voting because he had not received appropriate instructions from his government.

309. 29 November 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXII, cols 2093-2094.

310. Congress MP from Gurdaspur, Punjab.

(b) No report was made by the Trusteeship Council specifically on the question of nuclear tests in Trust Territories. The Trusteeship Council in its report to the Security Council on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, merely stated the facts mentioned in respect of part (a) above.

### 316. Nuclear Tests, Harmful to Humanity<sup>311</sup>

We live from crisis to crisis, and no one knows when a crisis may not result in an eruption. Great and powerful nations are full of fear of each other and so they go on arming themselves with the latest weapons of mass destruction. It is obvious that this is not the way to solve the crisis. It is not through ever increasing armaments and fear and hatred at the back of them that we shall solve the world's problems.

Therefore, we have to seek some other way. That way can only be one of peace and an attempt to understand each other. All countries in the world have a duty and an obligation to work to this end. But perhaps the countries of Asia may be more helpful in this respect, because many of them are not tied up with military pacts and warlike preparations.

In particular, the problem of disarmament has become a basic problem. If we succeed in that, then a better atmosphere will prevail in the world. Disarmament may not be achieved at one step, but even a small step in that direction will be helpful. One urgent step is to put an end to nuclear tests which are not only dangerous and harmful to humanity, but are also constant reminders of nuclear war.

I send my good wishes to the people of Japan and trust that their efforts to put an end to nuclear tests will meet with success.

311. Message for the Japanese daily, *Hokkaido Shimbun*, also known as *Doshin*, 2 December 1958. File No. 9/2/58-PMS.



**317. To Dwight D. Eisenhower<sup>312</sup>**

3rd December, 1958

Dear Mr President,<sup>313</sup>

Ambassador Bunker<sup>314</sup> has handed to me your message of November 27th.<sup>315</sup> I am grateful to you for this message and for the kind sentiments which you have been pleased to express in it.

I know, Mr President, how anxious you are for the maintenance of peace and the lessening of the tensions that afflict the world. We in India are firmly attached to this objective and, in our more limited way, we strive for its attainment. In particular, we think that some step towards disarmament is urgently needed and that nuclear tests should be ended. I earnestly hope that the Conference at Geneva will yield results to this end<sup>316</sup> and that the difficulties that have arisen there will be overcome. We shall certainly take advantage of any opportunity when we can be of some service, but we naturally hesitate to intervene in any matter unless we are convinced that such action on our part will be helpful.

Wishing you, Mr President, success in your efforts for the maintenance of peace and with my respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

312. JN Collection.

313. President of the United States of America.

314. Ellsworth Bunker.

315. Eisenhower asked for Nehru's support for the negotiations at Geneva on stopping nuclear tests. He appealed to Nehru as the leader of "the largest of the neutral nations", in his individual capacity as a "world leader" and "as one of the most powerful influences for peace and conciliation in the world. He was anxious to convince the Soviet Union and China of America's peaceful purpose as he felt that "our people's sincerity, so obvious here," may not be "accepted by all peoples elsewhere."

316. The Geneva conference on stopping nuclear tests went through twenty sessions from 31 Oct. to 6 Dec. 1958.

**318. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>317</sup>**

4th December, 1958

My dear Rajaji,<sup>318</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd December and the telegram.

You know perhaps that we are doing our utmost in regard to this stoppage of nuclear tests. Inevitably, we have to deal with this subject on the diplomatic level, though sometimes public statements are made. Governments do not appreciate being ticked off in public. The diplomats who have gathered at Geneva have no authority or power. They merely say what their governments tell them to say.

I do not think my sending a public appeal to these governments on this occasion would be at all appreciated by the governments concerned. But I shall think about this matter and see what more we can do and possibly I may mention this in public also.

I am afraid neither of the chief parties concerned really attach as much importance to stoppage of these nuclear tests as we would like them to do. Everyone talks about it with fervour but everyone also looks upon it as a part of the big game of power politics.

The telegram sent to you is by the Quakers of Philadelphia. They are very good people, but I fear they have little influence.

I am much concerned to know that you have been ill with influenza and glad you are better now.

I am returning the telegram.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

317. JN Collection.

318. Congress Chief Minister of Madras State, 1952-54; founded the Swatantra Party in 1959.



**319. Nuclear Holocaust<sup>319</sup>**

I do not think it will be at all safe for us to rely wholly on this British report. I have read a number of other accounts by competent experts both of the U.K. and the U.S.A., which present a somewhat different picture about the relative strength in atomic and ballistic weapons of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

2. It may be assumed that the U.S.A. has far more hydrogen bombs and other nuclear weapons at its disposal than the U.S.S.R. The question, however, arises whether the U.S.S.R. has enough of such weapons of mass destruction to be able to inflict very great damage on the U.S.A., even though the strength of the U.S.A. in this respect is much greater. Will it be possible for the U.S.A. to destroy the Soviet weapons before they can do much damage to the U.S.A. and European countries? I am in no position to give an answer.

3. The statement in the above note about the wider dispersion of potential atomic targets in the U.S.A. appears to me to be open to much doubt. Here is an attempt to disperse these not only in the U.S.A., but also in the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.S.R. has far greater space for this purpose. Further, the U.S.A. having many more greater cities is an easier target. Probably, any such war would not only bring about tremendous destruction in the U.S.S.R. right at the beginning, that is, within a few hours or days, but will also result in considerable destruction in Western Europe and the U.S.A. No one can judge of the consequences of this from the point of view of human reaction.

4. Then again, whoever might use these nuclear weapons, the result will be the release of radio-active energy all over the world in large quantities, enough to poison the whole atmosphere of the world. To talk, therefore, about the last decisive round resulting in a crushing defeat of Russia seems to me completely unjustified and wishful thinking on the part of the British authorities who have produced this study.

5. I do not agree with the statement that the wider distribution of nuclear weapons will lessen the chances of war. This is the first time I have seen this statement. It is generally believed by experts as well as laymen that the wider the distribution of nuclear weapons, the greater the chances of a war involving their use.

6. I am surprised to see a remark in paragraph seven of the note above that among the other countries that are likely to acquire these weapons from various sources, is India from Britain. We have made it perfectly clear that we are not going to acquire these even if they are available to us. We shall abide by this

319. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, Union Minister of Defence, 30 December 1958. JN Collection.

decision even if Pakistan acquires them. This should be clearly borne in mind as it is a fundamental part of our policy.

## (d) International Forums

### 320. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>320</sup>

Your telegram 337 November 23 on Law of the Sea.<sup>321</sup> We have also been approached on this subject by UK, Canada and USA.

2. It appears that a number of countries have signed three or more of the Conventions. USSR has signed three, Indonesia three, Iceland all four, Argentine all four and a number of others, including Hungary and Ceylon. In fact in Moscow surprise was expressed at our not signing the Conventions. From this it would appear that there is not so much divergence of opinion as we thought at first or that the idea of an ad hoc conference was not considered by these countries as favouring the colonial powers. On general grounds I feel that the Political Committee of the General Assembly would be affected more by cold war issues than an ad hoc conference. The last conference<sup>322</sup> settled several matters by agreement and the only important matter still remaining is the breadth of territorial waters.

320. 28 November 1958. JN Collection. V.K. Krishna Menon was leader of the Indian delegation to the UN General Assembly.

321. Krishna Menon's cable of 23 Nov. presented two issues, the substantive and the immediate. The substantive issues were chiefly the extent of territorial waters and rights on the high seas. Small countries were being bullied by the "colonial powers", Britain, Australia, and Canada, to have an early conference, in 1959 itself, so as to push through their agenda. The small countries wanted it later, in 1960, as advocated by India. Hence the immediate tussle was over the date of the conference. Krishna Menon pointed out that the earliest the conference could be held would be Aug. 1959, almost coinciding with the UN General Assembly in Sept. If so, large numbers would be absent as they would be busy with the General Assembly. Many felt that these issues should be considered by the General Assembly itself rather than by ad hoc conferences of this kind. In such a conference states like Monaco, San Marino, and South Korea would "swell the votes of the colonial powers" while Latin American and other states would be absent. "This seems to be one of the main reasons for the pressure from the United Kingdom and Canada to consider this matter outside the Assembly."

322. The United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea took place in Geneva from 24 Feb. to 28 Apr., 1958. It drew up an international agreement on maritime law but failed to agree on the extent of the territorial sea.



3. We feel however that if an ad hoc conference is to be held it should not take place in 1959, but in 1960 at the earliest. This is what we have been telling those who have approached us. Before the conference is held, it might be preceded by careful studies.

4. If the Western Resolution calling for a conference in July-August 1959 is moved, we should abstain explaining our vote that we do not object to the idea of such a conference, but we feel that it should be held later.

5. If no conference is held in 1959, the matter is likely to come up before the General Assembly next year which may consider the proposal to hold a conference. The General Assembly might also indicate that any conventions drawn up will not come into operation unless the General Assembly has approved of them. This will keep the General Assembly in the picture.

6. It seems to me that an early consideration of this controversial matter is not likely to yield any result, wherever it might take place. I do not see why we should be hustled in this matter.

7. You might consider our delegation moving a resolution that a conference might be held in 1960 at the earliest.<sup>323</sup>

### 321. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>324</sup>

Your telegram 346 November 28th. Law of the Sea.<sup>325</sup>

2. I still feel that conference is better than U.N. Committee for this matter to be discussed. There is far too much cold war atmosphere in U.N. However, amendment which you have sent in effect means postponement till next U.N. Session which can then decide on what further steps should be taken.

323. See item 321.

324. 4 December 1958. JN Collection.

325. In Apr. 1958 the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea asked the General Assembly to consider a second conference to complete the work of the first. A draft resolution by 11 powers, whom Krishna Menon called the "colonial powers", was presented to the Sixth (that is, the Legal) Committee of the General Assembly. This draft resolution proposed the second conference for July or Aug. 1959; but "Asian and Latin countries", along with Iceland and India, moved an amendment saying that this was too soon, and that the matter should be placed before the General Assembly at its 1959 session, to decide whether to refer these questions to a second conference or deal with them itself. This is the amendment Nehru is referring to; and Krishna Menon suggested that if the amendment was defeated, India could move for 1960. In that case, however, the "colonial powers" would accuse India of "dilatatory tactics" and "bad faith." Krishna Menon however felt "that this is colonial initiative and the pressures on us and more the way they are exerted are unseemly."

3. Apart from the question of territorial waters on which no agreement was arrived at at Conference, the other agreements embodied in conventions appear to me to be advantageous to us and to others. Also we were the prime movers in the conference for these agreements and it is odd for us to hesitate after our own proposals have been accepted. This aspect has been pointed out to us and it is somewhat embarrassing. There is colonial initiative in regard to territorial waters, but I do not see any special colonial advantage in regard to the other conventions.<sup>326</sup>

### 322. To Ramlal Parikh<sup>327</sup>

December 8, 1958

Dear Ramlal,<sup>328</sup>

I have your letter of December 6.<sup>329</sup> The extract from a letter that I sent to Dhebar Bhai was just for information. No action was necessary.

326. The 11-power draft with the addition of a fifth preambular clause from the seven-power amendment, was adopted by the Sixth Committee on 4 Dec. 1958. By a separate vote the Committee agreed that the conference should be convened in Geneva.

327. AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

328. (1927-1999); educationist; participated in international seminars on education, social change and youth; Professor of History, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, 1961-70; Secretary, Gujarat PCC, 1970-71; Vice Chancellor, Gujarat Vidyapith, 1971-75; Janata Party Rajya Sabha MP from Gujarat, 1975-81; author of *Concept of Indology* (Ahmedabad: Gujarat Vidyapith, 1973) and *Epigraphic Resources in Gujarat* (Vadodara: Butala, 1981).

329. Parikh presented the problem of youth organisations and congresses and asked for a general policy. An Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference, dominated by communists, was held in Cairo in Dec. 1957, following which, the Afro-Asian Youth Conference was going to be held in Feb. 1959 in Cairo. Many of the participants were to be financed by the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The agenda of the forthcoming youth conference included implementing the resolutions of the 1957 conference. Indian youth organizations had been invited; but some of them like the All-India Students Congress existed on paper only. Parikh thus seemed to identify two problems: (i) communist domination; and (ii) virtual fraud. However, he added, since bilateral relations were important, there was already regular contact with the Supreme Council of Youth Welfare in the UAR. Given all which, participation by Indian youth bodies in such international events should be better regulated by the Ministries of External Affairs and of Education. For deliberations on attending the 7th World Youth Festival to be held at Vienna, 26 Jul. - 8 Aug. 1959, see SWJN/SS/47 (forthcoming).



#### IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

As far as I can make out. It might be desirable to send some youth representatives to Cairo for the Afro-Asian Youth Conference. It is true that this is partly sponsored by communist organisations. Nevertheless it will be an African Youth Conference and we should not keep away from it. We might have some further information about it.

As for the Vienna Youth Conference, I think we had better keep away from it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 323. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar<sup>330</sup>

December 9, 1958

My dear Mr. Speaker,

I had promised to send you a note about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I greatly regret the delay in sending this. Tomorrow is the tenth anniversary of the adoption of this Declaration.

I enclose a brief note of what might be said by you in the Lok Sabha before the commencement of business tomorrow, 10th December.<sup>331</sup> This is, of course, just an indication of the lines on which you might say these few words.

330. JN Collection.

331. Nehru's note to the Speaker is undated and unsigned; it is reproduced here. It was followed by the Preamble and the first two articles of the Declaration, as stated in the note, but they have not been reproduced. Nehru's note begins:

"Today is the tenth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is fitting that before we start the business of the Lok Sabha, we should remind ourselves on this day of this historic Declaration which was adopted unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948.

Ten years have passed since then. Unfortunately this Declaration has not been fully given effect to in some parts of the world, and in some countries even the principles which underly this Declaration are denied.

If this Declaration was fully accepted and acted upon, many of the troubles that the world suffers from today would fade away.

It is right and appropriate, therefore, that we should give thought to this great Declaration on this occasion and solemnly resolve to act up to it.

The Declaration is a long document. I shall read out to you the Preamble and the first two articles only." [End of Nehru's note].

I have suggested that you might read out a small part of the Declaration including the Preamble and the first two Articles.

I am sending you the complete Declaration for reference.

As I have said above, it would be desirable for you, if you consider it proper, to make your remarks at the commencement of tomorrow's sitting of the House.

It has been suggested that after you have finished speaking, members might stand up for half a minute. But, whether this will be appropriate or not, it is for you to determine.

No one else will speak on this occasion.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 324. To D.N. Pritt<sup>332</sup>

December 26, 1958

Dear Mr. Pritt,<sup>333</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 17th December, 1958.

It is true that I have agreed to say a few words at the opening of the Conference of the "International Commission of Jurists". Some of our Supreme Court Judges, who had associated with this Conference, approached me on the subject. I pointed out to them that I did not wish to get mixed up with discussions on political issues and ideological conflicts. They assured me that they themselves were anxious to avoid any such topics. It may well be that they might not be fully acquainted with the position, or their interpretation may be different. However, in the circumstances, I could not very well refuse, and I agreed to address the Conference. Naturally, when I do so, I shall express my own viewpoint.

If you come to Delhi and I am here, I shall gladly meet you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

332. JN Collection. Copied to A.K. Sen, Union Minister of State for Law.

333. Denis Nowell Pritt, British lawyer, Labour MP, 1935-40, Independent MP, 1940-50; winner of Stalin Peace Prize, 1954.



(e) Other Matters

**325. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>334</sup>**

November 7, 1958

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I must ask your forgiveness for the delay in dealing with your letter of the 25th October<sup>335</sup> in which you referred to the War Resisters International Movement. It came, I think, when I was leaving Delhi and got mixed up with some other papers.<sup>336</sup>

It is always difficult to interfere in the internal affairs of another country. This is resented. If some other country interfered with us, we would not like it.

In any event, I do not think the U.S. President can take any step. I propose to send the letter from the War Resisters International to our Ambassador in Paris<sup>337</sup> and ask him to do what he can about it. This will have to be informal.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**326. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>338</sup>**

November 8, 1958

[Nan dear],<sup>339</sup>

Thank you for your letter of November 5th.

A few days ago Humayun Kabir showed me a copy of Pasternak's<sup>340</sup> letter addressed to Chatterjee. It is evident, therefore, that Chatterjee had sent this and this had reached Humayun Kabir. Pasternak's letter is of course written in

334. JN Collection.

335. Rajendra Prasad wanted Nehru to help the War Resisters International Movement with which he himself had been associated. It had been founded as the International Anti-Militarist Bureau in 1921 in Bilthoven, the Netherlands, and became the War Resisters International (WRI) in 1923 with headquarters in London.

336. Nehru left Delhi on 23 Oct. for the AICC session at Hyderabad, 24-26 Oct. 1958.

337. K.M. Panikkar.

338. JN Collection.

339. Indian High Commissioner to the UK.

340. See item 14, fn 198.

incorrect English.<sup>341</sup> But, on the whole, the meaning is clear. As a matter of fact I did not do anything about his book *Dr. Zhivago* and I do not remember even speaking to anyone about it. I have read about his publication by an Italian firm.<sup>342</sup> Thus Pasternak's information on this subject is not correct.

I have not yet read this book which you sent me for lack of time. Indu has been reading it. I shall of course read it some time or other.

There was a reference in Taya Zinkin's<sup>343</sup> message to the *Manchester Guardian* that the writers of Kerala had asked me to invite Pasternak to India. Taya Zinkin goes on to say something about my silence and contrasts it with my sympathy for Paul Robeson.<sup>344</sup> I do not remember receiving any such request from the writers of Kerala. Possibly, as often happens, they might have issued a statement to the press and I had missed it. Anyhow, it would be correct to say that I was not inviting Boris Pasternak. There is not [sic] point in my inviting him except to irritate the Russians.

The reference to Paul Robeson is silly. I gave a message on his birthday about his being a great artiste.<sup>345</sup> Also I had known him personally for many years. Yesterday at a Press Conference I said something about Pasternak which you may have seen.<sup>346</sup>

There is no particular necessity for you to go out of your way to speak to anyone of the signatories of the telegram about Pasternak that was sent to me. Now that I have said something about Pasternak in public, that is enough.

The National Development Council is meeting here<sup>347</sup> and all the Chief Ministers of India have come to Delhi.

Some Indians in Hongkong came to the odd decision to present me with my weight in gold. I gather that this gold will reach India fairly soon. I do not quite know what it will be worth. Probably it would be anything from four to five lakhs. I shall of course hand over the gold to the Government to be added to their Gold Reserve. The Government will presumably pay me the equivalent in rupees. I have asked them to do so at the international rate which is very much less than the Indian price. It has been my custom for some years to send all moneys received on my birthday to the Children's Fund. This money will go

341. The letter has not been traced.

342. By Giangiacomo Feltrinelli in 1957.

343. Correspondent of *The Guardian* and the *Economist*, 1950-60.

344. African-American singer, actor, peace and civil rights activist and crusader for equality and justice for African-Americans.

345. His sixtieth birthday was celebrated on 9 Apr. 1958 around the world.

346. See item 14, here p. 217.

347. On 8 and 9 Nov. 1958.



to some funds connected with children. Possibly I might send a part of it to the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital in Allahabad. It depends how much I get.

In previous years there has been a big function of Delhi children at the Stadium here on my birthday. Really it was to celebrate the International Children's Day which has been fixed on November 14th. As a matter of fact the international aspect was forgotten and people thought they were celebrating my birthday here. I did not like it and so I have stopped this function at the Stadium here. In any event I get a vast number of children and grown-ups visiting at my house in the morning.

Indu has been indisposed with flu or something. She is better now. Feroze will be coming back from the Nursing Home in another four or five days.<sup>348</sup> But he is supposed to take things very easy and remain largely in bed for some more time.

Krishna Menon suddenly had very high fever about four days ago. Fever has gone down but has not quite left him. He wants to go to the U.N. on the 10th. I do not know if he will be well enough to go.

[Love]

[Jawahar]

### 327. Cable to S. Radhakrishnan<sup>349</sup>

Vijaya Lakshmi has just telephoned to me from London. She said that you had told her of inner pulls and difficulties in UNESCO about election of Director-General and there was danger of some countries even leaving UNESCO if a person was appointed who was not to their liking. Further that if her name was put up, it would probably get unanimous support. Apparently she had been approached by some delegations also. She had told them that she was not interested and it was for her Government to decide.

2. When question of an Indian standing for election for post of Director-General came up before us some time ago, we felt that it would be better for us not to contest, as an Indian was already head of F.A.O.<sup>350</sup> Also the chances of an Indian being elected as Director-General, UNESCO were doubtful. Panikkar's name was mentioned in that connection. I think we have suggested in our Brief

348. Feroze Gandhi, Congress Lok Sabha MP from Rae Bareilly, UP, suffered a heart attack in New Delhi on the night of 22 Sept. 1958.

349. 12 November 1958. File No. 42(7)/56-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

350. B.R. Sen.

to our Delegation that if Luther Evans<sup>351</sup> stands again for Director-Generalship, we should support him.

3. It is difficult for us to judge from here what the position is. We are not keen on Vijaya Lakshmi or any other Indian standing. But if there is danger of UNESCO splitting over this election and further if Vijaya Lakshmi's election is widely and almost unanimously desired, then the matter can be reconsidered. We would not like her name to be proposed in a really contested election or for her to oppose Luther Evans.

4. You are in the best position to judge and to appreciate the position in UNESCO and what should be done. Therefore I have told Vijaya Laskshmi that we shall abide by your advice and she should also do so.

5. I repeat that normally we would not like to put forward an Indian candidate for this post, but if there are special circumstances which make you feel that for good of UNESCO some such step should be taken and if there is wide consensus of opinion in favour of it, then it may be considered.

6. Could you kindly advise us?<sup>352</sup>

## 328. Procedures for Foreign Organisations<sup>353</sup>

I agree with Foreign Secretary that Dr. Anand<sup>354</sup> may be advised to accept a travel grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and that he should in the course of his visit abroad attend the International Congress of Physiological Sciences at Buenos Aires.<sup>355</sup>

351. Luther Harris Evans (1902-81); Director General, UNESCO, 1953-58;

352. Radhakrishnan's reply telegram of 13 Nov. noted that the election was due on 22 Nov. 1958 and the Executive Board had recommended an Italian. The UK and the USA would support, the Soviet Union was unpredictable, and other Communist countries and some Arab States might abstain. He recommended that India should keep out of it; if it was interested, it should have entered when the Board was drawing up the list.

On 15 Nov., Nehru instructed Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to keep off even if the Soviet and Yugoslav and perhaps some other delegations would like India to play a part. Finally, Vittorino Veronese of Italy was elected for a period of six years, starting 6 Dec.

353. Note to Subimal Dutt, and S. Sen, 15 November 1958. JN Collection.

354. Bal Krishan Anand (1917-2007); Professor of Physiology, Lady Hardinge Medical College, New Delhi, 1949-57; Rockefeller Foundation Fellow at Yale University, School of Medicine, 1950-51; Professor of Physiology, AIIMS, since 1957; awarded Watumull Foundation Award in Medicine, 1961, Indian Council of Medical Research, Senior Research Award, 1962, Shanti Swaroop Bhatnagar Memorial Award for Scientific Research in Medicine, 1963, and Padma Shri, 1969.

355. The Congress was to be held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in Aug. 1959.



This is not simply because of Rajkumari's<sup>356</sup> personal appeal but because I think that on the merits of this particular case, this should be done.

As for the larger question of direct approach being made to foreign organisations for help, I agree broadly with what Joint Secretary has said.<sup>357</sup> This does not mean that we do not appreciate the functioning of the Rockefeller or the Ford Foundations in India. They have done good work which we have welcomed. But there are other organisations too whose work is not so commendable and we cannot lay down a rule which differentiates between different organisations. Also there is a difference between a grant for a particular project in India and a grant in regard to a particular individual. In the latter case, there is an element of patronage.

I think that, as F.S. has suggested, we should lay down procedures with Rockefeller and Ford Foundations in regard to these matters.

### 329. Asoka Mehta's Impressions<sup>358</sup>

Shri Asoka Mehta, M.P., a leader of the Socialist Party, saw me the other day after his long tour abroad. In the course of this tour, he visited many countries—England, France, Western Germany, Yugoslavia, Cyprus, Rhodes, Israel, Austria, Egypt and some others.

2. I am noting below some of the impressions he had gathered during his tour.

3. Rhodes: He found one of the most beautiful places he had seen, especially the sea there.

4. Yugoslavia: He was very much struck by the communes there. We all know about the Workers' Councils, but the communes are something different. An attempt is made to integrate agriculture and industry there. Apparently, the industries are relatively small industries. Peasants work in these industries in the morning from seven to two. They have their afternoons free for agricultural work. In this way, they can add to their income, which is not much if they

356. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, former Health Minister, was Chairman of the Governing Body, AIIMS.

357. The Health Ministry said it had no funds for his travel, hence the application to the Rockefeller Foundation. On 13 Nov., S. Sen, Joint Secretary in the MEA, objected because: (i) Government servants should not travel abroad at foreign expense, and (ii) no Government-supported body should approach a foreign organisation direct for funds.

358. Note to N.R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt, 22 November 1958. JN Collection.

work at one place only. Shri Asoka Mehta thought that we could learn much from this system. I suggest that you might write to our Ambassador in Yugoslavia to send us a full account of these communes. You might also, perhaps, ask the Yugoslav Ambassador in Delhi for this.

5. Austria: Shri Asoka Mehta said that Austria was becoming increasingly important and they did not like being treated as a second-rate country. They would like, therefore, for us to have a separate Embassy there. In any event, the present Embassy there has a very small staff, not adequate for the needs of the situation. Austria has made great progress economically.

Apparently, our Mission there was asked seven or eight months ago to conduct some kind of a market survey and supply a good deal of information. A reply came that, with the staff there, this could not be done. No further instructions were sent.

According to Shri Asoka Mehta, the great success of Austria was due to the fact that they had a coalition Government and all tried to pull together.<sup>359</sup> The inference was obvious that, in India, we should have a coalition Government also.

6. England: Life is changing, and there is progressive Americanisation. There are new attitudes and new values. The strongest young group is that of the young Conservatives.

7. France: De Gaulle's prestige has risen considerably. He himself thinks chiefly in terms of the prestige of France. Thus on no account will he give up the idea of having nuclear tests as that is a sign of prestige and glory.

De Gaulle was wooing Mendes France,<sup>360</sup> although the latter had opposed his election. De Gaulle wants him to be the next Finance Minister.

8. Cyprus: There is a terrible reign of terror there. Population is five lakhs; British troops forty thousand. Shri Asoka Mehta himself saw young Cypriots made naked and searched. There are eighty-two per cent Greek Cypriots and eighteen per cent Turks. The British officers themselves are divided in their sympathies and some of them are very unhappy at the situation.<sup>361</sup>

9. Israel: The trade union movement is most interesting and very strong. Thirty per cent of the construction work is given to them to do directly. In fact, this trade union movement is the most distinctive in the world.

The Hista Druth<sup>362</sup>—apparently, this is the name of the trade union organisation—wants to open a liaison office in India.

359. Of Austrian People's Party and Socialists with Dr Julius Raab as Chancellor.

360. Pierre Mendes-France, Prime Minister of France, 1954-55.

361. See also items 297 and 298.

362. Founded in Dec. 1920.



Ben Gurion<sup>363</sup> discussed Indian philosophy at length. He said that he wanted to set up a Chair in Indian Philosophy in Israel. He wanted to know if we can have a Chair in Hebrew Philosophy in India.

I told Shri Asoka Mehta that, in view of our difficulties in finding funds and as normal work was suffering, we can hardly be expected to find money for a Chair in Hebrew Philosophy. Apart from this, there would be very very few persons interested in this in India. Then, Shri Asoka Mehta asked me if this could be done by private endowment. I said, obviously if there is a private endowment, we would not come in the way.

10. Egypt: Some of the figures that Shri Asoka Mehta gave me were rather surprising. He said that the national income was one thousand million pounds. The revenue was three hundred million pounds, that is thirty per cent. In India, the revenue is about nine per cent of the national income. The Egyptian revenue was derived chiefly from indirect taxes (about two hundred and fifty million pounds). Direct taxes brought in only fifty million pounds, of which income-tax accounted for five million.

I suggest that you write to our Ambassador in Cairo<sup>364</sup> and ask him for fuller particulars about the financial position, the national income, the revenue, taxation system etc.

### 330. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>365</sup>

November 26, 1958

My dear Krishna,

On my return to Delhi today from Roorkee, I have received your personal telegram 340 of November 24.<sup>366</sup>

What you told me before you left India has of course occupied my mind fully and I shall continue to think about it. With much that you say about certain trends, I am in agreement, but with some others I am not sure that I

363. David Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister of Israel, 1948-53 and 1955-63.

364. R.K. Nehru.

365. JN Collection.

366. Reminding Nehru of earlier discussion on 11 Nov. 1958, Krishna Menon did not spell out the problem but referred to "the present drift and developments" involving "conflict of opinion" concerning "goals and basic methods to affect national policy and position." He was worried that "we are on a slippery slope and slipping fast." He went on to comment on the danger of nuclear catastrophe and protested against hiring an American publicity consultant, which also cost \$100 a day with expenses.

agree with you, or at any rate, I do not quite see what I am expected to do. In so far as I can, I try to influence these trends in my own way. We have to function after all in the ways we have been accustomed to and I would find it difficult to change my manner of working, even though I may have a certain objective in view. We all have our limitations and cannot easily get over them. Circumstances are also limiting factors. It is not a question so much of a few persons here and there but of broader considerations. Anyhow, all I can say is that I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to check certain trends which I do not like.

Having been influenced a great deal by Gandhiji, I have got into a certain way of working and I think that the means and the method of doing something is at least as important as the thing itself.

I shall gladly discuss these matters with you when you are here. It is difficult to do so by letters. You know how I have valued not only our personal relations but the advice I have had from you. But neither of us perhaps can uproot himself from his own approach to matters and, as a consequence, what should be done in a particular set of circumstances. We have to decide for ourselves. I would not like to press you to do something which you dislike, just as I am sure you would feel the same way about me. But we should certainly try to understand each other's viewpoint and try to explain one's own and thus influence the other's thinking.

As for the cold war, I am afraid I am inclined to lose interest in it. That of course is not a correct statement because one is inevitably interested in the possibility of a catastrophe. What I mean is that I do not think we can play any decisive role in it and the tremendous forces that are at play will continue to go their own way. Where we can do something, we should certainly play our part, whatever the results. If the cold war leads to an atomic or other war, there is no help for it.

You refer to an American publicity consultant. He was engaged, I think, by T.T. Krishnamachari.<sup>367</sup> I had quite forgotten about this matter and in fact did not even remember that such a person had been appointed. I do not like the idea of foreign publicity consultants. I understand that he is not likely to get an extension.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

367. Former Union Finance Minister, 1956-58.



### 331. Press Criticism<sup>368</sup>

Some three days ago there was an article in *The Statesman* by Prem Bhatia.<sup>369</sup> In this he again criticised our Ministry. He referred in particular to what he called "was becoming a joke". This "joke" was that whenever anything important occurs in a foreign country, our Ambassador is not present. He mentioned a number of countries in this connection—Lebanon, Iraq, Pakistan and some others.

It is possible that this matter might come up at my next Press Conference early in December. I should like to say something about it and give the facts.<sup>370</sup> Perhaps you will kindly have these put in a note. I know some of the facts of course. Still I should like a brief note.

### 332. Military Attaché in Yugoslavia<sup>371</sup>

External Affairs Ministry apparently has not seen these papers yet. They should see them. They should also write to our Ambassador in Yugoslavia<sup>372</sup> and ask for his comments on the proposal made. He is of course normally likely to welcome the appointment of a Military Attache, but the point to be brought to his notice is that we do not wish to add to our personnel in foreign missions at present for reasons of economy; and unless there is some very definite gain to be obtained, we would rather postpone such an appointment.

While there is some substance in the reasons advanced by the C.O.A.S.,<sup>373</sup> on the whole I think that we might postpone a decision on this matter. Some information about the equipment supplied to Yugoslavia by the U.S. might be obtained. But I rather doubt if we can learn anything about guerilla tactics in

368. Note to N.R. Pillai, 27 November 1958. JN Collection.

369. Prem Bhatia, Special Correspondent of *The Statesman* at Lucknow and Delhi, wrote on 25 Nov. 1958 in his newspaper that the Indian mission in Sudan was headless when General Abboud assumed power in coup d'état, in Hungary or Poland during the revolts in those countries, in Baghdad during the July revolution, in Pakistan on Oct. 7. During the summer unrest in Lebanon, there was only an information officer in the mission. When General De Gaulle assumed power in France, the Ambassador was in Cannes for a film festival. It all seemed so casual.

370. Nehru spoke on this matter in the Lok Sabha on 8 Dec. 1958. See item 246, here p. 648-649

371. Note to Subimal Dutt, 28 November 1958. JN Collection.

372. Nawab Ali Yavar Jung.

373. K.S. Thimayya was the Chief of Army Staff.

Yugoslavia. There is no guerilla warfare going on there now and I suppose not much can be learnt from hearsay.

We can certainly learn from Yugoslavia about the citizen army maintained at a relatively small cost and we might also learn something about indigenous production of army equipment. Normally, therefore, I would agree to the appointment of a Military Attache, but as I have said above, I would postpone such a decision for the present. Meanwhile, our Ambassador in Belgrade should be addressed as suggested above.

I do not like the Yugoslav Ambassador<sup>374</sup> approaching the C.O.A.S. directly in this matter.

### 333. Indians in Singapore<sup>375</sup>

N.R. Munisamy<sup>376</sup> and others: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that thousands of Indian residents in Singapore have now been rendered stateless;
- (b) if so, what action Government of India propose to take to remedy this issue;
- (c) whether any urgent appeal has been received by Indian Government from the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Singapore;
- (d) if so, the nature thereof;
- (e) whether the Indian Citizenship Act provides any protection to the Indian residents in Singapore in case of such contingency; and
- (f) whether the Indian passports would be restored until Singapore citizenship is accepted on the basis of Commonwealth citizenship Act to be passed hereafter?

Lakshmi Menon: (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) and (d). A letter has been received from the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Singapore, listing certain difficulties and asking clarification on certain points. The main hardship appears to be due to the Singapore Government's delay in issuing Singapore passports, and issuing provisionally Identity Certificates instead to those who want to go

374. Dusan Kveder.

375. 29 November 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXII, cols 2046-2052.

376. Congress MP from Vellore, Madras State.



abroad. The other point on which clarification has been sought relates to the reacquisition of Indian citizenship by those who have already acquired citizenship of U.K. and the Colonies.

(e) No.

(f) It is not possible to issue Indian passports to persons who are not Indian citizens. Pending issue of Singapore passports, Singapore citizens of Indian origin can travel on Identity Certificates which are issued by the Singapore Government.

N.R. Munisamy: As a result of certain advice given by the High Commissioner at Kuala Lumpur the residents in Singapore have been wrongly put into this situation of making themselves Stateless. Would the Government of India offer easy conditions in case they express a desire to acquire Indian citizenship, and if so, what action would Government take?

Lakshmi Menon: Our High Commissioner in Kuala Lumpur has not given any wrong advice to the Indians there. All those people who wanted to acquire Singapore citizenship were allowed to do so of their own free will without any kind of pressure or any kind of wrong advice being given to them by our High Commissioner and they did it; they acquired citizenship for their own advantage either because they wanted to have some facilities for their children's education or because they wanted to be enrolled as voters.

N.R. Munisamy: During the latter part of 1957, the High Commissioner had offered certain encouragement to the Indians residing there to get themselves registered as citizens of Singapore with a view to get the right to vote. As a result of it some of the Indians there have got only rights for internal purposes and not for international commitments, and they are not given any facility to come to India, because visa is refused.

Lakshmi Menon: There is no restriction on anybody coming to India from Singapore. They have got the right of free entry and the right of residence in India. The question is only the difficulty of securing passport, and in the answer I have stated what the difficulties are.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not possible for anyone to have it both ways, to have the advantages of, let us say, Singapore citizenship and the advantages of Indian nationality. Sometimes, an attempt is made to have it both ways. Now, in Singapore during this changing period, these gentlemen or ladies decided to opt for Singapore citizenship. They have ceased to be Indian nationals thereby. Now, apparently,

they say that "You advised us to become Singapore nationals and that is wrong advice", as the honourable Member has said. I see nothing wrong. I still advise them, all Indians abroad, in so far as they can, to associate themselves with that place as nationals. But we welcome them as Indian nationals if they see to remain there.

Subbiah Ambalam:<sup>377</sup> May I know whether any advice was given by our Government, that is, by our High Commissioner in Malaya, on the basis of which a number of Indian residents have acquired this dual citizenship?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just now stated that it is not a question of any special advice to anybody. Our policy is to inform Indians abroad that it is those people who have lived there for some time, for some generations, that it is for them to decide whether to remain Indian nationals or accept the nationality of the other country. Previously this decision was not necessary when we were not an independent republic. Then, some kind of—broadly—British nationality applied to everybody in law. Now, that cannot happen. They have to choose. They have to balance the advantages and disadvantages. If they want to remain Indian citizens, they are welcome to do so, but then they do not get the advantages of citizenship, voting and many other privileges of the countries they live in, whether it is East Africa or Malaya or other places. Our advice to them has been: 'You can choose as you like; if all your interests are in that country, it will be advantageous for you to function as citizens of that country and not as aliens living there.'

Tangamani:<sup>378</sup> The honourable Prime Minister has said that they have to choose either the one or the other. But, with great respect, it is not so simple as that, because a number of them who have stayed there have got either their relations or others in India also. I would like to know what is the advice which our High Commissioner has given to those Indian residents in Singapore, where some of them are holding British passports and some even Indian passports. Has he advised them to accept Singapore citizenship or retain Indian citizenship?

Mr. Speaker: The honourable Member is going on dinning it. There is no meaning in labouring this point. The honourable Prime Minister has just

377. Congress MP from Ramanathapuram, Madras State.

378. K.T.K. Tangamani was CPI MP from Madurai, Madras State.



said that in the changed circumstances we would certainly welcome their settling down there. There is no question of special instructions.

Jawaharlal Nehru: If they want to become Indian nationals they are welcome to do that.

Tangamani: I would like to know what was the advice given by our High Commissioner there?

Mr. Speaker: No advice was given. I heard it as much as the honourable Member. The honourable Prime Minister has said twice that no special instructions have been given except to tell them generally: 'Let them settle down there. It will be welcome. But if they want to come back, let them come back.'

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not a question of coming back. That may or may not arise. It is a question of remaining Indian nationals. If they remain Indian nationals, then, if I may use the word, they are at the mercy of the other Government. They can be sent back. They need not come back as soon as they decide. After all, Indian nationals live elsewhere. But in every country, including, if I may say so, India, nobody likes aliens in large numbers to settle down. They become a problem. So if they do not accept the nationality of the place, they are likely to have continuing difficulties, and may even be asked to leave. We have no logical reason to protest.

Jaipal Singh:<sup>379</sup> I would like a further clarification of the general policy statement the Prime Minister has made. Would that advice, or rather the general policy, apply to hundreds and thousand of persons who are in Ceylon now where the Government of Ceylon refuses to give them Ceylonese nationality? What is the position there? Are we trying to tell them: 'Come back; we welcome you'? Is that the position?

Mr. Speaker: It does not arise out of the main question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That question is entirely different. They have not been, and are not, Indian nationals. There is no question of choice at all there, except ....

379. Jharkhand Party MP from Ranchi, Bihar.

Jaipal Singh: What are they now? They are not Ceylonese.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a question which the honourable Member might address to the Ceylon Government. The position is that they are not Indian nationals, but in certain circumstances, if they so freely wish, a number of them can become Indian nationals, if they satisfy our conditions, and it is a free wish, not an imposition on them by any party. In that sense, it would be true to say that. But it is not true in the case of Singapore; to call these people stateless is not quite correct. But it is true—and that is the major problem with Ceylon—that several hundred thousand people who live in Ceylon,—many of them have been born in Ceylon, sometimes even their parents were born in Ceylon—have been denied certain normal rights of citizenship. This question arose before there were two nationality laws. It arose 30, 40 or 50 years ago – I forgot the exact time. Now it has taken another shape in that there are two independent countries. According to us, the vast majority of them are, or ought to be, Ceylon nationals.

### 334. To Punjabrao Deshmukh<sup>380</sup>

December 2, 1958

My dear Panjabrao,<sup>381</sup>

We learnt with some surprise that Aloka,<sup>382</sup> the international training institution in Ceylon, was being transferred to Mysore. We had not heard about this at all, and normally such transfers are not accepted by us except for special reasons.

I wrote to the Chief Minister of Mysore<sup>383</sup> pointing out to him that they should not have agreed to this without first referring the matter to us. In his reply to me, he points out that you had formally invited Aloka in your capacity apparently

380. JN Collection.

381. Union Minister of State for Cooperation.

382. Deshmukh apologized in his letter of 4 Dec. 1958 for the trouble he had caused and admitted that he had acted in his capacity as the President of the Young Farmers' Association. He assumed the Mysore Government had referred to the MEA when Aloka planned to shift to Mysore, and they assumed that they did not need to do so since he was involved. Aloka trained young persons between 25 and 35 years of age in rural organization; it was the result of a World Assembly of Youth in Singapore in 1954, which had its secretariat in Paris and sponsored Aloka. This gave it "status with the United Nations." He did not think that foreigners from places like Formosa were likely to be invited, it did not have a political agenda, and it would accept suggestions made to them.

383. B.D. Jatti.



as President of the Young Farmers' Association of India. This has put us in a difficulty. Normally, we would not have agreed to this transfer because this is likely to create difficulties for us. Aloka may have trainees from South Korea and Formosa, and we do not allow such persons to come to India because we do not recognise those Governments. Their passports are not accepted by us. Then, again, there is the question of trainees from Pakistan. We have no objection to their coming as a rule, but there is a possibility of some difficulties arising there too. We cannot, therefore, issue a blanket approval of every trainee coming here. According to our practice, we have to examine each case separately.

Thus, we are placed in a difficulty, because everything has been settled practically before we knew about it. Your Ministry did not even tell us about this, even when the Mysore Government wrote to the Ministry of Agriculture on the subject on the 17th September. I do not quite know what to do now. It is not easy to withdraw this invitation and upset the arrangements that have already been made.<sup>384</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 335. The Polish and Soviet Delegations to India<sup>385</sup>

I think that there is some force in Foreign Secretary's note.<sup>386</sup> We should, of course, invite these lawyers from the Soviet Union as well as from Poland. But should we hustle them and us over this matter? We can convey the invitation immediately, but, on the whole, it would be better if they do not come in January. We have all kinds of people coming in January. President Tito, Duke of Edinburgh, possibly the Prime Minister of East Germany and others.

2. Also, I think that we should separate the two delegations, the Soviet and the Polish. That is to say, they should come at separate times. The Poles

384. Nehru wrote to Vishnu Sahay on 5 Dec. that Aloka coming to Mysore had to be accepted; but each case of a prospective trainee had to be examined individually.

385. Note to Asoke K. Sen, 5 December 1958. JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to Subimal Dutt.

386. A.K. Sen, the Law Minister, had led a delegation of nine lawyers to the Soviet Union and Poland on 5 Nov. 1958 on a two-week visit, hence a return invitation was due, he suggested in his note of 5 Dec. 1958. That same day, Subimal Dutt suggested hosting them separately and that since Poland had invited only the Law Minister there was no need to invite nine from Poland.

rather occupy a special position in Europe today, which is not completely in line with the Soviet position, though it is closely allied to it. To bring them together will make it difficult for us to talk to the Poles fully and frankly.

3. I suggest that the invitation be conveyed to both. The exact date need not be suggested or, if it is suggested, the second half of February might be mentioned. The Poles can come a little before or after the other delegation.

4. The suggested Polish delegation consists of six persons only, and not nine as mentioned in the Foreign Secretary's note. I think we should invite all these six.

### 336. Tilak Memorial in London<sup>387</sup>

I saw Shri Tahmankar<sup>388</sup> this evening. He gave me a copy of a Deed of Trust which has recently been registered. I enclose this.

2. I told him that we were generally sympathetic to the scheme for a Lokmanya Tilak Memorial in London and to acquiring the house where Lokmanya Tilak lived in London.<sup>389</sup> The other part of the scheme, that is running it as a hotel [sic] for Indian scholars and students, should be worked out more carefully. The house is too small to be any kind of a real cultural centre. But it may be used for students to live in. This matter should be discussed with our India House people in London.

3. In view, however, that this was a memorial for Lokmanya, we looked upon it with sympathy and might be able to give some financial help, though how much I could not say at this stage. We shall have to wait for a report from our High Commission in London.

4. Shri Tahmankar was anxious that something definite should be told to him at this stage because this would help him to get subscriptions from various people in India. In fact, a number of people, including the Maharaja of Mysore

387. Note to Vishnu Sahay, and M.R.A. Baig, the Chief of Protocol, MEA, 8 December 1958. JN Collection.

388. D.V. Tahmankar (d. 1982); correspondent of the Marathi newspaper *Kesari*; later the UK correspondent for the *Deccan Herald* till 1980; Secretary, Lokmanya Tilak Memorial Trust, London; wrote biographies of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Rani of Jhansi.

389. R.K. Tandon, Joint Secretary in the MEA, noted on 8 Dec. that in the Indian High Commission's opinion No. 10, Howlay Place at Maida Vale, London, where Tilak lived, was not suitable for a hostel and cultural centre. Meanwhile, the Bombay Government was prepared to grant Rs 20,000 for the Memorial.



and some Chief Ministers, had promised to help, but they wanted a lead from the Government of India. I told him that I had no objection to their helping, if they so wished it, and if anyone of them asked us, we would tell him so.

5. You might write to the Bombay Government that we have no objection to their sanctioning a grant for the Lokmanya Tilak Memorial in London, and it may be that we might also later give some help after we have enquired more about it. As for the foreign exchange involved, that will have to be settled with our Finance Ministry.

### 337. Message to *Sovetskaja Rossija*<sup>390</sup>

Thank you for your message.<sup>391</sup> It is difficult for me or for anyone else to prophecy what will happen in the coming year. Nor can I say with confidence what I expect to happen. All I can say is what I would like to happen.

2. The greatest peril to the world comes from mounting armaments of mass destruction and the cold war. It is, therefore, of the first importance to control this drift to disaster by disarmament which can come by progressive stages, and so as to give a sense of security to the world and more especially to the countries chiefly concerned. Every step towards disarmament, however partial, helps to lessen tension and prepare climate for next step. The very first step should necessarily be an ending of nuclear tests. This may be accompanied by such control measures as may be considered necessary and some forms of disarmament.

3. Another reason for tension and conflict is the continuation of colonialism and domination of one country over another. The process of liberation of these countries should, therefore, be expedited.

4. Thirdly, it has become essential for the under-developed countries of the world to be helped to develop so as to raise the standards of living of their people.

5. I should like effective steps to be taken in these three matters in the course of the next year.

390. 10 December 1958. JN Collection.

391. Pustovalov, Chief Editor, *Sovetskaja Rossija*, Moscow, asked Nehru to answer the question, "What do you await from year 1959 in field peace, security and international cooperation?"

### 338. Democracy Deep-rooted in India<sup>392</sup>

India Will Not Go The Pakistan Way  
Nehru's Confidence: "Democracy Is Deep-rooted"  
Economic Progress A Stabilising Factor

New Delhi  
Dec. 12.

Addressing the members of the Congress Parliamentary Party's Standing Committee on External Affairs, Prime Minister Nehru reiterated his view that there was no possibility of India having the same kind of regime as in Pakistan because apart from democracy being more deep-rooted in this country, they were also tackling the economic problems to the best of their ability for the last ten years and had succeeded to a large measure.

Mr. Nehru is understood to have pointed out that military regimes were the outcome of frustration among the people on account of acute economic distress. Whether it was a civil or military regime in Pakistan, it could not last long unless it tackled the serious economic problems facing them.

While reactionaries, vested interests and communalists might talk of the chances of India having a military regime and try to exploit the propaganda carried on in the Pakistan Press in that direction, he felt sure that in India such a thing would not happen.

Referring to border problems, Mr. Nehru outlined several types of border incidents and said that while they need not exaggerate ordinary incidents arising out of controversy over the demarcation line, cases of stealing and cattle lifting, they should certainly view with concern any incidents in the nature of aggression even though on a small-scale. Mr. Nehru felt it would be better to deal with such incidents by posting armed police wherever they occurred instead of trying to equip the people of the border areas with arms. Apart from the fact that many of the people did not know how to use the weapons, the arms supplied also tended to disappear and get into wrong hands.

Mr. Nehru strongly condemned the policy of Apartheid in South Africa and observed that the support given to India in the United Nations by the United States of America showed that more people had begun to realise that such reactionary attitudes had no place in the modern world.

392. Report of speech to the CPP's Standing Committee on External Affairs, 12 December 1958. *The Hindu*, 13 December 1958.



**339. Talks with André Malraux<sup>393</sup>**

I have been wanting to send you a note about my talks with M. André Malraux,<sup>394</sup> the French Minister who was here some little time ago. I had two or three talks with him. Right at the beginning, he told me that he had not come to discuss any political problems with me. He was interested in the spiritual side of India and to which he attached great importance and which he thought had significance for the whole world. He asked me if I could suggest some spiritually developed individuals for him to meet. I was unable to enlighten him on the subject.

2. Our subsequent talks also went round this subject with some incursions into the realm of art, in which M. Malraux was supposed to be an acknowledged expert. There was no reference to Pondicherry or Algeria or any other political problem (There was once a very brief mention of Algeria).

3. His references to General de Gaulle indicated that he thought that de Gaulle was a new type of mass leader representing the spirit and soul of a nation. He compared de Gaulle from this point of view to me in India. Evidently he thought that some kind of renaissance was coming over France under de Gaulle in which France would recover her soul. His references to Communism were not unfriendly, though he rejected it as it was practised. He said that the essence of Communism had reality and even some measure of spiritual value but that this had become overwhelmed by other factors. Thus he rejected in a way modern capitalism as well as communism, though it was not quite clear to what extent he did this and I did not ask him any questions. The suggestion was that out of the present crises and deadlocks a new civilisation would evolve and France had a special message for this new civilisation. It was in this connection that India became important and had a very special role to play because, M. Malraux said, India was the only country which could supply that spiritual foundation which would hold the world together.

4. I am writing this from memory, but this is the broad impression he created on me.

5. He then talked about a great Indian exhibition to be held in Paris. The core and heart of this exhibition would indicate India's spiritual values illustrated by her sculpture, art and other feasible ways. There would of course also be exhibited our modern development schemes and projects etc., to give this aspect of India also. He said that he had mentioned this to Minister Kabir who had liked the idea. He asked me what I thought of it. I told him that my immediate

393. Note to N.R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt, 15 December 1958. JN Collection.

394. Nehru had talks with André Malraux, Minister for Cultural Affairs in General de Gaulle's Government, on 28 Nov. 1958.

reaction was favourable to having an Indian exhibition in Paris but that this would have to be carefully worked out. I mentioned that there was going to be an Indian art exhibition next April or May in Germany at the Villa Hugel near Essen. He did not particularly appreciate my mentioning some local German exhibition almost in the same breath as a great exhibition in Paris, which was the centre of light and art in the modern world and which attracted people from all over the world. He said that he thought that this exhibition in Paris might be held in the spring of 1960.

6. He went on to say that the place of India was a very peculiar and special one in the minds of the French people. That had nothing to do with politics. It was in this connection that he casually mentioned Algeria. India represented to the French mind some very special spiritual quality and if I went to Paris, it would be because of that that I would be welcomed by the real mind and heart of France regardless of political differences.

7. I think that the French Ambassador suggested and I agreed, that perhaps the proposal might be worked out a little more and then considered.

8. While it is true that M. Malraux is interested in art and what he considers the spirituality of India and would like such an exhibition in Paris, I had a faint feeling that he had been sent here by General de Gaulle to make an indirect approach to us for the encouragement of friendly feelings for France. Also to find out whether our basic approach to France was friendly or not. He impressed upon me the greatness of de Gaulle who was far above party and politicians. He referred to the recent elections there as illustrating this. I told him that we have always had friendly feelings towards France and its revolutionary background and especially its stand for human freedom. M. Malraux said that France especially represented the ideal of human fraternity and that ought to be one of the dominant features of the present age.

9. I have written this note today as I saw in a Pondicherry Fortnightly, which I enclose, a reference to M. Malraux's proposal to have a French art exhibition in India. I do not remember his saying anything about this to me, though he might casually have mentioned it. What he spoke about was an Indian art exhibition in Paris.

10. This is for your record.



### 340. Indian Marrying a Czech Girl<sup>395</sup>

In Ahmedabad this evening I had a visit from Shri Chinubhai Chimanbhai<sup>396</sup> and his wife. He is an ex-Mayor of Ahmedabad and is I believe closely related to Shri Kasturbhai Lallbhai.<sup>397</sup> He gave me a letter which I enclose with a copy. This letter is from the brother of Mrs Chinubhai. The letter speaks for itself.<sup>398</sup>

2. The writer of the letter, Shri S.M. Jhaveri, has been trying to get permission to marry a Czech girl and to bring her out to India. The parents of both parties are agreeable, but the Czech Government had given no definite reply and has rejected the application for a passport for the Czech girl.

3. It is evident that this attachment between Shri S.M. Jhaveri and the Czech girl is not a temporary one and is rather deep-seated. It has survived nearly two years and many obstacles. I do not see why we should come in the way or indeed why the Czech Government should come in the way of this marriage. It would not be proper to approach the Czech Government formally on this subject. But I see no impropriety in our Ambassador<sup>399</sup> informally mentioning this matter to the Czech Government and otherwise try to help these people. I suggest, therefore, that you might write to our Ambassador at Prague on this subject. Send him a copy of Shri S.M. Jhaveri's letter (copy enclosed) and tell him that he might try to help this couple informally and mention the matter to the Czech Government also. I am told that Shri S.M. Jhaveri has already been to our Embassy in Prague on more than one occasion.

395. Note to Subimal Dutt, Ahmedabad, 17 December 1958. JN Collection.

396. (b.1909); industrialist; Chairman, Saraspur Mills Limited, Ahmedabad; Mayor, Ahmedabad Corporation, 1950-61; Chairman, Arunoday Mills Limited, Cama Hotels Limited, Lok Prakashan Limited and Gujarat Vidya Sabha; Managing Director, Atul Production Limited; Director, Ambica Mills Limited and Tarun Commercial Mills.

397. Prominent industrialist from Gujarat; Member, Central Advisory Council of Industries, 1958-59.

398. Shashikant M. Jhaveri described his travails in his letter of 8 Dec. 1958. During his business visits to Czechoslovakia over the previous two years he had fallen in love with Alena Becvarova, and they decided to marry. But the Interior Ministry would not respond to their application for marriage, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs rejected her application for a passport to travel to India. Jhaveri asked Nehru for help.

399. Jagan Nath Khosla.

### 341. Cable to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>400</sup>

Your telegram 3208 of December 12<sup>401</sup> about Mintoff.<sup>402</sup> I do not think that it will be desirable for us to interfere even informally in regard to the Malta issue. Indeed I think that our interference will not help Mintoff at all and might actually have the contrary effect.

As you know, I wrote to him some time ago to this effect, but at the same time conveyed my sympathy.

### 342. Swami Karandasji<sup>403</sup>

I have looked through these papers relating to Swami Karandasji Udasin who went to Fiji etc. I remember vaguely that this case was mentioned to me long ago when we had a message from him threatening to hunger-strike somewhere in New York. That mere threat went very much against him in my mind.

2. But, looking through these papers, I do not find anything substantial on which we can take action. The fact that he has got some money there, not a large sum, does not seem to me to militate against him at all. We have had no information about his collecting money in a large way, and it is quite conceivable that he was given this sum in appreciation of his lectures etc. there quite voluntarily.

3. I think there is force in what Deputy Minister<sup>404</sup> says about the hunger of Indians abroad for some spiritual comfort. I have repeatedly had requests to send someone to them for this particular purpose.

400. 17 December 1958. JN Collection.

401. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit wrote of her meeting with Mintoff who was in London for discussions with Colonial Office for a new Maltese Constitution by which Malta would be neutral, her security guaranteed by the Security Council, become a member of the European Common Market and negotiate trade agreement with Arab countries.

402. Dominic Mintoff (b.1916); Maltese politician and architect; practised in Malta as architect since 1943; organised Maltese Labour Party, 1944; elected to Council of Government, 1945; Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Works and Reconstruction, 1947-49; Leader of Labour Party, 1949-85; Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, 1955-58; Leader of the Opposition, 1962-71; Prime Minister, 1971-84; Special Adviser to Prime Minister, 1985-87; Member, House of Republics, 1987-98; awarded Al-Gaddafi International Prize for human rights, 2008.

403. Note to Subimal Dutt, 28 December 1958. JN Collection.

404. Lakshmi Menon.



4. I think this matter should be looked into again and perhaps you can talk to me about it and point out the full circumstances of the case.

5. The rule to which repeated reference is made, about collecting money abroad, also seems to me rather vague. It is obvious that we do not wish to encourage people out for mischief, or out for money-making, to go abroad. But we can hardly interpret that rule so strictly that funds cannot be collected abroad for desirable institutions in India.

6. In the ultimate analysis, it is the quality of the man that counts. If I could see this Swami, I would be in a much better position to decide after a conversation than after reference to all manner of people.

7. I would, therefore, like to talk to you about this.

8. I have not seen anything about Giani Bhupendar Singh's<sup>405</sup> case in this file. Perhaps, it is somewhere in it, but I have not traced it.

### 343. Bypassing Indian Missions<sup>406</sup>

A note from one of our retiring Ambassadors<sup>407</sup> has brought to my notice an important aspect of our work. He has pointed out that different Ministries of the Government of India often ignore completely the existence of our Missions in foreign countries and deal directly with foreign firms or sometimes even the foreign Governments. Sometimes External Affairs Ministry is bypassed by them.

405. Head Granthi of the Harmandir Sahib Gurdwara or the Golden temple, Amritsar; involved in the Punjabi Suba Movement, a long drawn agitation launched by the Sikhs demanding the creation of Punjabi speaking State.

406. Note to Vishnu Sahay, 29 December 1958. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 6(30)-Eur (E)/59, MEA.

407. Mohan Sinha Mehta, Indian Ambassador to Switzerland and Austria, sent a note to Nehru in Nov. 1958 giving his general observations on the working of Indian Missions abroad. The following were the points raised by him: (i) various Ministries of the Government of India ignored the Indian Missions abroad, (ii) secret reports and papers of the Ministry of External Affairs were being circulated to people outside the Ministry, (iii) large-scale transfers occurred from one Mission almost simultaneously, (iv) office hours of the Indian Mission should fit in with the practice in the country where the Mission was situated and should be observed fully, (v) a printed set of general suggestions, advice and information should accompany each passport, (vi) senior officers were in the habit of making a number of long distance telephone calls just to emphasise their status, and (vii) Government representatives were accepting large-scale hospitality from private firms with whom Indian Missions were negotiating.

2. It is a well known practice of Foreign Offices in other countries that everything dealing with foreign countries should go through the Foreign Office. Indeed, Foreign Trade is itself directly dealt with by the Foreign Office and not by any other Ministry and this applies to every other activity related to foreign countries, even though that might deal with technical matters.

3. I am not suggesting that Foreign Trade should be transferred from the Finance Ministry to the External Affairs Ministry. But I think it should be clearly understood by all Ministries and Departments of the Government of India that in regard to any dealings with foreign countries, either with a foreign Government or with private firms or organisations, the External Affairs Ministry should not only be consulted but should be the channel through which communications are sent. In minor matters dealing with details sometimes direct communications might be sent, but even so the External Affairs Ministry should be kept informed.

4. It is clear that the policy of a Government has to be an integrated one and in so far as foreign contacts or dealings are concerned, should fit in with the foreign policy of the Government. It would be absurd for differing policies to be pursued by different Ministries even in small matters. It is in small matters that sometimes this difference might arise as major matters of policy are well known and followed. But small differences might create embarrassing situations. Therefore it should be clearly understood by all Ministries and Departments that they must deal with foreign affairs of any kind through the External Affairs Ministry and in consultation with it wherever necessary.

5. Further, whenever any delegation or official of the Government of India goes abroad, contact should be established with our Mission there and should be maintained throughout in conversations or any other work that is being done. On no account should the Mission be bypassed.

6. It would be desirable for our Government's representatives who go abroad to deal with private firms, to avoid large-scale hospitality from those firms.

7. I should like you to draw the attention of our Ministries and Departments to what I have written above.<sup>408</sup>

408. On 29 Dec. 1958 Nehru wrote to U.N. Dhebar, President, Indian National Congress, that he had received information from Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Indian High Commissioner in London, that a person called P. Chakravarti, member of the Indian delegation to the UN and Permanent Secretary to the All India Congress Committee, had accepted programmes of the British Commonwealth Relations Office without contacting the Indian High Commission in London. On 30 Dec. 1958 Dhebar wrote to P. Chakravarti that he should immediately put himself in touch with the Indian High Commissioner in London and rectify the omission. For the rest of the story, see SWJN/SS/46 (forthcoming).



**344. To Bertrand Russell<sup>409</sup>**

December 29, 1958

Dear Lord Russell,

Thank you for sending me your little book *Commonsense and Nuclear Warfare*.<sup>410</sup> I shall certainly read it and no doubt profit by it.

I suppose that slowly and painfully the commonsense view does find some entrance into people's minds. But I must confess to a feeling that logic and commonsense do not take one very far when people's fears and passions are aroused. Of one thing I am quite clear that there can be no effective approach to these problems if attacks and denunciations are made.

All my good wishes to you for the New Year,

Sincerely yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

409. Jawaharlal Nehru Supplementary Papers, NMML.

410. Published in New York by Simon and Schuster in 1959.

## V. DEFENCE

### 345. To Manubhai Shah<sup>1</sup>

November 13, 1958

My dear Manubhai,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of November 13. I entirely agree with you that what is really needed is how best to get the maximum out of national wealth that is invested in the Ordnance Factories and other machinery and equipment in the Ministry of Defence. We made a calculation recently and according to this we were losing or not putting to proper use a good part of the technical personnel and the equipment of these Ordnance Factories. A rough estimate was made that these losses might be computed at three and a half crores. Of course, this is a rough approach.

You refer to other countries where the manufacturing programmes for Defence are shared with private industries. We decided long ago to reserve Defence industries as such completely for the public sector. This was for reasons other than economic, although the economic aspect was not ignored. Ever since the First World War, there has been a tremendous agitation in Europe about the dangerous activities of privately owned Defence Industries. In fact it has been not only said but to some extent demonstrated, that they encourage conflicts and even war just for the sake of profit. Both during the First World War and the Second, the remarkable fact came out that Defence industries were actually supplying the enemy country through a neutral. They were quite international in this respect. Of course this applies only to the big ones.

Defence industries also deal with ever-changing weapons and the price factor is not an easy one to control. Normally arms etc., are a racket, and vast fortunes have been made in Europe and America. I remember reading a number of books on this subject which gave full particulars about the curious activities of these big privately owned Defence industries.

Anyhow, we decided for what we considered very good reasons, that Defence industries, that is those dealing with primary matters concerning Defence, should be entirely owned and controlled by the State and we have to abide by that. Of course there are many things required by Defence, which are on the border line and are used for civil purposes also. There a choice is possible. But there again, Defence requirements are normally big and presumably it would be much more advantageous to Defence to manufacture them itself. Also there is the question,

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Industry.



to which you have referred, that Ordnance Factories have usually more equipment than they use purely for Defence purposes and technical personnel also. This should not be wasted. I am told that our Ordnance Factories and other Defence establishments can produce almost anything in the way of machineries with a few additions etc. If they do not use more fully their personnel and equipment, the question of retrenchment arises. Such retrenchment is bad for a variety of reasons, one of them being that it is very difficult to get together these technical persons again. Also of course it is not desirable to have uncertainty and discontent in such vital industries.

Your suggestion that a team of experts should be appointed by the Planning Commission to go round all these Ordnance and like factories seems to me not very feasible. As you have mentioned yourself, a number of these Ordnance Factories are on the secret list and outsiders, even outside experts, are not encouraged to visit them. Recently we had an appraisal made from the expert point of view of the capacities and possibilities of these Ordnance Factories. These were done by the Defence experts who are quite good. In fact, only this morning I had an hour and a half's talk with some of our principal Defence Engineers and experts on this very subject.

I am not generally in favour of roving committees. We seem to have far too many of them, presenting big reports which may be helpful sometimes, but usually are almost ignored. It seems to me therefore that the best course is for the Defence experts themselves to suggest what they can make with or without some additional equipment and for their proposals then to be examined by others also, so that whatever they can do can be coordinated with other activities and other industries. Of course this coordination is necessary and should always be encouraged.

In regard to normal civilian goods, the prices fixed are usually determined by various factors governing the market. In regard to Defence goods as such, the principal buyers are the Defence establishments and no such comparisons are available except perhaps with other countries. In regard to other goods, such comparisons should certainly be made so as to find out what is the best way to proceed.

There should be as much as possible an integration as you suggest of manufacture for production. We should endeavour to bring it about. But I do not think a roving committee probably taking a year or two in the process, will be helpful in this matter. Conditions are constantly changing and I have pointed out the other difficulties above.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 346. Armed Forces Flag Day<sup>3</sup>

During this year, yet another demand came for Armed Forces to serve abroad in the cause of peace. They were sent to Lebanon.<sup>4</sup> We hope that they will come back to India soon, after completing the work allotted to them. From all accounts, they have discharged this work not only with competence and efficiency, but so as to gain the goodwill of the people of Lebanon.

I am happy to find that wherever members of our Armed Forces go, they gain this goodwill and enhance the reputation of our country. That is as it should be, for they are messengers of peace. Even in India, the approach should be, and I believe it is, to gain the goodwill of the people generally through disciplined service.

In these days, much stress is laid on rights and not so much on duties and obligations. If duties are discharged and obligations cheerfully shouldered, then rights inevitably follow. In India, we have great problems to face, and we are facing them with a stout heart. The first duty of every citizen and more especially of the members of Defence Forces is to defend the freedom of the country that we have won after considerable sacrifices. But, in addition to that, we have to build up the country, and in this work, the Defence Forces have a great part to play.

The Defence Services have difficult and arduous duties to perform. But the people generally have also a duty to them, and they should remember that the young men in our Army, Navy and Air Force deserve well of them.

I hope that as a measure of this appreciation, contributions will be made to the Flag Day Fund.

### 347. The National Cadet Corps<sup>5</sup>

The boys and girls of the National Cadet Corps have been much in evidence lately in Delhi at various functions. I have also seen them at a camp recently at Mount Abu.<sup>6</sup> Their general appearance has impressed me and the work they have done has been commended.

3. Message, 15 November 1958. File No. 9/2/58-PMP. Also available in JN Collection. The Armed Forces Flag Day was observed on 5 Dec. 1958.
4. The United Nations Observation Force in Lebanon had an Indian contingent in June 1958.
5. Message, 15 November 1958. JN Collection. The NCC Annual Day was on 7 Dec. 1958.
6. Nehru visited Mount Abu on 18 Oct. 1958.



It is through disciplined work that the nation will progress and I should like as large a number as possible of our boys and girls to take advantage of the training given in the N.C.C. both in the senior division and the junior division. This is not only good for the nation but for the individuals who profit by this training, for it increases their quality. It is men and women of quality that give stature to a nation.

My good wishes to the N.C.C. on its Annual Day.

### 348. To Saiyid Fazl Ali<sup>7</sup>

November 15, 1958

My dear Fazl Ali,<sup>8</sup>

You know that for a considerable time past, our Army Headquarters have been pressing us to permit them to withdraw some battalions of our Army from the North-East area, more especially the Naga Hills and Tuensang. This matter becomes increasingly urgent, and the Army Chief of Staff<sup>9</sup> has written to us a note on this subject saying that he will be in a bad position in an emergency if such large forces are left in the North-East. They might as well be written off. He says that the only alternative to their withdrawal is to raise further battalions. Apart from the time this will take in training etc., this is a very costly business, and we are totally averse to spending large sums of money on additions to our armed forces.

General Thimayya thinks that a withdrawal of part of these armed forces from the North-East can now be undertaken without any major risk, as they are being replaced more and more by the Assam Rifles etc. It is not his intention to withdraw all the army but only a part of it. The responsibility for the security of the North-East now rests squarely on the army. They are prepared to shoulder that, and any suggestions they make, are made keeping that in view.

Thimayya would be visiting Shillong in the near future, and I hope you will have a full talk with him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. JN Collection. Copied to Subimal Dutt.

8. Governor of Assam.

9. K.S. Thimayya.

### 349. Manufacture of Trucks<sup>10</sup>

I enclose a letter I received some time ago from the President of the Daimler-Benz Company. I want you to reply to it as follows:-

“Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister received your letter of October 17, 1958 some time ago. In this letter you have referred to your cooperation with the firm of Tatas in India in manufacturing trucks and you have expressed your surprise that our Ministry of Defence has made some other arrangement for the purchase and manufacture of trucks for its own use.

2. In view of your letter to him, the Prime Minister has considered this matter fully in consultation with the Ministry of Defence. He desires me to say that he has welcomed the cooperation of Messers Daimler-Benz with Tatas and indeed, as you perhaps know, the Government of India have encouraged this in many ways. But he is not aware of any assurance or understanding to the effect that the Government of India or, more particularly, the Ministry of Defence would only deal with this joint undertaking of Daimler-Benz and Tatas. The Government of India was certainly prepared to make purchases from this concern as they have done in the past and may do in the future. But they do not, in principle, approve of monopolies being created. In particular, it is their broad policy for Defence needs to be manufactured under State-owned and State-controlled industries.

3. They have been investigating this for the last many years. The process of manufacture in India of trucks has been a very slow one in the past and the Defence Ministry wanted to expedite it and make it more suitable for their own purposes which were somewhat different from civilian purposes.

4. The TELCO<sup>11</sup> trucks were in many ways suitable and, as you have mentioned in your letter, an order for 1,000 Mercedes-Benz trucks was placed, but to the great surprise of the Defence Ministry, the price asked for by TELCO was Rs 9,000/- more than had been paid previously for these three-ton trucks. From Rs 29,900/- the price went up to over Rs 38,000/-. This was pointed out to the firm and protracted negotiations took place which resulted in the reduction of the price by only Rs 650/- per vehicle. The reasons given by TELCO for this advance in price appeared to the Defence Ministry wholly without justification. The Defence Ministry were not prepared to pay this price, nor were they prepared to be put in a position where prices could be raised because of lack of competition and on a monopoly basis.

10. Note to Kesho Ram, 23 November 1958. JN Collection.

11. Tata Engineering and Locomotive Company, established in 1945.



5. This led to more intensive search for a rapid scheme for the manufacture of trucks in India for Defence purposes, and the arrangement you have referred to with another firm was arrived at. The whole purpose of this arrangement is to manufacture the trucks in India very soon utilising the equipment and capacity of the Ordnance Factories. I might add that the German firm<sup>12</sup> with which this arrangement has been made has been assisting major Indian enterprises such as the Hindustan Shipyard<sup>13</sup> and the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd.<sup>14</sup> (both under the Defence Ministry) for some time past.

6. These arrangements should not affect the manufacturing capacity of Daimler-Benz and Tatas as the field in India for trucks is a very large one and Defence requirements are only at present calculated to be 3,000 per annum. The Defence Ministry do not intend setting up at this stage any large plant or factory, but they propose, according to their practice, to use largely their Ordnance Factories for this purpose with some little additional plant. They naturally do not wish to be dependent on other sources in an important matter of this kind.

7. Apart from this as I have mentioned above, they see no reason to pay a price which they consider much too high.

8. You will appreciate, therefore, that there is no question of breaking any assurance given to you and that we are glad of your collaboration with an Indian firm. But we cannot possibly think of creating monopolies in India, more especially in regard to Defence requirements. These requirements are relatively small compared to the wide field for trucks for civilian use in India. That whole field is open to you. In any event, according to our basic plans, Defence would have undertaken the fulfillment of its own special needs through its own Ordnance Factories and plants. This consideration has been going on for many years. It was expedited because of our difficulty in getting suitable trucks for Defence when we want them and lately because of the very high price that was demanded from us by TELCO.

Yours sincerely,"

2. Please send the original letter of Daimler-Benz and a copy of your reply to the Defence Secretary.<sup>15</sup>

12. M.A.N. of Munich, West Germany.

13. In Visakhapatnam.

14. In Bangalore.

15. O. Pulla Reddi.

### 350. To Saiyid Fazl Ali<sup>16</sup>

24th November, 1958

My dear Fazl Ali,

You will remember my writing to you on the subject of the withdrawal of some of our army troops from the Naga Hills etc.<sup>17</sup> I have again discussed this matter very fully with our Army Chief of Staff, General Thimayya. It appears that there are eighteen Army Battalions in this eastern theatre at present, apart from a large number of Assam Rifles and Police battalions which probably amount to twenty-seven. Probably all this totals up to forty to forty-four thousand armed forces.

But leaving out the Assam Rifles and the Police, we have, as I have said above, eighteen battalions of the army. Some of these have been drawn from the Western Command and some from the Eastern Command. In the circumstances existing at present, it has become urgently necessary to withdraw some of these army battalions from the eastern theatre. Apart from their need elsewhere their long stay in the eastern theatre with practically little to do not only affects their morale but deterioration sets in. There can be no proper training there. The eighteen battalions are practically sitting there doing nothing. No doubt their presence there has a great effect in protecting that area. Their duties are chiefly police duties, though they may be called upon to perform military duties on particular occasions.

Our Army Headquarters are anxious to withdraw eleven Army Battalions from the eastern theatre, leaving seven battalions there. I have discussed this matter further fully with the Defence authorities, the Foreign Secretary<sup>18</sup> and General Thimayya. As a result of this discussion, it has been agreed that four Army Battalions should be withdrawn almost immediately from the eastern theatre. This means that they should be withdrawn within the next two to three months. This is the immediate decision taken. As for other withdrawals, we shall consider the question afresh early next year after watching developments and reactions. We should like to withdraw seven more battalions in April or May next.

Thus, after the withdrawal of four battalions, there will be fourteen Army Battalions left in the eastern theatre and later after the withdrawal of seven more battalions, seven Army Battalions will be left there. For the moment, however, only four battalions will be withdrawn in the course of the next two to three months. This has become a matter which we cannot delay any longer because of other consequences.

16. JN Collection.

17. See item 348.

18. Subimal Dutt.



This has nothing to do with any additions to the Assam Rifles. But I understand that two new battalions are being raised for the Assam Rifles. One of them is likely to go there next month and the other by March.

I might mention that in withdrawing four battalions, these will not come from the areas bordering Assam but from the Naga Hills and the Tuensang Division proper.

Some time ago, we considered a note from our Army Headquarters about the Naga Hills situation. In this it was suggested that if any incident occurred, our army should take immediate action in regard to that incident. We agreed with this proposal and gave directions to the army accordingly. When I enquired today why such action had not been taken although several incidents had occurred, I was told that the Chief Commissioner was not agreeable to any such action because apparently of political repercussions. It seems to me that we are functioning with so much caution that it tends to become a weakness which must create wrong reactions among the Nagas. We cannot go on indefinitely sitting there and in effect leaving a certain initiative to the Nagas who can go about creating incidents. But the fact is that about 1,500 or so armed Nagas are about still and they can attack or create an incident when and where they choose. They should be made to feel that any such thing will bring about quick action on our part.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 351. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>19</sup>

Your telegram 342 about Rosinski.<sup>20</sup>

2. I have not referred to Defence Ministry yet about him. Presumably they have full particulars. But I remember that probably in 1948, Defence Ministry invited him and he visited some of our training centres and addressed large groups

19. 26 November 1958. JN Collection.

20. Krishna Menon, then in New York for the UN General Assembly, planned to meet one Dr Rosinski, at the latter's urgent request. Rosinski claimed to have discussed military matters with Nehru in 1948-49, with Menon himself when he was High Commissioner in London (1947-52), and to have been introduced to Nehru by Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. Menon could not recall meeting him and asked, "Is there any element of substance in what he claims, as it seems incredible that either you or the Ministry of Defence would have a foreign Military Adviser or discuss military affairs at length with such a person in 1948-49."

of our officers. I was not aware of his visit till Defence Ministry suggested that I might see him. I invited him for a brief interview, but I found him so interesting and his general talk was fascinating, and actually he was with me for about two hours. He spoke highly of the intellectual caliber of our younger officers. I do not remember having met him again. About a year later, Vijaya Lakshmi<sup>21</sup> sent me an article he had written about me. This was well written and was largely in praise of me. I do not know if it was published. I think you should see him.

## 352. Defence Contracts with Foreign Firms<sup>22</sup>

I have read this draft statement as also the brief. I have made some minor verbal corrections in the statement.<sup>23</sup>

2. Page 4 of the statement, para 10: I have struck out a line, as you will see. I do not know what M.A.N. did in the Hindustan Shipyard. But this Shipyard has given us a good deal of trouble, and it is better, therefore, not to have the line which I have struck out.

3. At page 6 of the statement, reference is made to a letter from a Spanish firm which had bought about sixty Komatsu<sup>24</sup> tractors, stating that the tractors had given satisfactory operating results. I see that in one of the previous questions, it was suggested that the Spanish people had found these tractors unsatisfactory. I am merely referring to this so that we might be on sure ground in making any statement. This might be verified.<sup>25</sup>

4. Page 8 of the statement, paragraph 22. This paragraph should be omitted as there is some uncertainty.

5. The briefs should, of course, *not*<sup>26</sup> be placed on the Table of the House.

6. The contracts, of course, will also *not*<sup>27</sup> be placed on the Table of the House. In some of the questions, a request is made that the contracts should be

21. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit was the Ambassador of India in the USA, 1949-51.

22. Note to O. Pulla Reddi, Defence Secretary, 3 December 1958. JN Collection.

23. The draft statement for the Lok Sabha was in response to a calling attention motion by U.C. Patnaik, Independent, from Orissa, regarding some Defence Ministry contracts with foreign firms. The draft, on which Nehru made the corrections, has not been traced.

24. Messrs Komatsu Manufacturing Company of Japan.

25. According to the statement, technical experts were satisfied with the specifications of the Japanese tractors, and a team sent to Japan to witness trials reported favourably.

26. Emphasis in the original.

27. Emphasis in the original.



placed on the Table of the House. I think that a paragraph might be added at the end of the statement to the following effect:-

“It has been suggested in one of the questions that the contracts, or some of them, should be placed on the Table of the House. We would have no objection to doing this, but this is not the practice and this cannot be done without the consent of the other parties concerned. Such contracts are considered confidential by them as this might affect their dealings with other parties. I am, however, willing to show these contracts confidentially to any Honourable Member whom Mr Speaker might be pleased to nominate for this purpose. It will be understood that the information will be treated as confidential.”

7. At the beginning of the statement, the first paragraph might run as follows:-

“Some Honourable Members have put a number of questions in regard to some contracts entered into recently by the Ministry of Defence. I am, therefore, making a comprehensive statement in regard to five recent contracts to which reference has been made. I have endeavoured to make the statement as concise as possible. Even so, it is, I regret, rather a long one, though details have been omitted. I shall be glad to furnish any other information at my disposal to any Honourable Member later, if he so desires. The five agreements or contracts are as follow:-”

After that, you proceed with the rest of the statement.

8. Please send me a copy of this revised statement as well as copies of the briefs.<sup>28</sup>

### 353. Using Defence Organisations for Civil Purposes<sup>29</sup>

U.C. Patnaik: Will the Minister of Planning be pleased to state whether any plan has been formulated for utilising the defence organisation for socio-economic planning, in regard to manpower resources for implementing the Plan?

28. The statement was finally presented in the Lok Sabha on 5 Dec. 1958 by K. Raghuramaiah, Deputy Minister of Defence. See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, cols 3402-3415.

29. Reply to questions in the Lok Sabha, 3 December 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, cols 2804-2807.

Lalit Narayan Mishra:<sup>30</sup> No special plan has been formulated. To the extent considered practicable, the Defence Services are being utilised in developmental activities.

U.C. Patnaik: In view of the difficulties felt by the Planning Commission about shortage of human resources for the Plan and in view of the fact that in spite of taking recourse to the Sadhu Samaj, the Bharat Sevak Samaj and other organisations the Planning Ministry has not been able to formulate a plan to take into consideration the human resources of the country, may I know what steps are being taken by the Planning Ministry and the Planning Commission for utilising the Defence personnel, as a part of their normal peace time role, to take up various works, as in America where floods and other things are being taken up by American engineers as a part of their peace time role?

Gulzarilal Nanda: Sir, the assumption is not correct that our developmental programmes are suffering on account of any shortage of man-power. That is not so. On the other hand, there is the large sized problem of unemployment in the country.

U.C. Patnaik: Trained and disciplined man-power.

Gulzarilal Nanda: As far as utilisation of Armed Forces is concerned, the question has been raised here very often and a reply has also been given that the Army has a special role and consistent with that it is sharing in our developmental activities to the extent it is feasible.

U.C. Patnaik: May I know if the planners are taking into consideration the Defence Organisation for educational and vocational training courses, courses for...

Mr. Speaker:<sup>31</sup> The hon. Member has all through these two or three years, whenever an occasion has arisen, been making this suggestion. It has been equally answered that the Defence personnel ought not to be drawn away for other purposes. During Question Hour we cannot settle that difference.

30. Congress MP from Bihar and Parliamentary Secretary to Gulzarilal Nanda, the Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning.

31. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.



Jawaharlal Nehru: I believe, Sir, a discussion is going to take place on the hon. Member's motion in regard to almost this very subject one of these days—I forgot what date has been fixed.

U.C. Patnaik: That is a different subject.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am perfectly prepared; I should like, indeed, the House to consider how best to utilise the Defence equipment, Defence technical personnel and Defence ordinary personnel. The most obvious thing is to use the Defence equipment which is not fully used in Ordnance Factories and the technical personnel who are of a very high order. The ordinary people to be used raises other problems, because in this country there is no lack of man-power. But, if any suitable suggestion is made which does not affect their other duties we shall certainly consider it.

C.D. Pande:<sup>32</sup> As the Sappers and Miners in the Army are very efficient in road-making and bridge-making and we are having a shortage of such means of communication, will Government assign certain portions of our road-making to the Army so that the work may be completed early and we may be relieved to that extent?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. The Army is making roads and has made some very big roads like the one to Nepal and other places. They are making them and they will continue to make them. But we cannot use them for all sorts of civil purposes like this; there is no lack of people today.

Joachim Alva:<sup>33</sup> Has the Planning Commission at any time seriously pondered over this problem, for instance, by calling up the Defence Ministry people and having consultation on this matter?

Gulzarilal Nanda: Yes, Sir. We have had consultation with the Defence Ministry on this subject.

S.M. Banerjee:<sup>34</sup> Now that the honourable Prime Minister has said that steps are being taken to step up production in the defence establishments, may I

32. Congress MP from Uttar Pradesh.

33. Congress MP from Mysore.

34. Independent MP from Uttar Pradesh.

know whether there are steps taken by the private sector to see that the defence industries do not expand and what steps are taken by ....

Mr. Speaker: We are going away from one subject to another. It does not arise out of this question. The honourable Prime Minister implicitly said that we are going to step up. He said that because we are going to step up production we do not propose utilising them for any other civilian purposes, etc.

Jawaharlal Nehru: One is of the ordinary rank and file of the Army and the other is of the technical equipment and personnel. Recently there was a Defence Production Exhibition here, and even now, in the big "India—1958" Exhibition, there is a big defence pavilion which shows what we have actually done. It is not a question of the future. It shows what is being done on a bigger scale than ever and the things that are made. As a matter of fact, our misfortune is that when Defence does that, objection is raised by some honourable members in this house because they think that this affects the private sector. I do not agree with that.

S.M. Banerjee: Thank you.

Yadav Narain Jadhav:<sup>35</sup> Cannot these technical personnel be used for the purposes of land reclamation?

Mr. Speaker: Here is the problem where hon. Members have started giving suggestions as to how such and such a thing can be used. I am not going to allow the Question Hour for making all suggestions. They will be endless.

T. Nagi Reddy:<sup>36</sup> In view of the fact that in 1952-53 the Army personnel did a great job in the famine affected areas in Rayalaseema, would the Government consider the question of expanding this facility in the areas where there is famine almost every year?

Mr. Speaker: I would suggest to all hon. Members to send their suggestions to the hon. Prime Minister.

U.C. Patnaik: One question, Sir. With regard to what the hon. Prime Minister referred to, about the rank and file, may I know what steps are being taken

35. Praja Socialist Party MP from Bombay State.

36. CPI MP from Andhra Pradesh.



in this country to give necessary training to the service personnel during service in technical and other subjects, so that as soon as they are discharged....

Mr. Speaker: No "so that".

U.C. Patnaik: That is what is being done in other countries.

Mr. Speaker: "So that" is not necessary. The question is; "Are any steps being taken?"

Gulzarilal Nanda: Steps are being taken. There are schemes in progress for that purpose.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

Raja Mahendra Pratap:<sup>37</sup> May I know whether any scheme is there to utilise all the citizens of the country? Not one should be left outside.

Mr. Speaker: Next Question.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: The hon. Prime Minister has not replied to my question.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member may put down a separate question.

### 354. Military Expenditure<sup>38</sup>

Deputy-Speaker:<sup>39</sup> The House will now resume further discussion of the following resolution moved by Shri Naushir Bharucha<sup>40</sup> on the 21st November 1958, namely:-

"This House recommends that in view of the far-reaching scientific and technical developments in the field of defence, a Committee consisting of

37. Independent MP from Uttar Pradesh.

38. Discussion in the Lok Sabha, 5 December 1958, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIII, cols 3 516-3533.

39. Hukam Singh.

40. Independent MP from Bombay.

Members of Lok Sabha assisted by technical experts be appointed to examine and suggest changes in the existing pattern of military expenditure.”

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we always welcome the interest of this House and of honourable Members on the subject of our defence, and so I welcome this discussion. I am grateful for many ideas thrown out, some of which we shall certainly consider.

But may I say right at the outset that I feel we should not, and cannot, accept these Resolutions which involve roving inquiries about almost every subject that might possibly be directly or indirectly connected with defence. I cannot imagine anything more harmful for defence. I can imagine any particular subject being inquired into, any particular aspect, whatever it may be, by a competent committee, but I feel a kind of roving inquiry of the type can only have harmful, and possibly even disastrous, results.

I shall endeavour to say something about our broad approach to this question of defence. But before I do that, may I refer to a few individual matters? The honourable Member, Shri U.C. Patnaik, as we all know, takes enormous pains over the study of matters connected with defence and his views are, therefore, to be listened to with respect and attention. But unfortunately, sometimes he forgets, he gets lost in the trees completely and forgets the wood. One of his particular subjects in which he takes interests is what is called civil defence. And because he thinks that we have not made any adequate provision or any provision for civil defence, therefore he expects, in the near future, an invasion. I hope I am not exaggerating, but I really was astounded to hear what he said in this connection. His voice almost trembled with excitement when he thought of no civil defence, we being attacked and we appealing to Russia and China to come to our help.<sup>41</sup> Anything more panicky, I have not heard during these 10 years that I have been here, and anything more wrong, I say, fundamentally, basically wrong than to talk about our appealing to Russia and China or any country for

41. During the discussion on 5 Dec., U.C. Patnaik said: “...Russia gave a strong note of warning that there are guided missile bases at Quetta, Gilgit and Peshawar, and at many other places bases are being constructed with the help of American army engineers... If tomorrow, there is an attack with guided missiles on certain towns of India and certain industrial centres or by Bombers of the B-47 and B-52 aircraft, if there is panic throughout the country, there is no civil defence organisation, what will be our position? ...Just as we hope that America will not allow Pakistan to use the weapons against us, we also hope that Russia and China, in their own interests, will come in and try to come to our rescue at least to safeguard and to see that these bases are not occupied by America...”



help, I cannot conceive of. Have we arrived at this stage that we should go about in a panicky manner shouting that we are going to be destroyed, that we are going to be defeated and we shall ask foreign countries for help? That is not the mentality of a free man, that is not the mentality, I expect, of a Member of Parliament at any rate.

I do submit that if that is the approach to this question, it is not surprising that Shri Patnaik goes wrong all through the line. I would have respected many things that he said because he studies them, but the whole approach is so wrong, so excited, so panic-stricken, so much of a frightened man that its conclusions are likely to be wrong.

The first thing and the second thing and the third thing about defence is not go get panicky, to keep your nerve whatever happens. Even if there is a rain of bombs, we do not get panicky. That of course does not mean that you do not prepare for whatever you have got to face, a contingency that may arise. But I do submit that the approach of Shri Patnaik is 100 per cent wrong in this matter.

May I also say that it is perfectly true that we have taken no particular measures for what is called civil defence? And may I admit that I am largely responsible for that? There have been various proposals that I have consistently vetoed. So I take full responsibility for that. And I do so not because I am complacent, but because the whole idea of civil defence, if I may remind Shri Patnaik, is completely out of date. It has no relations to the present-day world. It may be of course that some people whose ideas date from the days between the two world wars still think of it, but those who have even imbibed this sort of idea in the Second World War have given up that idea.

Thirdly, if we want any civil defence, as Shri Patnaik suggests, I should like him to calculate—it has to be efficient; there is no good of civil defence in one place; it must be country-wide, over a large part of the country—how much money would be allocate [sic] for civil defence? Are we to spend vast sums of money which are practically not productive at all? We have to care for something else, maybe some other part of Defence. But, leave the money apart. We talked about being prepared for evacuation and all that. These are the very approaches that have to be avoided because these are the approaches of the frightened and the panic-stricken.

U.C. Patnaik: I did not refer to evacuation. I simply said that we must be prepared for the superior weapons and other preparation of a potential enemy.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I know we must always be prepared for death but let us better live all the same, and think of life rather than of death. If you go about asking the people to be ready to evacuate, you only make them think that evacuation is near.

It is obvious. If you go about digging trenches in Delhi the average man will think that something terrible is going to happen. It is obvious. For my part, if such a contingency occurs – which I do not think will—I am prepared to have a few bombs in Delhi and if those who are frightened will run away from Delhi it will be easier to deal with Delhi then.

It is impossible today in modern warfare to think of having any effective Civil Defence. Today the countries that are going in for real Civil Defence are going to such fantastic lengths that they are creating almost cities underground; whole factories have gone underground and vast populations can go underground spending vast sums of money. Obviously, we cannot do that; we cannot afford even a hundredth part of that expenditure—for that kind of thing.

Take another thing which is considered absolutely necessary today, radar. And, there are huge screens of radar for thousands of miles in some countries. Obviously, radar is useful. Are we to put a net of radar for 3,000, 4,000 or 5,000 miles round our frontiers and spend half our Budget over it? We have always to consider that. It is all very well to talk. It is no good having radar here and radar there leaving a gap there. It is much better to keep the idea of protecting yourself from that rather than spend such enormous sums of money over it that you have nothing else but radar; nothing behind the radar. You can do nothing else. You have to balance these things. I do not mean to say that you should not have radar. We must have radar. But you cannot put it for thousands of miles all over. I realise that we should have protection all along the line but it is beyond our capacity. In particular places we do have it.

Raghunath Singh<sup>42</sup> appealed to me in the most tragic tones not to be complacent about our sea coast. He gave us a very pertinent example. He gave us the pertinent example of how the Persians were defeated in the Marathon war by the Greeks, because the Greeks had apparently more ships. I do not know how he imagines that. They were not really a bigger sea-power. But, he should have given a much more nearer example in history and distance; that is, how sea-power brought the British to India. It is much more important than the Greeks defeating the Persians so far as we are concerned. Sea-power brought the Portuguese to Goa and round about and so on. Sea-power has been very important. Sea-power is still important, of course. But, it is also quite true that sea-power is not quite so important as it used to be because of air-power and all kinds of things like these big missiles and all that. But anyhow we realise the importance of sea-power, not really from the point of view of any big war. But from many points of view it is important and a country with a huge sea-coast like India must not be helpless on sea. It is quite clear. Shri Raghunath Singh accuses us

42. Congress MP from Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh.



of having only one aircraft carrier and he asks: is that good enough? He said: "Have at least two". Shri Patnaik says: "why have one aircraft carrier?" Well, I leave it to them to settle the matter; between themselves they can argue it out...(laughter)

So far as we are concerned, I shall be quite frank with the House and say that it was after very careful consideration that we decided to get this aircraft carrier. That is because a large sum of money was involved and we did not intend to get another. An aircraft carrier is of course very helpful and all that. But if you say two, why not say three or four; why should two be a better number than three or one, I do not know. But the point is that one aircraft carrier serves a certain purpose which nothing else serves. It gives us an airfield all over the sea round about India. Otherwise, there are your airfields, of course on land wherever they are. But here you get it all along the coast and in the sea too, where an aircraft carrier could function. It extends your power in that sense very widely and it does many other things. I do not wish to go into that matter. But after a good deal of thought we decided that we should get one aircraft carrier for that purpose and to give training to our people in that type of work also. We do not think that another carrier is needed and we would rather spend that money, if we have it, for other purposes for the Navy or Air Force or whatever it may be.

Then, there is another relatively small matter but of some importance. Shri Patnaik gave a certain historic date—1st of August—when some news ran into his ken that some people had been promoted and made Lieut-Generals. He thought it a very dangerous development. Shri Patnaik with his extended and intensive studies knows, I suppose, a good deal about various other armies and about the proportions of Generals and other in the other armies to the forces, whatever ranks there are—Field Marshals, Generals, Lieut-Generals, or whatever that may be. He must know that. I commend to him to compare the size and functions of our Army with any other army of that size or much smaller organisations and see how many Generals etc., are there. He was pleased to be sarcastic and say that in a few days or a few months' time, we shall have a bunch of Field Marshals and more Generals. I do submit that this is not a matter for sarcasm and it is not right to treat our eminent Generals and others in this way.

U.C. Patnaik: I am sorry; I did not cast any aspersions on them. All that I meant was that when a number of new posts are being created, should not Parliament have an idea of it, as in U.K. where they give Parliament an idea of the defence organisation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I might inform the honourable Member that as a matter of fact none of these posts of Lieut-Generals except perhaps one was a new post.

They were Principal Staff Officers as they were called—PSOs—who were next to the Chief of Staff. They are his principal advisers. So, these few Major-Generals have been promoted as Lieut-Generals. They are not new posts. It is promotion certainly.

U.C. Patnaik: I have spoken about twenty Brigadiers being made Major-Generals in new posts.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, yes. I am coming to that. I do not know if the honourable Member wants us to come to Parliament to tell him of every new post of Lance Naik created, every new post of Brigadier created. I really do not understand it. We are dealing with senior officers who are Lieut-Generals. Four have been created thus far; some have been temporarily Lieutenant Generals, but in the main there are four PSOs. All of them are very senior officers. Our Army, I have long been of opinion—quite apart from anything else—is not adequately officered in number I mean. The top people are heavily worked. Either they have to keep in touch with their Forces or they have to sit and do office work, and our competent Generals doing office work all the time losing touch with the Army is not a good thing. And, for my part I welcome this proposal. I shall be very happy, indeed, if Parliament so likes, to inform Parliament if any such new appointment is created. But I really think that would be burdening Parliament too much. It is, of course, placed before the Defence Committee of the Cabinet, and they decide. There are many appointments made on the civil side. I have not heard of Parliament being informed of that. I should like also Shri Patnaik to compare relatively the senior officers of comparable degree on the civil side and the Army and see where they are more. I think the senior side of the Army has been starved of senior officers.

Here is an Army, an Air Force etc., for India—not big numbers, but still considerable numbers—and a criticism was made that instead of having three or four Lieutenant Generals—whatever we had—we have some more. I do submit, Sir, that that is not a proper approach. One talks on the one hand of efficient Army. Shri Patnaik laid stress on civil defence and other things and, on the other hand, criticises our having competent Generals and giving them an opportunity to work. I submit that is a topsy-turvy way of looking at this problem.

Everyone knows that always it is the competent man at the top that counts. Unfortunately, our practice is here that people have to retire from the Army, however competent they are, normally speaking, after they reach a certain age just as in the civil side. But it is quite amazing. Cases come to me—I am not talking about the average person on the civil side, but let us say a very competent engineer—where we push out a competent man because of age limit and international authorities, not one but several, swoop down on him because he



is better than many other persons that they have got. We have got a habit of honouring a foreigner who comes here, giving him a high wage and pushing out our man when he reaches the age of 55, which is absurd for a competent technician or a competent scientist. However, in the Army that happens too. Competent men are pushed out because there is no room left for them according to the grades and age limit. Now we want to change all that. We want to have more room for these people to continue and remain there. That is why Brigadiers and others have come in.

Then, reference was made by Shri Patnaik to Oerlikons and some ammunition supplied by them.<sup>43</sup> I do not wish to say much about this matter because it is still under enquiry. This I will say, that the mere fact of repeated enquiries into this matter of the quality of ammunitions supplied by Oerlikons itself shows that it was not considered satisfactory. However, it is being enquired into and I hope that this will tell us precisely what this was and who was responsible for it. Of course all these things are fairly old matters. It is about eight years since they happened.

Shri Hem Barua<sup>44</sup> referred particularly to a case of one of the contracts mentioned this morning<sup>45</sup>—the Hard [sic] Motors.<sup>46</sup> I invited Shri Hem Barua to come and have a look at the contract. I agree with him. It is a fact. I did not know it previously, but it is a fact that the firm that are doing this work have got an income-tax case against them. It is a fact, although that need not necessarily mean that they are incompetent, because that is almost a common failing among many people. It is true. But it is also true, I believe, that the company is registered with a capital of £1,000. But the point is that the contract, if you will read it, is absolutely foolproof. We were going to spend—I forget the exact sum—about

43. U.C. Patnaik said: "...You remember, Sir, about the ammunition contract with the Oerlikons, the contract for sale of ammunition to us and for giving us the know-how at our Khamaria factory for which we spent crores of rupees. The Swiss came in 1950 and till 1958 they have not succeeded in the manufacture of the major calibre ammunition. In the minor calibre ammunition, there are two qualities—AP/1 and HE/1. The Oerlikons have just established HE/1 manufacture, which is defective. They have not yet gone in for AP/1 manufacture. Eight years have elapsed since the agreement for which we have spent crores, still we have not had 40 mm. In regard to 20 mm we are not even today having AP/1 manufacture."

44. Praja Socialist Party MP from Assam.

45. K. Raghuramaiah mentioned about this case in the Lok Sabha when he made a statement on defence contracts with foreign firms.

46. In Nov. 1957, M/s Hards Motors, a British firm, offered to buy old weapons of the Indian Army. The Defence Ministry declined, but engaged Hards Motors on 8 Sept. 1958 to retrieve the brass and copper scrap.

Rs 40 lakhs or Rs 50 lakhs or maybe a crore of rupees, just to dump the thing into the sea. We were going to spend the money to get rid of it. We tried hard to get someone to do it. These people came and said, "We will do it and pay you for it". We jumped at it and our military folk and our scientists have been telling us: "For God's sake; this might blow up any day. It is dangerous". So we came to terms with the firm. The terms are: we pay them nothing to begin with. We have taken, I think, a lakh and a quarter of rupees from them just as security money. They spent all the money. Once they have done the job and given us presumably Rs 50 lakhs worth of that scrap stuff, brass and other things, we paid them about Rs nine lakhs. So, we made a clear profit of Rs 40 lakhs this way. And we would have spent Rs 50 lakhs or Rs 60 lakhs, that is, a total of about a crore of rupees. At the most, what can happen is, suppose they do not do their job, well, we have a lakh and a quarter rupees and we hold on to it. And the other matter is, we do not give them anything, and so we do not lose anything. In that sense I mean that it does not matter; and even if these persons are not 100 per cent reliable, the contract itself is foolproof.

In this connection, may I say this? Shri Dange<sup>47</sup> laid stress quite rightly, I think, on the fact that all these defence industries business ultimately depends upon the capacity for heavy industrial production, for industrialisation in the country, and industrialisation depends on the heavy industries. That is obvious. It is obvious that we will have to do all this business of buying ships and other things, because, frankly, we cannot have a gap period which might be risky. I want to be frank to this House that we have had to change our plans much to our distaste several times and spend money on purchasing things which we would rather not have purchased and which we would rather have put in industrial development. We have to do this because of the military aid which has been given to our neighbour country and which has repeatedly, in our thinking, become so much that it might become a threat to us. And we do not wish to take too much of a risk. Sometimes we have taken risks but we could not take too much of the risk and so we had to divert monies which would have gone towards industrial development and heavy industries, this and that, for immediate purchases.

Our military budget went up considerably last year. Well, it went up simply because we bought a considerable number of aircraft<sup>48</sup> and we simply had to do it, and it was a hard struggle for me and my colleagues to buy that aircraft. We did not want to spend that money and yet could one take an odd risk? We decided not to, and we bought it. There it is. Perhaps if we had taken another

47. S.A. Dange, CPI MP from Bombay.

48. On 31 Aug. 1957, Hawker Aircraft Limited in London announced their contract with GOI for the supply of 100-200 Hunter fighter aircraft for about £20-30 million.



decision, nothing would have, happened. But one cannot take risks on a country's security in this way. So, this pressure which has been brought to bear upon us in this matter, because of the heavy aid given to our neighbour country has, I regret to say, sometimes compelled us to spend more than we wanted to spend.

Mr Patnaik, I think, referred to Russian aircraft. I might tell him at no time has there been a question of the Soviet Union offering us any aircraft for sale or otherwise. That Ilyushin<sup>49</sup> which they were good enough to give me when Mr Khrushchev and Mr Bulganin came here was a good aircraft for private travel. It is not a military aircraft at all.

U.C. Patnaik: I was reading from this book. 'Air Forces of the World' and also from the magazine *Aeroplane* that we had offers of military planes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That should be a warning to Mr Patnaik not to rely on his books too much. It is a fact that we have in the past, two or three years ago whatever the period may be, occasionally considered the question of purchasing aircraft from the Soviet Union. We might consider it again and we might buy it; there is no bar to it of any kind. But the difficulty in our way at that time was that it meant a completely different establishment to be put up for them, which had to be separate and training up the people. From the long-term point of view, that might be done. But during these years, we have been functioning, as I said chiefly because of this military aid to our neighbour country, in a short-term way and we did not want double establishment, double ways of working and so on. For that reason, after very careful consideration, we gave that order and bought the aircraft from France, or from where I forget.

It is a matter about which two opinions might be held, two opinions, I might say, even amongst us, some people might say, this way and some the other way. In the balance, we came to this conclusion. But there is absolutely no bar in our minds; anywhere we can get the kind of aircraft which we want, we shall get it from there. But the main thing is our constructing it ourselves. We are making some fairly good progress in that matter in the Hindustan Aircraft. Recently there was a defence industry exhibition and even now most of it is situated in the other big exhibition. I presume some honourable Members have seen it and I would invite others to see it, because that will give a much better idea of the growth of the productive industrial part of defence. You do not see big guns, but new types of ammunition, to which Mr Patnaik referred, which we are making and many other civilian goods.

49. The USSR presented Nehru an Ilyushin-14 passenger aircraft on 24 Dec. 1955. Nehru christened it *Meghdoot*. See SWJN/SS/31/p. 346.

It was in this connection, I think, that a protest was made some time, "Why should the defence industry make any civilian goods?" My answer to it is, "Of course, why not? Why should not it, when it can make it completely and well?" It is not for the purpose of purely beating down somebody. But we must utilise our normal factories to the best advantage. We have excellent people—technicians, engineers and skilled workers. They are very fine people and we are forced, we have been forced in the past, even to think in terms of retrenchment, because there is no work to do for them. We have got excellent machines. So, some time ago, about a year or more ago, we decided to embark definitely on a plan of expansion. Of course, the idea was an old one, but I am saying we pressed the plan of enlarging and expanding defence production, whatever we could do. A number of conferences, etc., were held with our technicians and engineers in the defence forces and we discussed it. Those people, if I may say so, are a very competent and fine lot of young men.

They have some fire, some enthusiasm. They want new things to do instead of the old routine work. They wanted to do it and we said, "Do it". They worked night and day and began producing many of the things that one sees there and that you will see later. Because, every good craftsman is proud of his work. Give him an opportunity and good initiative. Don't put him in an office to scribble notes. These are good craftsmen and good engineers.

Now I would beg this House to consider: what is the effect? These fine workers of ours, they work very hard. For the exhibition they worked night and day and put it up in five weeks' time. What is the effect of it, to be told sometimes, not individually I mean, that their work in the Defence Ministry is misbehaving, why have they given this contract, why have they done that and so on? I look into everything, and they have a right to do that. But I may submit with all respect, there is a way of doing it. If you consider these people who have done this work or give them a hint that there is mala fide, they are rogues and scoundrels—I should not use that word—then all their enthusiasm oozes out. It is safe, they say, and that is a fact not to be in the army but in the civil side.

We blame them, and rightly blame them for being static, for doing routine work and then when they get out of the rut, down we come on them. What is the result? They think: it is safe. Let us remain in the rut. Let us not take anything new. We might get into trouble. Why invite trouble? Let us work in our offices and not take a new move anywhere. That is a fact. Our people are good. Some of them are brilliant. But every time they try to go ahead, there is a damper, and they do not know what will be in store for them.

Patnaik referred to information being given to foreign agencies or newspapers and not being supplied to Parliament. If that is so, I am very sorry and I regret it[,] I rather doubt it. I do not think formally information is given. But, as



honourable Members know, in regard to naval matters, we have been particularly in contact with British firms, and it is usual, I take it, that these firms give the information.

U.C. Patnaik: In the introductory portion of the book thanks are given to the Adviser to the High Commissioner in London for having given the information officially. And in reply to a question also the Defence Minister stated during the last session of Parliament that information had been given officially to *James' Fighting Ship*, because that is an authoritative book on the subject.<sup>50</sup> So, information was given by the Ministry for James' book. It is only denied to us in Parliament.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, as I said, surely any information that can be given anywhere should be given to Parliament. That is the obvious thing. I will certainly look into this matter. I do not know all the facts. But I have a vague recollection about once when we were not prepared to give information, it leaked out in London from other people, and not our people. Then we were asked by them in London and then we said: It has leaked out, you better give it too. We said something like that.

U.C. Patnaik: It is stated in the introduction ....

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have got that. I accept what you say. I shall look into the matter and I hope our Defence Ministry will be less cautious in future about supplying information in Parliament.

Then there is a small matter. But I think Shri Bharucha talked about anti-aircraft guns and their use for safety. He is right but not completely so in this matter. Anti-aircraft guns are not going to protect Delhi or any place from attack if an attack comes. But anti-aircraft guns force the aircraft to fly very high. It would not hit the aircraft if it flies 20,000 feet or 30,000 feet high. Here is nothing more frustrating than an air-craft coming over an undefended city, flying low and picking you off one by one. That is a terrible experience and I saw a hit of it in Spain long ago. The moment one or two of your air-craft go up or anti-aircraft guns are fired, immediately they fly much higher and immediately the safety margin increases because if you bomb—I am not talking of modern scientific bombing, but if you bomb from 20,000 feet the chances are nine to ten that it goes to the fields and misses the city together. Also, it is psychologically

50. The correct name of the publication is *Jane's Fighting Ships* 1956-57 (London: Jane's Fighting Ships Publishing Company, 1957).

satisfying for the people in the cities to hear these guns firing; whether they hit or not is another matter. They feel that something is being done. It has that effect and it is an important effect. But this can only be done, of course, at various special places, cities, etc., and towns all over.

I am sorry I have taken so much time but what I really wanted to talk about was our broad policy in regard to defence. In one sense it is clear that in this atomic war no country can defend itself, i.e., against atomic weapons and the like. We certainly cannot. We have not got them and we do not propose to have them, at least the atom bombs. But even in an atomic war there is a kind of defence that you can indulge in. If a hydrogen bomb falls in the country I do not know what the result would be. But first of all we think in terms of defence and not offence. I know that it is difficult to draw a rigid line between the two, but there is a difference. There is some difference. We are not likely to have bombers to bomb a place a thousand miles away. We are not interested. We are not going a thousand miles away. We will rather have something which will function near our frontiers to defend them if necessity arises and not go very far. That applies to the Navy, that applies to the Air Force and that applies to the Army. But even in this atomic war, subject always to the fact that if the hydrogen bombs fall here, well, they create havoc in a large part of the country, but even if such things happen I would expect, apart from the horror caused and disaster caused, that an invasion cannot take place by hydrogen bombs. An invasion takes place by land armies, and land armies can be resisted then by land armies or by Navy or whatever it is. There is a big gap between a total destruction of a country and a part destruction by hydrogen bomb and the rest of the country and yet preventing the attacker from landing or if he lands fighting him. In other words, you cannot defeat the enemy but you can make it terribly hot for him. You can make it a difficult proposition for him. You can make it a proposition that is not worthwhile for him. That is why with a competent Army like this with only conventional weapons it can be done.

Secondly—and let us be quite frank about it—as I just now said, there has always been a risk of some conflict with our neighbour country. I am convinced personally that there is very little chance of it for a variety of reasons. I am convinced that most people in Pakistan realise that. Nevertheless, there is the outside risk. One cannot afford to take it.

Take this question of our purchase of those bombers last year—the Canberras.<sup>51</sup> Our appraisal of the situation was that there was danger to our

51. The contract for the purchase of 68 Canberra jet aircraft from the English Electric Company for over £20,000,000 was announced in London and New Delhi on 3 Feb. 1957; it was preferred over the Soviet Ilyushin.



country at a certain time a few months ahead. It may have been a wrong appraisal, but it was an appraisal. Our second appraisal was that if we have these bombers, the danger will not arise at all. The mere fact of our having them will prevent that danger arising. All this was guess work, if you like. One has to proceed by that. We got them. Nothing happened. Nobody knows what would have happened if we had not got them. There is always that kind of possibility. So, to some extent, our defence requirements have been conditioned by these factors. Not in consideration of a great war in which we might be involved; we are not going to be involved so far as we can help it in a great war. I see absolutely no reason why we should be involved although we will be involved, not in the fighting sense, but in the sense of suffering from the effects of a world war. That is the position; that is for defence.

All the money that we spend on purchasing anything, whether it is aircraft or ships or guns or ammunitions, is, in a sense, wasted: not wholly, but wasted in the sense, it is an insurance. We have got nothing out of it. We have not produced it. Others have produced it. And, in times of peril, suppose there was unfortunately a war, we cannot replace it. We may not get spares for it. We are just helpless. Shri S.A. Dange said about some parts missing.<sup>52</sup> We are completely helpless. Therefore, real security comes in producing our own weapons and it is better to produce second rate weapons yourselves than to rely on first rate weapons from abroad. That is our whole outlook. Of course, first rate weapons as the world produces today, we cannot have. We cannot afford them. We cannot have them. The sort of weapons that we buy from whatever country it may be are really—let us be frank about it—weapons that they have more or less discarded. They have gone to new types of secret weapons which they do not sell. Those weapons that have become well-known, they sell, because they do not want them. They are good enough for us and we buy them.

The main thing is the building of the industrial base as I said, even risking having second rate weapons provided you produce them than relying on first rate weapons which come from abroad, which you may not be able to replace by spares or by something or other. That is the broad policy. That is a policy based on defence only: not offence. Of course, politically that is coordinated with a policy of friendship with other countries, which is very important, because,

52. During the discussion S.A. Dange said: "...This is the policy revealed in many other underdeveloped countries that a complete manufacture of certain vital and essential parts is never allowed by these developed capitalist countries to an underdeveloped country. So, if this agreement were to succeed in securing full manufacture in our ordinary plants, then in that case the Defence Department ought to be congratulated for the agreement and not criticised for it."

this policy of friendship itself is a greater insurance than anything else. And secondly, trying to build up the industrial base both for defence and other things and being vigilant.

May I, Sir, repeat, in conclusion, I have already referred to Pakistan several times in the course of my remarks, because I wanted to speak frankly as to how we look at these matters. But, I do not think there is going to be any war with Pakistan now, tomorrow or later. I do not think so. I cannot say if you ask me honestly that I rule it out absolutely: I can't, I have to prepare for a risk. I do not think it will occur. I do not think the people or the rulers of Pakistan are not wise enough to do it. We certainly are wise enough not to do it. And, if by any dismal chance that occurs, I do not see why Shri U.C. Patnaik or anyone else should needlessly get perturbed or excited about it.

I regret, for the reasons that I have stated, I cannot accept the Resolutions.

### 355. Serviceability of Ammunition <sup>53</sup>

I have read the summary. I agree with you that in view of the difference in the opinions of experts, we have to proceed further in this matter. We cannot leave it in a doubtful state. It appears, therefore, desirable that a high level committee should be appointed for a further examination and a clearer opinion about the serviceability of the ammunition. Also, in so far as it is possible, whether the ammunition, when originally supplied, was up to the standard or not.

As the Defence Minister will be returning soon, these papers should be placed before him and he should decide what further steps should be taken.

As for Air Commodore R.H.D. Singh,<sup>54</sup> I do not think he should be made a member of the Enquiry Committee, but in view of the fact that he was connected with this matter, is considered an expert, and has brought forward some charges, the Enquiry Committee would no doubt give him every facility to establish his case.

53. Note to O. Pulla Reddi, 9 December 1958. JN Collection.

54. (1914-2000); commissioned into the IAF from RAF Cranwell; served with the No. 1 Squadron in NWFP; and with a coastal Defence Flight during World War II; Commander of the Advanced Flying School; Air Officer Commanding of Training Command, 1948-1952; Air Officer Incharge, Technical and Equipment Services, and later as Air Officer Incharge of Personnel and Organisation; retired in May 1958.



### 356. Scrutiny of Defence Contracts<sup>55</sup>

I think you might send a copy of your note on the purchase from Messrs Levy Auto Parts<sup>56</sup> to the Comptroller & Auditor-General.<sup>57</sup>

When you sent me some other notes about contracts recently made, I suggested, I think, that they might be circulated to the members of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. Further that they might be included in the agenda of the Defence Committee meeting in case anyone wishes to have further facts about them. I do not know if you have circulated these notes to the members of the Defence Committee. If you have not already done so, you need not send them at this stage. But the matter should be put up before the Defence Committee including this note about the purchase from Levy. Any member of the Defence Committee who wishes to have copies would be supplied those copies.

### 357. Manufacture of Trucks<sup>58</sup>

Babubhai M. Chinai:<sup>59</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether there is any proposal under consideration by Government for the manufacture of trucks by the Ordnance Factories in collaboration with some foreign firms;
- (b) if so, what are the foreign firms with which such collaboration is contemplated;
- (c) what is the capital likely to be invested and what is the foreign exchange component;
- (d) whether any representations have been made by the automobile manufacturers against the proposals, and
- (e) if so, what action Government propose to take on the representations?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b). Yes. An agreement for the manufacture of trucks in the Ordnance Factories has been concluded by the Government of India with Messers M.A.N. Works of Munich, West Germany.<sup>60</sup>

55. Note to O. Pulla Reddi, 9 December 1958. JN Collection.

56. Messrs Levy Auto Parts of Canada, stockists of war surplus stores.

57. Asok K. Chanda.

58. Reply to questions in the Rajya Sabha, 15 December 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIII, cols 2175-2179.

59. Congress MP from Bombay State.

60. On 11 Sept. 1958.

(c) The present estimate is Rs 47 lakhs inclusive of Rs 23 lakhs in foreign exchange. This foreign exchange will come out of the amount allotted for the purchase of trucks on behalf of the Army and no fresh demand for it will be made.

(d) Yes.

(e) The proposal to manufacture trucks in the Ordnance Factories covers Defence demands only at present, which are estimated to amount to two thousand trucks per annum. The civil demand which is estimated to be much larger is not affected by it. The Defence requires special types which may not be necessary for civil demands. The need of Defence for such trucks to be manufactured in India was urgent and the price and terms agreed upon with Messrs M.A.N. were considered favourable. A reply to this effect has been sent to the representation made. Other matters concerning such manufacture will be examined in consultation with the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

Babubhai M. Chinai: May I ask the honourable Prime Minister, will not the present decision of the Defence Ministry to manufacture their own trucks be handicapped in an emergency as the trucks manufactured by them will not be in common with those made by those of the civilian industry?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not quite understood the question. The whole object of the Defence Ministry organising this manufacture more or less under their auspices is to prepare for any future emergency. In fact one of their difficulties was that they were too dependent on sources which sometimes did not meet their demand. I do not understand the question as to how it will come in the way of an emergency.

Babubhai M. Chinai: My question was, if Defence is going to manufacture this and at the same time the Indian automobile industry is going to manufacture this, then slowly if we are to depend only on Defence for their own requirements specially of these trucks, then in the case of an emergency will not the Defence be handicapped because the civil will not be manufacturing?

Jawaharlal Nehru: But the civil will not be manufacturing. As I said, by far the greater demand for trucks is our civilian demand which is probably ten times the Defence demand. It will be there. If need arises one can always rely upon that.

Babubhai M. Chinai: May I know if it is not a fact that the decision of the Defence Ministry to manufacture trucks in their Ordnance Factories is contrary to the recommendation of the Tariff Commission and accepted



by the Government to the effect that civilian and Army demands should be considered together with the small volume of demands for motor vehicles in the country?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That report of the Tariff Commission was made some time back. It is out of date so far as we are concerned in this matter.

T.S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:<sup>61</sup> If technical ability and personnel are available within this country, what is the reason for coming to an agreement with a foreign firm? Admittedly there are automobile firms which are already manufacturing trucks and which can also manufacture these trucks. When that is the case, what is the reason for going in for foreign collaboration?

Jawaharlal Nehru: If the premise of the honourable Member is accepted, the conclusion also follows. Obviously if we have enough equipment and trained technical personnel, then there is no question of our going abroad. It is because we have not got them, we have to go abroad.

T.S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: May I know whether in this matter of collaboration there was any tender called for, or whether any firms tendered, or was it the only firm which offered and which was selected?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This matter has been going on for a considerable time with various firms. I think previously tenders had been called for, not at this particular stage. We had really reduced, after previous tenders, the number of firms with which we could deal, and ultimately had two left or something. One of them could not supply our demands as we wanted them to be supplied and so we made this contract with this firm.

Amolakh Chand:<sup>62</sup> May I know by what time these trucks will be manufactured in India; in which Ordnance Factory they will be manufactured; and whether the machinery there is sufficient or not?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It will not be manufactured in one Ordnance Factory. It will be manufactured, partly in a number of them, and the object of using the Ordnance Factory for this, more particularly, is that a great deal of our equipment

61. Congress MP from Madras.

62. Congress MP from Uttar Pradesh.

is not fully used at present for normal purposes. We want to use that, supplementing it here and there with some additional equipment.

Amolakh Chand: May I know if it was not possible to have any collaboration with any Indian firms which are manufacturing trucks in India, so that the necessity did not arise for entering into a foreign contract?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Every Indian firm that has so far undertaken this manufacture has had to collaborate with foreign firms for that purpose, and that collaboration has gone on for years and years. It is no doubt achieving some results but not adequate results. The process has been very slow. What is laid down in this particular contract is a rapid transition to a hundred per cent Indian manufacture.

H.D. Rajah:<sup>63</sup> How does the price compare ...

Chairman:<sup>64</sup> That will do.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It may perhaps be helpful if I place a full note on the Table of the House not only about this particular contract but three or four others. Members are no doubt interested, and so, Sir, if you permit me tomorrow. I shall put a full note.

H.N. Kunzru:<sup>65</sup> May I ask whether this contract for the manufacture of trucks has been entered into by the Defence Ministry in agreement with the Commerce and Industry Ministry which had already arranged for the manufacture of trucks in this country?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There have been consultation at various stages, and all the normal procedures were gone through. I cannot reply at what stage the particular consultation took place.

Chairman: No more.

63. Republican Party MP from Madras.

64. S. Radhakrishnan.

65. Independent MP from Uttar Pradesh.



**358. Use of Vacant Land for Defence Organisations<sup>66</sup>**

I am sending you a letter from Shri Humayun Kabir. Today, he saw me also and showed me a map about these vacant lands on Kitchner Road.<sup>67</sup> This is a very large area, running into some miles, I think. I can well understand the need of Defence for keeping a part of that land, but I do not see why all these miles of unused land should be reserved for possible future use by Defence.

2. It is not easy to get land for educational institutions, and the Technical Institute that we have in mind, is important and would well fit in in a part of that land. I hope, therefore, that you will give favourable consideration to this matter.

66. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, 30 December 1958. JN Collection.

67. The correct spelling is Kitchener; the road has been renamed Sardar Patel Marg.

## VI. MISCELLANEOUS

### 359. To Y.B. Chavan<sup>1</sup>

November 6, 1958

My dear Chavan,

Some days ago the daughter of Maulana Mohammed Ali,<sup>2</sup> who is the wife of Zahid Ali,<sup>3</sup> son of Maulana Shaukat Ali,<sup>4</sup> came to see me. She told me of all kinds of difficulties they were having about the Khilafat House.<sup>5</sup> I told her that if it was a legal matter, I could not interfere. All I could do was to draw the attention of the Chief Minister.

Now Zahid Ali has himself written to me and I enclose his letter. It is difficult for me to say what should be done. But it would be unfortunate if Zahid Ali, who is obviously very ill, should be thrown out of the house. Also that I think that some consideration is due to the son and daughter of the famous Ali Brothers.

You will see that he is agreeable to have Trustees appointed. Could not some such step be taken?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 360. Compensation on the Death of a Pilot<sup>6</sup>

Some time ago, a pilot of the Madhya Bharat Flying Club died in an accident. The officers of the Flying Club did not even have the courtesy or the decency to express their sorrow on his death or for someone to call on his wife, Mrs. Segal, to express regret. Mrs. Segal wrote to me over a month ago telling me that she was in great financial difficulties and even her children could not continue to attend school. Some insurance money amounting, I think, to Rs 15,000/- was due to her, but there has been delay in payment.

1. JN Collection.

2. SWJN/FS/1/p. 109.

3. (1888-1958); specialist of Ismaili studies; taught at the Nizam College, Hyderabad; wrote on Fatimid history and published a compendium of Ismaili doctrines.

4. Elder brother of Maulana Mohammed Ali.

5. In south Bombay, formerly the headquarters of the All India Khilafat Committee.

6. Note to Kesho Ram, 14 November 1958. JN Collection.



2. The matter was referred to the Madhya Bharat Flying Club and all they said was that the insurance money would be released in about six weeks. I spoke to the Raja of Bhadri<sup>7</sup> (Lieutenant Governor of Himachal Pradesh) and he mentioned this matter to the Madhya Bharat Flying Club people. He suggested that the only way was to raise a fund for the lady and her children. I promised to contribute to this fund. In fact, Bhadri said that if I sent a contribution to the Madhya Bharat Flying Club, this would exercise some pressure on them to do something. He himself has sent me a cheque for Rs 500/- for this purpose.

3. I should like you to send Rs 1500/- from my Discretionary Fund to Shri B.M. Bhandari, President of the Madhya Bharat Flying Club Ltd., Indore. Also Bhadri's cheque for Rs 500/- may be sent to him. Tell him that these sums are meant as subscriptions to a fund to be started for the help of Mrs. Segal and her children. Tell him also that I have been much concerned to find that the Madhya Bharat Flying Club has made no provision for her and in fact has taken no interest in her at all and has not even expressed regret over the death of her husband who was a pilot of the club. I think that the least that should be done is for the club to open a fund to help her. The money we are sending should be treated as initial contributions to that fund, but I hope that a substantial sum will be collected for her.

4. Please acknowledge the Raja of Bhadri's letter to me and tell him of the steps we are taking.

### 361. To Purushottamdas Tandon<sup>8</sup>

14-11-1958

प्रिय पुरुषोत्तम,

तुम्हारा पत्र मिला। धन्यवाद। जों जों आयु बढ़ती जाती है पुराने ज़माने याद आते हैं और पुराने मित्र और करीब होते जाते हैं। दुनिया बदलती जाती है और नए लोग, नए विचार पुरानों की जगह लेते हैं। यह ठीक है और ऐसा होना ही है। लेकिन फिर भी इससे कुछ अकेलापन हो जाता है। इसलिये पुराने मित्रों की याद और उनकी कदर अधिक हो जाती है।

सस्नेह

जवाहर लाल

7. Bajrang Bahadur Singh.

8. JNMF Collection, NMML.

[Translation begins]

Dear Purushottam,

I got your letter. Thanks. As we grow older we recall past times and old friends get dearer and dearer. The world goes on changing and new acquaintances and new ideas take the place of the old ones. This is right and this is inevitable too. But even then there is some loneliness because of this. Therefore, one remembers and values old friends still more.

With love,

Jawaharlal

[Translation ends]

### 362. To N.V. Gadgil<sup>9</sup>

November 14, 1958

My dear Gadgil,<sup>10</sup>

Thank you for your message of congratulation on the occasion of my birthday. It is true that we have clouds darkening our horizon. But we have much to hearten us also and more especially the friendship and comradeship of those who have to face jointly these problems.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. JN Collection.

10. The Governor of Punjab.



**363. To Sri Prakasa<sup>11</sup>**

November 14, 1958

My dear Prakasa,<sup>12</sup>

Thank you for your message of good wishes. You remind me of our forty years of  
friendship and comradeship. That is a fair

11. JN Collection.

12. The Governor of Bombay.

13. JN Collection.

**365. To Ali Yavar Jung<sup>14</sup>**

November 14, 1958

My dear Ali,<sup>15</sup>

Thank you for your letter of November 8th which arrived in time, in so far as my birthday was concerned. Please also convey my thanks to the members of our Mission there.

You know that it has been a great pleasure to me to have you as one of our senior Ambassadors in positions of special importance. Life's burdens become lighter with the friendship of comrades.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**366. To Dusan Kveder<sup>16</sup>**

November 14, 1958

My dear Ambassador,<sup>17</sup>

Thank you for your message of greeting on the occasion of my birthday. Please also convey my thanks to the members of your staff.

You know that we have valued greatly the friendship of Yugoslavia, and I hope that the bonds uniting our countries will increase. We are greatly looking forward to the visit of President Tito<sup>18</sup> to India.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. JN Collection.

15. Ambassador of India to Yugoslavia.

16. JN Collection.

17. Yugoslav Ambassador to India.

18. Tito visited India from 13 to 19 Jan. 1959.



**367. To Ram Subhag Singh<sup>19</sup>**

November 14, 1958

My dear Ram Subhag,<sup>20</sup>

I am surprised to get your letter of today and to learn that there was some difficulty in your coming to my house this morning. There was no restriction for anyone coming today, and over a thousand persons did actually come. There were many Members of Parliament. Perhaps, you came too early in the morning. Anyhow, I am sorry that this occurred.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**368. Gandhi Peace Foundation<sup>21</sup>**

In a unique and inspiring leadership of the struggle for freedom in India, Mahatma Gandhi laid continuous stress on the importance of right means and peaceful methods. He applied these methods to a national struggle involving millions of people and thereby helped them to achieve freedom without hatred or armed conflict. The peaceful struggle ended in a settlement which achieved the objective aimed at and yet left no trail of bitterness behind. Although Gandhiji applied these methods to India, he conceived them as not limited to a particular country but applicable everywhere for the solution of any kind of conflict. Gandhiji's approach was based on the principles of Ahimsa (non-violence) in the conduct of national and international affairs.

The Gandhi Peace Foundation is being formed for the furtherance of this objective and to promote the acceptance by all peoples of the principle of Ahimsa (non-violence) in the conduct of national and international affairs.

19. JN Collection.

20. Secretary, CPP.

21. Draft statement for the Gandhi Peace Foundation, 16 November 1958. JN Collection. The draft statement was sent to G. Ramachandran, the Secretary of the Pilot Committee, Gandhi Peace Foundation, with a covering letter:

"I had your letter of the 7th November a few days ago. Dr Radhakrishnan had not shown me the paper he sent you.

"I must apologise to you for the delay in dealing with this matter. I have seldom experienced more difficulty in anything else. I have now drafted something which does not please me much. Anyhow I am sending it to you."

In order to achieve this objective, the functions of the Foundation will be:

- 1) to establish an international centre of study and research in the principles of non-violence as evident from the study of the history and philosophy of India and of the world;
- 2) to study and report in cooperation with other agencies, where necessary, techniques for the application of non-violence in national and international affairs;
- 3) to provide information, counsel and assistance in this field to teaching institutions in the form of Research Fellowships, Travel Grants, Library equipment and act as a coordinating authority;
- 4) to assist in developing an informed public opinion on the principles and techniques of non-violence among all peoples; and
- 5) generally to take all necessary action to attain the objective of the Foundation.

### 369. To Padmaja Naidu<sup>22</sup>

November 17, 1958

Bebee dear,<sup>23</sup>

Today is your birthday, and we have thought a great deal about you. How these birthdays come one after another. Can we not stop this rapid passage of time?

Thank you for the bunch of books that you sent me. Two of them I had already: Pasternak's book,<sup>24</sup> and *Platero and I*.<sup>25</sup> I could not return these to you because you had already inscribed them.

I shall be coming to Calcutta on the 30th November forenoon. I had intended to come a day before, but the Prime Minister of Norway will be here then and, indeed, will stay on on the 30th.<sup>26</sup> It is bad enough to leave him on the 30th but I could not very well leave for two days. My visit to Calcutta, as usual, will be a hurried affair. That is my fate. Indu might have come with me, but, in view of the visit of the Prime Minister of Norway, she had better stay here. Tomorrow, Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, is coming.

22. Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML.

23. The Governor of West Bengal.

24. *Doctor Zhivago*.

25. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1957). This popular work by the Spanish writer Juan Ramn Jimnez (1881-1958) contains a series of autobiographical prose poems about the wanderings of a poet and his donkey in Andalusia.

26. See item 284.



After the Gilbertian episodes in Pakistan, we now have a gallant general bringing about a coup d'état in the Sudan.<sup>27</sup> Anyhow, life is not dull.

Love

Jawahar

### 370. To H.N. Mukerjee<sup>28</sup>

November 17, 1958

My dear Hiren,<sup>29</sup>

What a lovely letter you have sent me. Thank you for it. I have read it once and I shall read it probably again.

I have been reading your book. I suppose you have received my *Bunch of Old Letters*.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps that might have given you some more material for your book on Gandhiji.<sup>31</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 371. To Rita Dar<sup>32</sup>

November 17, 1958

[Ritu darling,]<sup>33</sup>

I was very happy to receive your letter and to have news of you and of the new addition to our family. I really ought to have written to you before, when I first heard of Jyoti. But I was, as usual, entangled in various kinds of activities, and then I forgot.

27. On 17 Nov. 1958, General Ibrahim Abboud, Commander-in-Chief of the Sudan Army, seized power in Sudan from the coalition Government of the pro-Western Umma Party and the People's Democratic Party.

28. JN Collection.

29. Communist Party Lok Sabha MP from West Bengal.

30. *A Bunch of Old Letters* (Bombay: Asia Publishling House, 1958).

31. *Gandhiji: A Study* (Calcutta: National Book Agency, 1958).

32. JN Collection.

33. Daughter of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and wife of Avtar Krishna Dar. Dar was First Secretary in the Indian Mission in Singapore, 1957-59.

After living in the high society of so many millionaires in Singapore, probably you will feel rather dull in more modest surroundings. We are looking forward to the day when there won't be any millionaires in India. I fear that day will not come to pass soon. However, we work for it.

Our Parliament session started today, and from tomorrow, we have a succession of VIPs coming here from abroad. The Prime Minister of Canada comes tomorrow, to be followed by the Prime Minister of Norway, the Foreign Minister of Japan<sup>34</sup> and, later, President Tito. Next year, we shall have Prince Philip and Marshal Voroshilov. As a matter of fact, there was a large crowd of bankers, financiers and Ministers here last month for the big bank meeting.<sup>35</sup> Most of them came here for the first time. I do not quite know what they expected to find, but what they saw evidently impressed them greatly. In fact, some of them were rather bowled over by our arrangements and general efficiency. Of course, they only saw the good side of our efficiency. They were much impressed also by an exhibition we are having: "India 1958".<sup>36</sup> This is indeed a good exhibition, and it was put up in less than six months.

Perhaps, you know that Feroze has been rather ill. He got a heart attack nearly two months ago when Indu and I were in Bhutan. Since then, he has been in a Nursing Home, recovering slowly. He has now come back, but is still rather wobbly and has to rest a lot.

I have a vague idea that Avtar is going to be transferred. As you have grown to like Singapore, you may not approve of the change. But, then, you will probably like the other place even better.<sup>37</sup>

I described what has happened in Pakistan yesterday as some kind of a scene from a Gilbert and Sullivan opera,<sup>38</sup> without the music of course. This evening, we have news of a military coup d'état in the Sudan. This seems to be infectious.

[Your loving  
Mamu]

34. Aiichiro Fujiyama.

35. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 604.

36. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 64.

37. Avtar Krishna Dar was appointed Counsellor in the Embassy of India in Cairo in Feb. 1959.

38. See item 123, here p. 423.



**372. To Bajrang Bahadur Singh Bhadri<sup>39</sup>**

November 20, 1958

My dear Bhadri,<sup>40</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 19th November. I have also received the parcel of fruits and this evening I had one of the apples and some of the walnuts. Both were very good indeed.

I am interested to know that such good fruits grow at Chini. We should certainly develop these.

I do not like the idea of naming anything after my name. I have always been struggling against this attempt of some people. So it would be rather out of keeping with my advice if I agreed to your present proposal. I do not myself see why people's names should be associated in this way. It is far better to choose attractive names either of places or other. Suppose you call it a Chini apple. That gives it immediately a location and you make people think of where it comes from.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**373. To Sanjay Gandhi<sup>41</sup>**

November 23, 1958

Darling Sanjaya,

I was very happy to receive your letter and your love and good wishes on my birthday.<sup>42</sup> Soon your birthday<sup>43</sup> will be coming, and I hope you will be here then to celebrate it. But what a great difference there is between your age and mine.

Your Mummy has been naughty. Three days ago, she got fever. Now she is better, but she will have to remain in bed for another two or three days.

Pepi<sup>44</sup> is keeping well. The Bhimsa family<sup>45</sup> came here two weeks ago.

39. JN Collection.

40. The Lieutenant Governor of Himachal Pradesh.

41. JN Collection.

42. Sanjay Gandhi was at the Doon School, Dehra Dun.

43. 14 Dec.

44. Nehru's pet dog.

45. The male Bhimsa and female Pashi were Nehru's pet pandas.

They are all very friendly, except the lady who is still frightened.

We have now got a new member of the family. It is a kind of a deer, and rather lovely and sweet. This morning, Pepi tried to attack him and ran after him, but the deer could run faster. We shall try to make them friends.

The Exhibition here—India 1958—is continuing and will go on till the end of the year or more. So, you and Rajiv can see it again if you like, when you come here.

I hope you are keeping well.

With love from your loving  
Nana

I am sending some new stamp issues.

### 374. To Ramdas M. Gandhi<sup>46</sup>

November 29, 1958

My dear Ramdas,

Your letter of the 21st November only reached me today.

I am very sorry to learn about the difficulties being experienced by Bapu's sister.<sup>47</sup> We shall certainly try to remove these difficulties. I am consulting some friends about this matter and shall write to you again.<sup>48</sup>

As for Sewagram, I am afraid it will be difficult for the Government to touch it and, indeed, I do not want the Government to do so.<sup>49</sup> Government interference in a matter of this kind will not be desirable.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

46. JN Collection.

47. Ramdas M. Gandhi, the son of Mahatma Gandhi, listed the difficulties faced by Gokebehen, Mahatma Gandhi's sister, after the death of her only daughter two and a half years earlier. Gokebehen's daughter-in-law, a child widow herself, was looking after her well, but she had her limitations. Y.B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Bombay, had not been helpful. Ramdas said that he would certainly have looked after Gokebehen had he the means and had his own family been prepared to do so.

48. On the same day Nehru wrote to Y.B. Chavan, "I do not know what to do in this matter. I am perfectly prepared to find money to help the lady. But I do feel that she should not have the sensation of not being adequately treated by us."

49. Ramdas Gandhi suggested that Sewagram be made by Government or the Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Trust an ideal village in a manner Mahatma Gandhi would have liked or Nehru thought to be best.



**375. Gift to Nehru by Indians in Hong Kong<sup>50</sup>**

I think this question<sup>51</sup> should be answered and we need not raise a technical plea to avoid answering it. If the Finance Minister so wishes, I am prepared to answer it.<sup>52</sup>

The answer should be on the following lines:-

“Some time ago an Indian resident of Hongkong came to the Prime Minister and told him that some Indians in Honkong wished to give a gift to him on his next birthday of his weight in gold. The Prime Minister told them that whatever gifts he received were handed over to public funds and, more particularly on his birthday, to the Women and Children’s Fund.

No other communication was received by the Prime Minister, but about the time of his birthday, gold weighing 5,513.6 tolas was received. Under instructions from the Prime Minister this gold was deposited in the Reserve Bank of India in Bombay and has been added to the gold stocks of the Government of India.

On behalf of the Government of India, the Prime Minister was given the price of this gold calculated at the official international rate of Rs 62.50 per tola of 100 fineness, which is considerably less than the market rate in India. The amount received by the Prime Minister was Rs 2,85,00000.

It is understood that the Prime Minister has distributed this money as follows:-

Rs 1,00,00000-00 to the Indian Council for Child Welfare.

Rs 1,00,00000-00 to the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, Allahabad.

Rs 10,00000-00 to the Bal Sahyog in Delhi.

The balance of Rs 75,00000-00 has been deposited in the Women & Children’s Fund.”

50. Note to Morarji Desai, 29 November 1958. JN Collection.

51. P.C Bhanj Deo, Ganatantra Parishad MP from Orissa, asked on 23 Dec. in the Rajya Sabha: “Whether it is a fact that a gift of 6,000 tolas of gold came recently to the Prime Minister from an unknown overseas source; and if so, how this gold will be utilised” ?

52. B.R. Bhagat, the Union Deputy Minister of Finance, answered the question on the same day.

**376. To B.C. Roy<sup>53</sup>**

Calcutta

30th November, 1958

My dear Bidhan,

Lalita Bose<sup>54</sup> came to see me today. She has recently returned from Vienna where she saw a great deal of Anita<sup>55</sup> and her mother. She has got letters from both of them for me.

In these letters, they tell me that they have arranged to get Anita's name legally registered as Bose, that is, she will be called Anita Schenkl Bose in future.

They both want Anita to become an Indian national. There is no difficulty about that. But they add that they would like her to have double nationality, Austrian and Indian. The Austrian authorities have told them that while this is difficult, it is not wholly impossible. Apparently there have been some rare cases. But so far as India is concerned, I do not think it is legally possible. I do not myself see why Anita should have this double nationality.

Lalita Bose tells me that arrangements have been made for Netaji Bhavan to be handed over legally to Anita. I should like you to find out that there are no snags about this. Lalita told me that the people concerned have agreed although Amiya Bose<sup>56</sup> first objected and also Satish Bose's<sup>57</sup> son.<sup>58</sup> But apparently this matter has been settled. Nevertheless you might find out what the position is.

Lalita tells me further that Anita will be coming here in the near future, chiefly to go through these legal formalities about Netaji Bhavan. She will come by herself and spend about a fortnight in India. I told Lalita that she would have no difficulty in coming here. We cannot give Indian passport to her till she gets Indian nationality. She can either travel on her Austrian passport or we can provide special travel papers for her.

I asked Lalita where Anita will stay when she comes to Calcutta. There is no difficulty about other places. If she comes to Delhi, she will stay with me.

53. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to Subimal Dutt.

54. Daughter of Suresh Bose, brother of Subhas Chandra Bose.

55. Anita Bose Pfaff, daughter of Subhas Chandra Bose and his Austrian wife, Emilie Schenkl; was Professor of Economics at the University of Augsburg, Germany. She was married to Professor Martin Pfaff, formerly a Green Party member of the German Parliament.

56. Amiya Nath Bose was the second son of Sarat Chandra Bose, the elder brother of Subhas Chandra Bose.

57. Eldest brother of Subhas Chandra Bose.

58. Dwijen Bose.



If she goes to any other place, like Bombay, arrangements can be made for her to stay easily. In Calcutta, however, the obvious place for her to stay is with the members of her family. Lalita said that she could stay at Netaji Bhavan which would then belong to her. I said that I did not quite fancy her staying all by herself in an unoccupied house. Lalita then said that some family members could move to Netaji Bhavan and stay with her. All this seemed to me rather odd.

I shall be grateful if you will have a talk with Lalita Bose about these matters.

I was surprised to learn from Lalita that Anita has not received her allowance for a long time.<sup>59</sup> I am going to enquire about this.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

[P.S.] Since writing the above, I have had a talk with you. From this I gather that the position about Netaji Bhavan is more complicated than I had imagined. I do not think Anita should come here till everything is settled. Please send for Lalita and tell about this.

[Jawaharlal]

### 377. Importance of Aero-Clubs<sup>60</sup>

Mr Chairman<sup>61</sup> and gentlemen,

I thank you for inviting me on this occasion to inaugurate this meeting. Not that I can be of very great help to you, and I see from the agenda that most of the matters you are going to discuss might be in terms rather technical about which I can say very little. But I have gladly come here, because I do think that flying clubs in India should be encouraged in every way. Why? Well, there are many

59. On 2 Dec., Nehru wrote to B.C. Roy that he had enquired about the remittances sent to Anita. Eight instalments of Rs 3,000/- each were sent to her since Mar. 1954. There was a gap early in 1958 when the usual remittance was not sent. That had been rectified by sending Rs 6,000/- on 1 Nov. 1958.

60. Speech inaugurating the fourth conference of flying clubs. New Delhi, 4 December 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available from PIB.

61. A.C.P. Wadia, Chairman, Indian Gliding Association.

reasons for that. But, above all, if this country is going to go ahead, we have to get not only people, the advance guard of modern scientific and technological progress, but also a large number of people who may not be the advance guard but who will, nevertheless, form the reservoir from which others can come.

One of the very big changes that have taken place and are taking place is in the field of communications, and what has happened even in the last few years is really extraordinary. We are in the jet age, and the jet age, before it is established, leads to some other—space age or something else. We are going on advancing, that is, the pioneers go on advancing, while there is no road for others to follow even for a long time. Well, if any advance is to be made in any kind of scientific progress, the big man, the big genius, [...] goes ahead. Of course, you cannot produce geniuses to order but you can produce highly competent trained, skilful people who can follow up a genius, or out of whom geniuses may come.

If India is to advance, as of course it is going to, we must get into tune with this scientific and technological age. Many people talk about it, many people write about it, but I often feel that writing and speaking though they do, they really have little conception of what has happened, and what is happening to the world today. We talk glibly of the atom bomb, of the hydrogen bomb: how the hydrogen bomb came into existence, with that tremendous, shall I say, intellectual labour of chiefly mathematicians whose mind worked in the most rarified atmosphere of pure intellect. They do not, they have no idea, those who write about this rather loosely. Well, my point is that we cannot afford in the modern world to be left far behind in this science and technological advance.

Now, coming to aviation, it is obvious that that is one of the most vital things of today. And again, if you divide that up, there is our Air Force, a very good Air Force, small of course, compared to the big countries, but a good one; there is our Civil Aviation and these various lines that are run by them; and then there are your aero clubs, which ought to be closely connected with our Civil Aviation, and even in some ways with our Air Force. There ought to be those links, if the aero clubs are to advance. Now, the aero clubs can do some work which neither our Air Force nor our Civil Aviation Department can do. That is, they are the link in regard to training the general public. Not with the specialised person who is trained by the Air Force, who has to undergo a high course of training, or a Civil Aviation pilot, that is, whose profession becomes that. But you touch the wider field of amateurs and professionals also, if you like certainly. That is, your field is a wider one, though perhaps normally you do not aim naturally at that: a very high degree of skill, well, the others have to aim at.



Therefore, aero clubs perform a very important function to give, in a sense, a broad amateur civilian base to flying, which the professionals normally cannot easily give. Of course, the job of a professional is a basic and a very important one. So, I attach great importance to aero clubs, and I am rather sorry that these aero clubs are not advancing and progressing as they should; they are carrying on usually because of the enthusiasm of a few persons in each club. But so far as I know, and I shall be glad if I am wrong, they are not going ahead with that speed and in that widespread way as they should. Personally, I have always attached a great deal of importance to gliding. In fact, I think, gliding should be, is, a kind of thing which almost everybody does, every school boy, school girl does. That should be the first introduction to flying, gliding, some kind of air sense coming in, some kind of, and I imagine, though I have no proof for it, that a boy or a girl who glides gets much more self-assurance in life than a person who always sticks to the ground.

Therefore, from a psychological and educational point of view, apart from many others, I would like to encourage gliding tremendously. Our Civil Aviation Department or, in fact, our Education Department should interest itself in helping in this. It is relatively cheap; it is not expensive. I do not know what the economics of it are, but I imagine it cannot be very expensive, more especially now, when, I believe, gliders are being made in India, though not at as fast a pace or rate as they ought to be. I was just enquiring; I was told that they won't make them faster, they won't make them because they won't get orders for them; they will not make them in the air. Well, surely there should be enough orders to keep them busy at the present rate for a hundred years. They have to increase their rate; it is quite absurd, making them, making them a few at a time. Therefore, I would impress upon you, there is a very great importance of gliding, and gliding as soon as a person knows, that immediately becomes a first step to flying in other ways, in heavier machines, and as I said, I attach a value to gliding from this psychological point of view, educational point of view, giving a person a certain, a certain self-assurance and air sense. You know all about it, but there is such a thing as, as emotionally getting into tune with the new air-travel world that is coming. And I would think that a passenger travelling by plane does not get that as he sits in a lounge or something and he is taken from one place to the other. He does not get that air sense at all. A glider will, a pilot will, of course, in any aircraft. Therefore, gliding is of importance for our young folk. And looking at it from the point of view, as far as I can bring myself to think, what I felt when I was fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, whatever it was, it is an exciting sport for the boy and girl, tremendously exciting sport. Therefore, I would impress upon you as well as those who run our Civil Aviation and Education Department to think of this and encourage this, as much as they can, and make

it almost, I would say, a necessary adjunct to a high school, but of course university if you like, but I will begin with a high school.

Now, secondly, you know we are rather slowly and painfully beginning to manufacture aircraft in India, that is that—what is that ? H2-H3-H2-3-HTP2, it was that, which was rather expensive. Now, Hindustan Aircraft has produced a smaller and cheaper one, a Pushpak<sup>62</sup> it is called, which should be much more suitable perhaps for aero clubs for its relative cheapness. Well, I hope that gradually we shall be able to manufacture good, stout, relatively cheap types of aircraft in India, because so long as we depend on outside, well, we are very dependent, we cannot go ahead in anything depending too much on outside products. Well, I wish you success in your labours and in the work you are doing in the country.

For that work, I would judge by the widespread interest that you create. Certainly, have your competitions, and have your prizes and all that, and they are good and they interest people, but it is the widespread interest of large numbers that counts. Now, I see whenever you have some kind of a show on, large crowds collect to see it; they are interested, but somehow it is beyond their reach. The large crowds, they just come and see it, it is beyond their reach, well, because, unfortunately, we still have too much class division and the greater number of people cannot even afford to be inside your enclosure even. They have to be somewhere outside and kept far apart and they are too poor for this kind of thing. What I would, it would be a good thing if you could organise, what shall I say, give some opportunity by scholarships and others, probably through a school, I do not know how else you can do it, young boys, who normally would not be able to afford it, get an opportunity to come and learn. I suggest to the Civil Aviation Department to organise some scholarships for this purpose. Now, that is a different matter. I am talking especially of scholarships for the people of very little resources. I am not talking of the other scholarships; they may go to anybody. An opening for the real poor. I do not like the word poor, but I am compelled to use it.

There is, I give you an instance, completely a different type, and I, I do not particularly think that public schools in the normal sense of the word are wholly desirable. They are partly desirable in the present circumstances. I know that at the present moment. But I mean I do not like the idea of the difference between the public school and the ordinary school, to which the average person goes, and yet there is no help for it because ordinary school really is, unfortunately,

62. "Pushpak" was a two-seat cabin monoplane designed and built by Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. It began production in 1958 and about 160 of them were used for training in flying clubs.



does not get equipment, this, that, and the other. Now, recently, a public school has been opened in Bihar, I think. Admission is by merit alone; not by family, pure merit; and then the person who has come by merit, if he cannot afford to pay the fee, the State Government has agreed to pay his fee, in the public school. It is a good idea anyhow, in a small way. The average public school today only attracts boys who come from relatively prosperous families, who can pay heavy fees. Therefore, it encourages a certain class tradition which is bad. However, in that sense I thought that if opportunity could be given to boys or girls of merit who cannot afford it by some scholarships or other, it will be a good thing.

Well, again I wish you well, and I hope you will make good progress.  
Thank you.

### 378. To Sanjay Gandhi<sup>63</sup>

December 5, 1958

Darling Sanjaya,

I was glad to get your letter. I am afraid I cannot go to Dehra Dun for your Golden Night feast. I am very busy with Parliament and with other work.

Mummy is better now. She left this morning for Coimbatore in South India for a tour. She will return on the 13th December just before you yourself come here.

Bhimsa family is keeping well. Bhimsa himself has grown very fat.

I am sending you First Day Covers of a new stamp which has a picture of Jagadish Chandra Bose. He was a great scientist and he used to experiment with plants. He showed that plants are very near animals. They breathe of course, but when you hit them or injure them, they feel pain. You will have to be very careful with plants in future so as not to give them any pain.

We are all looking forward to seeing you and Rajiv here.

With love from your loving

Nana

63. JN Collection.

### 379. To Dorothy Norman<sup>64</sup>

December 8, 1958

Dear Dorothy,<sup>65</sup>

I have received a letter from you dated October 28. It seems to have taken a long time to come here, or at any rate, to reach me.

As I wrote to you long ago, I am agreeable to your making arrangements for the publication of the *Reader*. I am afraid I have no time to choose passages and I have to trust your judgement. If you like, you may give me some indication of what type of passages you have selected.

I am agreeable to the publication rights for the United States and Canada to be given to the publisher, John Day. Also to what he calls the open market rights, that is, the right to sell the book in other places. But it will be understood, I suppose that the book can be published, if necessity arises, in other places also, apart from the United States and Canada.

As for my writing a brief preface, I shall endeavour to do so, though I am terribly busy and am likely to continue to be so. It will, however, be difficult for me to write a preface unless I have some idea of what the book is going to be.

I see that you sent me a contract form. This speaks about the copyright of the book for the whole world. That, I think, would not be right. The copyright should be limited to U.S.A. and Canada, as suggested by John Day. I have asked Mathai to deal with this aspect of the matter.

You refer to a letter of yours being passed on to Krishna Menon. I do not know to which letter you refer. So far as I can remember, I passed on no such letter. Possibly some business part of your letter was communicated to him, because he has dealt with my books published in England. Presumably permission will have to be taken from my other publishers in case of copyright.

I have no present programme for going to Europe or anywhere outside India in the coming year. But there is always a possibility of my having to go somewhere for the summer. The burden of work in India grows and it is not an easy matter to go away for any length of time.

<sup>1</sup> Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

64. JN Collection.

65. American civil rights advocate, writer, and photographer.



### 380. To Hamish Hamilton<sup>66</sup>

December 8, 1958

Dear Mr Hamilton,<sup>67</sup>

Thank you for sending me Ylla's<sup>68</sup> book *Animals in India*. I have enjoyed looking at the lovely photographs in this book, and it has reminded me of Ylla's visit to our house when she came to see our Himalayan pandas. We were deeply grieved to learn later of the accident in which she met her death.<sup>69</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 381. To Sampurnanand<sup>70</sup>

9th December, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,

Your letter of the 8th December.

I think you should follow a salutary rule in regard to putting up portraits or statuary. Living people should be avoided. If any other course is adopted, there is bound to be a feeling of discrimination and needless argument. Therefore, I would beg of you not to put up my portrait, at any rate so long as I am alive.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

66. JN Collection.

67. (1900-1988); founder of the publishing house Hamish Hamilton in 1930s; sold the firm to the Thomson Organisation in 1965 who resold it to Penguin Books in 1986.

68. (1911-1955); Ylla, the pseudonym of Camilla Koffler, a Hungarian photographer and artist; travelled to India in 1954; her book published posthumously in 1958 by Hamish Hamilton Limited, London.

69. On 30 Mar. 1955, Ylla died of injuries after falling from a jeep while photographing a bullock cart race in Bharatpur.

70. JN Collection.

### 382. To K.P.S. Menon<sup>71</sup>

December 10, 1958

My dear K.P.S.,

I enclose a telegram I have received which translated is as follows:

“A son was born before 41st Anniversary of the October Revolution. I, a worker, have named him after you with great love towards you. Request reply

Dnepropetrovskoi Mikopol,  
Mendeleeewa 10  
Dudnik Grigory Kuzmitch.”

Will you kindly convey my thanks for this telegram to the sender and tell him I send my good wishes to the parents and my love to the newly born son.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 383. Financial help to a Revolutionary<sup>72</sup>

I should like to send Rs 1,000/- for Shri Hanumat Sahai<sup>73</sup> of Delhi. He is rather old and weak. He is one of the few survivors of the old revolutionaries of Delhi. I understand that he is in considerable financial difficulties. Shri Sunderlal<sup>74</sup> wrote to me about him and asked if I could help him in any way. I had replied to him that I could not make any permanent arrangements as suggested, but I could send him some money, about Rs 1,000/-.

Please therefore send a cheque for Rs 1,000/- to Shri Sunderlal mentioning that this is for Hanumat Sahai. This might come out of the United Commercial Bank Account.

71. JN Collection.

72. Note to M.O. Mathai, 16 December 1958.

73. Hanumant (Lala) Sahai (b. 1884); a revolutionary from Delhi; organised study circles and inspired the youth; Member, AICC, 1920-26; opposed Mahatma Gandhi's resolution condemning revolutionary activities at the Lahore Congress Session, 1929; prepared political pamphlets for secret circulation; financed many revolutionaries; supported women's education, widow remarriage, Harijan upliftment and classless and casteless society; opposed extravagance and waste of time involved in rituals.

74. Secretary, Hindustani Culture Society; follower of Mahatma Gandhi; editor of the monthly magazine *Naya Hind* in Hindi and Persian published from Allahabad.



384. To Sri Prakasa<sup>75</sup>

December 18, 1958

My dear Prakasa,<sup>76</sup>

I had a letter from you a few days ago<sup>77</sup> in which you had referred to my *Bunch of Old Letters*. You mentioned that I might have included one of your letters to me in this connection.<sup>78</sup> I would have gladly done so, but I did not have it or did not find it. It is only now when you have written to me that I remember it.

As for the party accompanying me to Nagpur, it will not be a large party. I am not quite sure yet about Indira. She would like to go there, and probably she will do so. But owing to Feroze's ill-health and the children being here, I am not sure what she will ultimately decide. I shall let you know, of course.

The rest of the party usually consists of two PAs, a Security Officer and Hari.<sup>79</sup>

I returned from Ahmedabad about an hour and a half ago. I am sorry I did not inform you of this visit. The whole thing was arranged by Shriman Narayan<sup>80</sup> with Vinobaji directly long ago. I had informed Chavan of it and told him that he should not trouble to come there. It would not have been worthwhile your coming either because I was there for a short time, all of which was spent with Vinobaji or in going backwards and forwards to his village. This morning I joined his pada yatra for about half an hour. He walks fairly fast, and I rather enjoyed this excursion.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]

75. JN Collection.

76. The Governor of Bombay.

77. Sri Prakasa wrote on 9 Dec. that he wished that his letter to Nehru, which he had written "when Gandhiji was very angry at the election of Subhas Bose as President of the Congress," could have been included in *A Bunch of Old Letters*. He added that he had written that letter as he was sore with Mahatma Gandhi's comment that "Subhas Bose's success was not Pattabhi's defeat but his own, i.e., Gandhiji's" for he felt that "Democracy requires that we should gracefully accept the verdict of the majority and not make defeat or success in elections a personal matter. I fear most of the troubles from which we continue to suffer, are because we do not accept the verdict of the electorate gracefully."

78. Perhaps Nehru meant "collection".

79. Harilal, Nehru's personal attendant.

80. Member, Planning Commission.

**385. To Jogesh Chandra Chatterji<sup>81</sup>**

December 19, 1958

My dear Jogesh Chandra,<sup>82</sup>

Your letter of the 18th December. I was happy to meet many of our old friends and colleagues, who came here the other day.

I have given thought to the suggestion made that the old District Jail in Delhi should be kept as a kind of a memorial or museum. I do not see how this can be done or how it can be considered desirable. It is a horrid ugly building occupying a great deal of space in the heart of this huge growing city. Old and New Delhi. As you have yourself said it is intended to extend hospital buildings there. To keep this ugly building there and to prevent the hospital from growing, as it must, would not be a service to Delhi or the community. What can be done is to put up a memorial plaque there.

You know perhaps that we are putting up a big Martyrs Memorial in front of the Red Fort.<sup>83</sup> This will be for all the martyrs from 1857 to 1947.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**386. To Mrs M.A. Rauf<sup>84</sup>**

Anand Bhavan  
Allahabad  
December 21, 1958

My dear Mrs Rauf,<sup>85</sup>

I was very happy to see you and your daughter today. When I get back to Delhi, I shall consult my Ministry about the house. I do not want you to do anything which is against our rules. I hope we shall find some suitable way out.

81. File No. 57/64/59-Poll. (I), MHA.

82. A noted revolutionary of Banaras and Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha.

83. On 24 Nov. 1958, G.B. Pant, Union Home Minister, announced in the Lok Sabha that the Government had selected the site in front of the rampart of the Red Fort in Delhi on the axis of Chandni Chowk for a martyrs' memorial.

84. JN Collection.

85. Maksood Jahan Begum, the wife of M.A. Rauf, Indian Ambassador to Belgium.



I think it might be helpful if you came to Delhi on your return from Burma. This is not absolutely necessary, but it might help. In any event, I suggest that you and your daughter come to Delhi when you come back from Burma and stay with me there for about a week or so. I shall be very happy to have you both as our guests, and it would be a good thing for your daughter and you to have a look at Delhi as it is now. You can just let me know about the time you are coming, and perhaps it might suit you to come direct from Calcutta to Delhi on your return from Burma.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 387. To B.C. Roy<sup>86</sup>

Uttarayan  
Santiniketan  
December 22, 1958

My dear Bidhan,

I am sorry you will not be able to come to Santiniketan,<sup>87</sup> but I quite understand that it would be difficult for you to leave Calcutta now when your Assembly is sitting.

This afternoon a deputation representing old political sufferers of West Bengal came to see me. They spoke to me about their difficulties and gave me a memorandum. I enclose this memorandum.

You must, of course, be fully acquainted with these cases, and I referred these people to you. Naturally I feel much sympathy with them as a group, though I cannot say anything about any particular individual. Most of them are old and generally not capable to any constructive work. Perhaps some of them might be able to do some work. I see that the West Bengal Government is giving them some help. I was told this varied from Rs 10/- to Rs 40/- per month, though in a few cases it went up to a hundred rupees. Rs 10/- does not carry one far or carry one at all these days.

86. JN Collection.

87. Nehru went to Santiniketan to lay the foundation stone of Bichitra Rabindra Sadan and to deliver the convocation address at Visva-Bharati on 23 and 24 Dec. respectively. See items 236 and 12.

I do not know what the total sum you spend on such relief is. But if it is at all possible perhaps some additional relief might be given to those who are getting these minimum sums. Apart from the West Bengal Government, Congress might do something about it also.

It would be a good thing if they could be associated with some kind of simple work. That would depend on the individual and his capacity and inclination. Those of them who are, in addition, displaced persons from East Pakistan could perhaps be helped a little from the Rehabilitation funds. The sums involved cannot be great, and I think that it would not be desirable to give lump sums, but monthly grants of moderate sums.

They spoke to me about another matter also. This was about an undertaking they are called upon to give every month that they do not take active part in politics or belong to any political organisation. This undertaking does not seem to me very desirable. Of course, there is a possibility of their abusing their position and indulging in wrong and subversive activities. If so, the pension or allowance can be stopped. But the required undertaking goes very far and can be considered somewhat humiliating.

I am merely passing on this representation to you for you to decide as you think best.

I am also enclosing one particular representation from Harihar Bhattacharjee. Apparently this has already been sent some time ago to your Government. Perhaps you will be good enough to have this matter looked into.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal]



**388. To Rathindra Nath Tagore<sup>88</sup>**

Uttarayan

Santiniketan

December 23, 1958

My dear Rathi Babu,<sup>89</sup>

Your letter of today's date reached me at about midday.<sup>90</sup> I had hoped to see you somewhere so that I could talk to you about it, but I was unable to meet you. I am going away tomorrow morning.

There was no talk about you between me and anyone else. Very casually your name was mentioned once, I think. No charge was made against you, and I had forgotten the matter. It is true that the mention of your name was not in a friendly context, but as there was nothing definite and we were discussing something else, I quite forgot about it. You need not worry about this.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

88. File No. 40(9)/56-59-PMS.

89. Rathindra Nath, son of Rabindranath Tagore, and Vice Chancellor of Visva-Bharati University, 1951-53.

90. Rathindra Nath wrote that he was greatly distressed "to hear that persons have told you that I have been dealing dishonestly with the Visva-Bharati." He added, "If you consider an open enquiry undesirable, you may at least send for the Treasurer or the Registrar and ask them if there is any truth at all in the allegations made against me."

**389. To S.K. Patil<sup>91</sup>**

December 25, 1958

My dear S.K.,<sup>92</sup>

Your letter of December 24<sup>93</sup> about the proposal to issue a stamp for Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.<sup>94</sup>

I agree with you. I do not think it will be desirable to issue a commemorative stamp on this occasion.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**390. To Erica Powell<sup>95</sup>**

December 27, 1958

Dear Miss Powell,<sup>96</sup>

Thank you for your letter. I am very glad to know that you are enjoying your visit to India. We have managed to produce a rather cold weather, especially this evening, which was not wholly to the liking of everybody, though I think it has been delightful.

I am returning to you the two menu cards duly autographed. I am also sending you a photograph and a copy of my *Autobiography*. This book, I might remind you, was written nearly a quarter of a century ago, and much has happened since then.

91. File No. 27(19)/57-62-PMS.

92. Union Minister of Transport and Communications.

93. Patil observed that H.P. Mody's proposal for a commemorative stamp of Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy on his death centenary on 14 Apr. 1959 should be rejected since he was not a pre-eminent all-India figure, other requests might come, and the frequent issue of such stamps would undermine their philatelic value. Mody was a former governor of UP.

94. (1783-1859); Parsi merchant and philanthropist; known by the nick name 'Bottlewallah' as he was engaged in the manufacture and sale of bottles; traded with China in cotton and opium; donated extensively to public charities; knighthood, 1842; baronetcy, 1858.

95. JN Collection.

96. (1921-2007); trained as a secretary and teacher; worked with Barclays Bank during World War II; Private Secretary, Governor of the Gold Coast; Private Secretary, Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, 1955-65; Private Secretary to Siaka Stevens, President of Sierra Leone, 1970-79; wrote her autobiography, *Private Secretary (Female) Gold Coast* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1984).



Dr Nkrumah mentioned to me that he would like to have some of my books. I am trying to get a set of them for him. Unfortunately, one or two are not available.

I hope you will be joining our luncheon party tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 391. To Mihir Sen<sup>97</sup>

December 28, 1958

My dear Mihir Sen,<sup>98</sup>

I had your letter of the 20th December some days ago.

The question you have raised about colour bar in clubs and swimming pools is a difficult one to answer. On the face of it, one objects to these colour bars or caste bars and the way they are flaunted in some places in India is certainly objectionable.

On the other hand there is one other aspect of this. A club is a private institution where people who want to meet others of their kind have relaxation etc. If people of different social habits also go there, the intimacy of a club may be spoiled and it will cease to be the kind of thing that it is meant to be, that is a place where people can relax. If Indians have a club in London to meet each other, nobody should object. In fact there are clubs of Germans, Frenchmen, Italians etc., where others from their own country who speak their language, where they eat food of the kind supplied in their country etc., etc., meet together. There can be no objection to this.

As a matter of fact, we go further in India where we have Gujarati Clubs, Marathi Clubs, Bengali Clubs, Punjabi Clubs etc. On the same analogy, can we object to a club that the British people may have of their own kind.

The objectionable part of all this is where the difference comes in based on mere colour. I do not quite know therefore what to advise you about this. You are certainly entitled to protest against this aspect.

97. JN Collection.

98. Lawyer at the Calcutta High Court, 1956; first Indian to swim the English Channel, on 27 Sept. 1958.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

In Bombay there is a swimming pool reserved for Hindus only. I have disliked this very greatly.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 392. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>99</sup>

28th December, 1958

My dear Ajit,<sup>100</sup>

I enclose a letter from Rukmini Devi.<sup>101</sup> What do you propose to do about this question of legislation for the prevention of cruelty to animals? I think we should take some early step. My own suggestion will be that we should avoid highly controversial issues and take up some relatively simple matters which we can easily enforce.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

99. Ajit Prasad Jain Papers, NMML.

100. Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

101. Rukmini Devi Arundale, Bharatnatyam dancer, activist for animal rights and welfare, and Rajya Sabha MP, complained that no action had been taken on the two-year-old Report of the Committee for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. M.V. Krishnappa, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, had informed the Rajya Sabha that a bill would be introduced soon, but later retracted. She hoped Nehru would ensure such a bill at the next session.



**393. To Lady Nye<sup>102</sup>**

December 29, 1958

My dear Lady Nye,<sup>103</sup>

It was delightful to receive a letter from you after a long interval and to have news of you and your family. I had a Christmas Card from Sheila also from somewhere in the North West.

As for us here, we have to work so hard, at least some of us have to do this, that one has no time to think much about the sad state of the world or even of India. I came to the conclusion long ago that the only remedy against the world's ills or indeed any ills, was not to think too much about them and instead to absorb oneself in activity. Activity of course must have some thought and objective behind it; otherwise it is futile. Whether that activity is worthwhile or not, it is difficult to judge and sometimes doubt creeps in.

I do not know when there is any chance of my going to England again. For the present, this does not appear to be likely in 1959. If I go there, I hope I shall see you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**394. Statue of Mahatma Gandhi at  
Martyrs' Memorial<sup>104</sup>**

Please write in reply to Shri Sachdev<sup>105</sup> and say that it is perfectly correct that I approved of the proposal of Shri Roy Chowdhury<sup>106</sup> that the proposed Martyrs' Memorial composition at Delhi may contain a replica of the statue of

102. JN Collection.

103. Una Sheila Colleen was the wife of Archibald Edward Nye, Governor of Madras, 1946-48.

104. Note to M.O. Mathai, 29 December 1958. File No. 2(240)/58-70-PMS.

105. M.R. Sachdev, Secretary, Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply.

106. Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury (1899-1989); sculptor and painter; Principal, Government School of Arts and Crafts, Madras, 1929-57; Chairman, Lalit Kala Akademi, for seven years; Director and President, International Art Seminar of UNESCO, Tokyo, 1955; awarded Padma Bhushan, 1958; his important bronze sculptures: Triumph of Labour, Martyrs' Memorial and Mahatma Gandhi.

Mahatma Gandhi, which has been recently put up at Calcutta.<sup>107</sup> That statue is particularly a good one, and I did not see any objection to that being included in the composition.

### 395. **Copyright of *Letters from a Father to his Daughter***<sup>108</sup>

I see that the Allahabad Law Journal Press are still issuing my little book *Letters from a Father to his Daughter*.<sup>109</sup> What are the terms and conditions under which they are continuing to issue this book? Do we get any royalties from them.

2. I wrote to you about this subject some time ago. I do not quite remember if you did anything in the matter.

3. I do not think the Law Journal Press have any copyright of it. The copyright must be mine. I do not technically approve of their printing and publishing of this book and they have no proper organisation for sales. The little book is still in demand and I should like to ask the Asia Publishing House to take it up if they are prepared to do so. Even if the Law Journal Press continue to publish it, perhaps there is no objection to another firm doing so at my request. The book is a small one. I should like it produced neatly and cheaply with paper covers.

107. On 30 Nov. 1958. See item 7.

108. Note to M.O. Mathai, 30 December 1958. JN Collection.

109. The book contains a collection of 30 letters written by Nehru in 1928 to Indira Gandhi when she was 10 years old, teaching her about natural history and the story of civilisations. It was published in 1929 by the Allahabad Law Journal Press.



396. To Mohammed Tahir<sup>110</sup>

30th December, 1958

Dear Mohammed Tahir,<sup>111</sup>

I received your letter sometime ago.

I think we should try to get some good and reliable publisher in Pakistan to undertake the publication of Maulana Sahib's books. If that is done, then we can deal with the pirated editions. I have received a request from the Taj Company of Karachi for permission to publish *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*.<sup>112</sup> I enclose a copy of their letter. I am having enquiries made from Karachi about the status and competence of this publishing house. If the report is satisfactory, then I would suggest that they should be given permission, on terms to be agreed upon, to publish the *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*. They might also perhaps like to publish Maulana Sahib's other books.

I understand that since you wrote to me the Succession Certificate has been issued. I do not know any further details. Noor-ud-Din is a very shy and retiring person and not very businesslike. It is difficult to settle anything by correspondence. I think that it would be a good thing if you could come to Delhi for a day or two on the 17th January. We could then meet here and I could ask Humayun Kabir<sup>113</sup> and Noor-ud-Din to come also.

Your mother-in-law was good enough to write to me early this month. Please apologise to her on my behalf for my not answering her letter. I have been very busy during December and sometimes I was out of Delhi. I am very sorry that she has been distressed. As I have said above, Noor-ud-Din is a very shy person and does not manage his affairs well. I think he is a good young man.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

110. JN Collection.

111. Member, Bombay Legislative Council, and son-in-law of Maulana Azad's sister Fatima Begum.

112. Nehru mentioned that Abul Kalam Azad had transferred the copyright of *Tarjuman-ul-Quran* to Nooruddin Ahmed, son of Maulana Azad's elder brother Abu-n-Nasr Aah Ghulam Yasin, during his lifetime. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 811, 814-815.

113. Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Culture.





## GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
AIR	All India Radio
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
Banaras/Benaras/Kashi	Varanasi
Bangalore	Bengaluru
Baroda	Vadodara
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
Beejak	seed
Bhoodan	voluntary donation of land; refers to a movement initiated by Vinoba Bhave
Bhooswamis	small land holders in Rajasthan
BHU	Banaras Hindu University
Bombay	Mumbai
BPCC/WBPCC	West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee
BSS	Bharat Sewak Samaj
Burma	Myanmar
Calcutta	Kolkata
Cape Comorin	Kanniyakumari

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Ceylon	Sri Lanka
Chowringhee Road (Calcutta)	Jawahar Lal Nehru Road (Kolkata)
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
CPI	Communist Party of India
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
CW & PC	Central Water and Power Commission
CWC	Congress Working Committee
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
Desikottama	highest Degree (D.Litt.) conferred by Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan
DIB	Director, Intelligence Bureau
Djakarta	Jakarta
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale
FS	Foreign Secretary
Gauhati	Guwahati
Gramdan	voluntary donation of village or village land; refers to Vinoba Bhave's movement to transfer private land to the village
Gramsahayak/ Gramsevak	a person appointed for village welfare work
I & B	[Ministry of] Information and Broadcasting
ICS	Indian Civil Service



IMF	International Monetary Fund
INC	Indian National Congress
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
ISA	International Students Association
ISI	Indian Statistical Institute
Jamadar	a junior commissioned officer of the rank of Naib Subedar in the Pakistan army
Jhil	lake or pool
JN	Jawaharlal Nehru
Khandsari	unrefined sugar
Kitchener Road (New Delhi)	Sardar Patel Marg (New Delhi)
Lalla	merchant
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation
Madras (City)	Chennai
Madras (State)	Tamil Nadu
MBBS	Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
Mela	fair, fete
Merkara	Madikeri
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
MPH	Master of Public Health

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Mutt	a monastery
Mysore (State)	Karnataka
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCC	National Cadet Corps
NDC	National Development Council
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
Orissa	Odisha
P & T	[Department of] Posts and Telegraph
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
Peking	Beijing
PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
Pondicherry	Puducherry
PS	Private Secretary/Personal Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PWD	Public Works Department
Quaid-e-Azam	The Great Leader (referred to M.A. Jinnah)
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
Samiti	Committee
Samsad	Court of Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan



SEATO	South-East Asia Treaty Organisation
SG	Secretary General [MEA]
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
Shramdan	voluntary contribution of labour for a public cause
SM & F	[Ministry of ] Steel, Mines and Fuel
SWJN/FS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru</i> , First Series
SWJN/SS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru</i> , Second Series
Taluk	a subdivision of a district
TELCO	Tata Engineering and Locomotive Company
Tola	weight measure, (11.6638125 gm)
UAR	United Arab Republic
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations Organisation
UNCIP	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNOGIL	United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UP	Uttar Pradesh/United Provinces
Upacharya	Vice Chancellor
UPPCC	Uttar Pradesh Pradesh Congress Committee
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

US/USA	United States of America
Usar	bad or saline
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VIP	Very Important Person
Waqf	religious or charitable endowment for Muslims, a statutory body for the administration of such endowments
WH & S	[Ministry of] Works, Housing and Supply



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*Some vignettes from this volume:*

- Nehru observed that if Prince Philip could not get to the moonlit Taj in time, the Maharaja of Jaipur by moonlight might suffice.
- Nehru complained to P.C. Sen that Communists and other opposition groups took a cut from displaced persons' doles.
- Nehru said of the Tollygunge Club: "It is absurd to have a golf course in the heart of Calcutta when other people do not have even accommodation."
- When Nehru was to unveil Gandhi's statue in Calcutta, B.N. Mullik of the Intelligence Bureau proposed announcing one for Subhas Chandra Bose to pre-empt agitations.
- The press reported an environmentalist Nehru suggesting "that anybody who cuts trees indiscriminately should suffer the penalty of having his head cut off."
- Nehru was exasperated enough with L.C. Jain to believe that his dissenting minute on the report of a team visit to China was written for him by an American.
- Nehru reported of Malraux: "He asked me if I could suggest some spiritually developed individuals for him to meet. I was unable to enlighten him on the subject."
- Nehru described Ayub Khan's coup "as some kind of a scene from a Gilbert and Sullivan Opera, without the music of course."
- Deploing Gandhi's opposition to Bose's election as Congress President, Sri Prakasa confided to Nehru: "I fear most of the troubles from which we continue to suffer are because we do not accept the verdict of the electorate gracefully."
- The Canadian Prime Minister, John Diefenbaker, was shocked that MPs were provided accommodation in such large numbers.

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